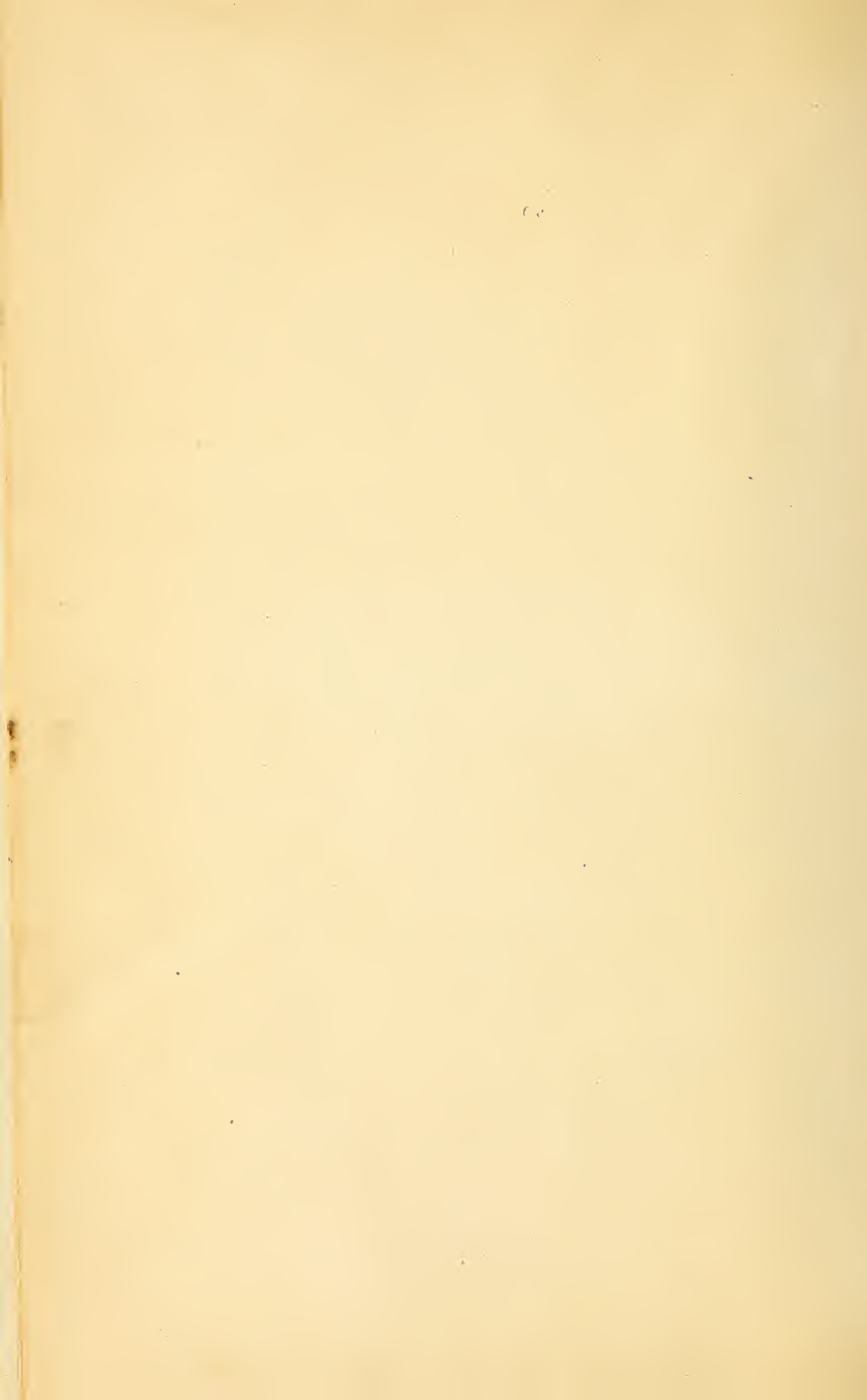




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A
HISTORY

OF

THE HUGUENOTS.

THE THIRD EDITION,

CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

W. S. BROWNING.

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P R E F A C E.

THE volume now presented to the Public comprises the History of the Huguenots *during the Sixteenth Century*, (published in 1829,) and the continuation of the same subject to 1838, which appeared within the last year. The whole has been carefully revised, with considerable additions.

Yet although no pains have been spared to render this Publication complete, it is obvious that its very nature excluded minute detail on incidents not connected with the general history. Many episodes concerning the biography of eminent Huguenots might have been interwoven, but for the limits which the Author had laid down for his undertaking. His views are amply explained in the original Preface, (which is reprinted,) and in the following passages which introduced his last work.

“The vicissitudes which befell the French Protestants, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, embrace a series of most affecting incidents, which have tended to produce important political results; and in addition to the innate interest of the occurrences, a connected narrative has an additional claim on attention, from the almost general silence of French authors. Before the Revolution of 1789, a succinct history of the Huguenots would assuredly have been branded as libellous, and the few works composed in reference thereto were either printed clandestinely, or in foreign countries.

“With respect to the violence and persecutions of 1815, the difficulty experienced by the Author in procuring exact information proves the want of a general detail, and renders the present publication more necessary, the events of that terrible period being known to very few persons. Even among well-informed Frenchmen, there are many whose knowledge of the troubles of Nismes is limited to a few striking incidents.

“In composing the accounts of that comparatively recent time, the Author has been favoured with the acquaintance and correspondence of several inhabitants of Nismes—both Catholic and Protestant—some of them victims of what has been often represented as the effect of *political reaction*. He has also enjoyed the inappreciable advantage of submitting his statement to individuals, qualified by their official experience to correct any erroneous assertions.

“Conscious of an honest endeavour to relate the truth impartially, unbiassed by national or religious prejudice, the Author is nevertheless aware that his unceremonious strictures upon certain functionaries will insure him the animadversions of a powerful party. The interesting narrative of the events of Nismes in 1830, by the pastor Frossard, although composed with studied moderation, has been disdainfully treated as a libel—the present volume therefore can hardly escape censure. The most careful investigations may have left the Author in some instances under a wrong impression: but if errors exist in consequence, they are unintentional. Amenable to the tribunal of criticism, he will respect its verdict; and if any admirer of those principles, which desolated the south of France in 1815, will indicate mis-statements, and assist in establishing the facts, his suggestions shall be cheerfully attended to, in the event of a future edition.”

No attempt at refutation has come to the Author's knowledge, and he has consequently no justification to present on behalf of the latter period of his history. But with respect to

the sixteenth century, he feels bound to offer some explanation, in reply to a charge of "careless examination of authorities," advanced in the *British Critic* for July, 1829.

Three particular instances are indicated by the reviewer. The first relates to the apocryphal character of Davila's account of the Legate Morosini's connivance, when Henry III. proposed to murder the Cardinal of Guise; which the critic observes "has been adopted without giving a hint that his story is naught." To this assertion the Author invites the reviewer's attention to the volume on which he was passing judgment, and he will find a note containing the reasons why Davila's version was preferred to that of Maimbourg.

The second article in the indictment is, "That the author has either mistaken or misrepresented the authority on which he relied," in narrating the minor circumstances that immediately followed the battle of Jarnac. The critic's susceptibility is wounded by its appearing in these pages that the Duke of Anjou slept at Jarnac, in the same house where Condé had lodged the preceding night—and in addition, that the victor's bearing was indecorous and cruel; while it appears that, according to Davila, the duke *entrò la medesima sera della giornata vittoriosa in Giarnacco*, without stating where he slept; and with respect to his demeanour, *non permesse il duca che a' cadaere di lui fosse usato scherno*. To this the author cannot advance a direct plea of not guilty; because, unfortunately, the reference to Davila appears alone in the copy. The fact in itself is so trivial, that it may appear pedantic to adduce a list of authorities. De Thou, lib. 45, sect. 4, is more laconic than Davila:—"Andinus victor Jarnacum venit;" leaving it doubtful whether he reposed there or not: but that author describes the duke as *juveniliter exultans*, and afterwards alludes to the current report *quasi ipsius jussu interfectus esset*. The Author is however of opinion that, having Brantome constantly before him, his statement was borrowed from the facetious Abbé, and that he inadvertently omitted to place his name in the margin. Brantome is well known to have considered a warrior's death one of the themes most worthy of contemplation; and being a well-placed contemporary, his account is worth perusal. It is as follows:—"Pour tourner à Monsieur le Prince, estant mort, Monsieur n'en fut nullement marry, mais très joyeux; car il avoit opinion qu'il luy en eust fait faire de mesme: car d'ennemy à grand ennemy il n'y a que se garder. Monsieur le voulut voir après la bataille achevée; et son corps fut chargé sur une vieille asnesse qui se trouva là à propos, plus par derision que pour autre sujet, et fut porté ainsi, bras et jambes pendantes, à Jarnac, en une salle basse sous celle de Monsieur et sa chambre, où le dit prince le jour avant avoit logé. Quel changement! comme à Courtras le roy de Navarre logea en la chambre de Monsieur de Joyeuse, où il avoit couché le soir auparavant, et l'autre estoit estendu mort dessous. Si on leur eust dit à tous tels revers de fortune, ils ne l'eussent pas cru. Le dit prince demeura assez en spectacle à tous ceux du camp qui le voulurent aller voir."—*Vie de M. le Prince de Condé*.

The third instance adduced by the critic arose from an error in copying; for in this instance, the missing reference existed in the original MS., and the omission was discovered before the criticism was published. The reviewer observes (p. 189) that, "unless the author has relied on other authorities than De Thou and Brantome, (and he has not cited any other,) he has fallen into very great inaccuracies in his transcription." In the statement thus commented upon, the Author had consulted also *Le Discours du Roi Henri III. à un personnage d'honneur*, &c. (Miron.) This piece is preserved in the *Memoires d'Etat de Villeroy*; and mentions large pictures, in which *les exécutions de la Saint Barthélemi, faites à Paris et autres lieux, étoient peintes au vif, et les figures représentées après le naturel*, &c.

The other strictures have been received with due deference, and if all the defects have not disappeared, it is less from a refractory feeling, than from the impossibility to re-write a long work.

The author cannot refrain from expressing his acknowledgments to several friends for their assistance in the latter portion of the history. He is particularly indebted to the Pastors Juillerat and Monod, for the details respecting Paul Rabaud and his sons: through

their kindness, he has had the benefit of Madame Rabaut-Pomier's recollections; and some interesting facts have been supplied by Madame Juillerat, who received her religious instruction from Rabaut St. Etienne.

The Reverend Charles Cook of Nismes has also rendered the Author very valuable assistance, by making inquiries concerning 1815, of M. Cavalier, at that time Procureur-Général, and subsequently Mayor of Nismes. His official character gave him great facility for being well acquainted with the events of that time; and he kept a regular journal, writing by night, at great peril of his life, the facts of each day, in the hope that some of the criminals might be brought to justice. But unsupported as he was by the authorities, with the gens-d'armes abetting the assassins, he could do nothing. Two individuals, who successively filled his post, applied to M. Cavalier for a copy of his journal, but neither made any use of it. M. Cavalier's generous defence of the persecuted Protestants is the more praiseworthy, as he is a Roman Catholic, and had two brothers priests at the time. His testimony in favour of Lauze de Peret's statement justifies the frequent reference to that work in these pages; and his readiness to communicate the rich stores of his memory gives him a lasting claim on the author's gratitude.

Paris, January, 1840.

EXTRACT FROM THE PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

IN the vast range of subjects for the pen of the historian, one of the most interesting presents itself in the violent disputes which have from time to time occurred among the public teachers of religion. Their conflicting opinions have produced effects of such magnitude, that centuries have rolled away while they were still in operation. The partisans of opposite systems have considered it their duty to condemn, often to misrepresent each other; strong efforts have been made to call the public feelings into action, and a difference which ought to have been settled in a cloister or a consistory has generally ended in the desolation of a kingdom. The more, therefore, we enlarge the sphere of our information upon this important subject, we shall be the more inclined to cultivate that enlightened humanity which inculcates indulgent sentiments towards every creed: such at least will be the consequence with all reflecting minds.

The work now submitted to the public is one, which in its progress offered endless opportunities for polemical discussion; but for the writer to have availed himself of them would have been at once imprudent and unwise. While recording the wild rage of religious persecution, and the frightful excesses of religious zeal, he has abstained from partiality and controversy: his duty has been to narrate the truth without becoming the accuser or the champion of either of the contending parties, whose disputes no good mind can reflect upon without wishing they should be set at rest for ever.

The Author has in no case been tempted by prejudice or party feeling to give a colouring to facts which the truth would not warrant: he has laid them before the reader with that attention to accuracy which can alone give value to history, and the want of which can never be compensated by any charms of eloquence, or flights of imagination. Unhappily there is enough in the history of religious factions to excite the reader's indignation without any effort to that purpose on the part of the writer. In contemplating these events, we must make due allowance for the barbarous period when they occurred; congratulate ourselves that we live in an era of religious liberty; and rejoice in the progress of those principles which give assurance, that the altar of the God of mercy will never again be reddened by the brand of the bigot, nor stained with the blood of the martyr.

The period which occupies these volumes has engaged the attention of many writers.

The sixteenth century is justly styled the *Age of Persecution*: individual experience was at that time very eventful; and contemporaries, in their private memoirs, have left abundant materials for examination and inquiry. The century that followed was the *Age of Controversy*. Numerous works upon ecclesiastical history then made their appearance; and the auto-biographies of the preceding times beheld a progeny of histories of particular events, persons, and parties.

But those histories were written in a controversial spirit; and it is therefore presumable that an account, divested of all theological discussion, would be both useful and interesting.

The object of this work is to give a clear detail of the circumstances connected with the troubles generally called *the religious wars of France*. Those events are interwoven with our own history, and are frequently referred to in the present day. Among the many works which relate to the Huguenots, there is scarcely one that comprises the whole in a connected narrative; and not one, in the English language at least, that is exclusively historical.

The facts prove (and, therefore, the assertion is not partial) that the church of Rome both instigated and promoted the persecutions of the Huguenots. If we compare the preaching of the Reformation in England with its introduction into France, we cannot fail to observe, that though the circumstances of those kingdoms were widely different the consequences were the same; similar in character, though differing in degree. The priests were unwilling to resign their authority, and persecutions arose in both countries; but, happily, the struggle which our forefathers had to maintain was shortened by the difference between Henry VIII. and the Pope, and the circumstances which sprang out of that quarrel. Had so powerful a stimulus operated on the sovereigns of France, the Vatican could not have had such influence on their decisions; and the troubles of that country would have been settled without difficulty, at any rate without the delay of half a century.

Paris, March, 1829.

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HISTORY OF THE HUGUENOTS.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

Containing an Outline of the early History of the Reformation; Account of the Paulicians, Vaudois, Lollards, Hussites, &c. &c.

AN almost general consent has fixed upon the commencement of the sixteenth century as the era of the Reformation; of the establishment of the Protestant religion: but its origin is of a far more ancient date; although the invention of printing, which took place about fifty years previous to that period, enabled Luther and Calvin to triumph over obstacles which had paralysed the energies of Wickliffe, and brought Huss and Jerome of Prague to the stake.

So early as the year 660, an inhabitant of Mananalis, near Samosata, named Constantine, having obtained a copy of the New Testament, devoted himself to the study of it, as the rule of his faith. The society which he formed took the name of Paulicians, from the circumstance of their endeavouring closely to imitate Saint Paul: they went so far as to assume the names of the apostle's companions; and as a similar practice had been adopted by the Manichæans in the third century, that epithet was applied to them, and they were soon doomed to experience the persecutions with which that sect had been visited. The Paulicians, however, condemned the opinions of the Manichæans, and the application of the term was considered an act of injustice.

Their form of worship was very simple, and the unceremonious manner with which they freed themselves from relics, images, and saint worship, bears a great resemblance to the Reformation preached by Knox. As novelty captivates the multitude, it is not surprising that Constantine, who assumed the name of Sylvanus, beheld an increase of his followers. He pursued his apostolical career for twenty-seven years, when he fell a victim to persecution. The most cruel decrees were issued against him and his flock; and one Simeon was sent from Constantinople, armed with every power to reclaim the wanderers and punish their leader. The unfortunate Constantine was placed in front of his disciples, who were commanded by Simeon to murder their spiritual teacher, as the price of their own pardon: but, with the exception of an individual named Justus, they all refused to perpetrate so foul a crime.

One circumstance, however, renders this persecution very remarkable: Simeon, whose commission was to destroy or bring back the Paulicians, himself adopted their opinions, and after putting their leader to death, became a martyr for their

cause. They endured persecutions during a period of one hundred and fifty years, but were roused to revolt in 845. Carbeas was their leader; his father had been impaled by the Catholic inquisitors, and a desire to be avenged of that circumstance might urge him on, as well as the wrongs of his fellow worshippers. Being joined by five thousand of his brethren, he renounced all connexion with Rome; and sought and obtained the protection of the Saracens. The city of Tephric, in Armenia, then became the head-quarters of the Paulicians, and a war was maintained against the Eastern emperors till 880. Their society, without a leader, remained scattered among the mountains till 970, when John Zimisces conducted a number of them to Thrace, whither some Paulicians had emigrated during the persecution in the seventh century. They were joined by numbers of the Bulgarians; established themselves in Macedonia, Epirus, Croatia, and Dalmatia; and in course of time spread into Italy and France.*

Gregory VII. was elevated to the papal throne in 1073: he is well known in history as Pope Hildebrand, and a more audacious, proud, and fiery priest, was never elected to that office. Under such a pontificate, it can be readily imagined that the disciples of St. Paul would meet with that sort of treatment most likely to prevent the publication of their opinions; their existence, therefore, as a society was kept secret, and we hear no more of the Paulicians. But Gregory's conduct towards the emperor Henry IV., and the insolence of his decrees, raised such a storm against him, that he was forced to flee from Rome, and died at Salerno.† The avarice and despotism of the priests, the corruption of their manners, and the grossness of the superstitions which were rapidly increasing with every succeeding council, all combined to prepare the minds of many for embracing a purer form of worship, whenever it should be held out for their adoption.

The clergy were so much detested by all classes during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, that, according to an unquestionable authority, it was common, in condemning an action, to say, "I would rather be a priest than have done it."‡

An attempt to enforce the law of celibacy on the clergy, was the means of keeping alive this germ of the Reformation. Not long before Gregory's death, several ecclesiastics of Milan refused to put away their wives. They withdrew from the

* See Appenau, No. I.

† 24th May, 1085. Bayle, art. *Gregory VII.* and Turretin, *Hist. Eccles.*

‡ D. Vaissette, *Hist. de Languedoc*, vol. iii. p. 129.

communion of Rome, and held assemblies in a place called Patara. Their numbers increased very considerably, and they formed that society known by the several names of the Vaudois, Waldenses, and Albigenses. The fact of Peter Valdo, a rich citizen of Lyons, devoting his time and property to comforting the poor, and circulating the Scriptures, has caused an idea that he was their founder; but erroneously, for he flourished in 1170, and the term *Vaudès* occurs in a book written in the year 1100.* The epithet Manichæans was also applied to them by their enemies, but without a shadow of reason, for their confession of faith, which is given by Lampe in his Church History, is pure protestantism, and would have obtained the approbation of Calvin or Beza. That their morals were good, we have the testimony of an anonymous writer, reported by Gretzer, a Jesuit, who laments that the clergy should give such examples of pride, avarice, incontinence, anger, envy and drunkenness, because it makes them (the Vaudois) place more faith in their heresiarchs, who give them good examples of humility, chastity, sobriety, peace, brotherly love, and other virtues.†

Popery, uniform in its hatred of every attempt to restore Christianity to its original simplicity, was not backward in hurling its thunders at these unoffending people. The third council of Lateran was held in 1179, under Alexander III.: the twenty-seventh canon of that council calls upon all princes to wage war against them, and promises indulgence to those who obey the call, while a severe curse is threatened against "whoever shall give any of them shelter, protect them on his estates, or have any commerce with them." The persecution which followed tended only to increase their zeal, and their dispersion caused a great dissemination of their doctrines; their opinions spread over Languedoc and Provence, and the Pyrenees at last became the limits of the reformed church.

In the year 1198, Lothaire, son of the Count of Signia, was elected Pope, and took the title of Innocent III. Matthew Paris says of him, that he was the proudest and most ambitious of all mortals, and the history of his pontificate verifies the assertion. He gave orders for conferences to be held in the canton of Albi and other parts inhabited by these heretics, with a view to lead them back to orthodoxy: but finding persuasions ineffectual, he sent two legates in 1204, to reduce them by violence and terror. Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse, felt indignant at a foreign power setting up a tribunal in his dominions. The sufferings of his grandfather during the crusades had destroyed in him that blind and infatuated obedience to the see of Rome which had induced the companion of Godfrey of Bouillon to gather barren laurels on the Syrian shore. He therefore paid no attention to the general call, and was so far from joining in the persecution, that he afforded an asylum to the sufferers. Nothing more was wanting for his denunciation as a heretic: and from that time, the church waited only for a favourable opportunity of wreaking her vengeance upon him, for his boldness in daring to hesitate when she required his aid, and for his impiety in showing compassion to those whom she had doomed to misery.

The Count of Toulouse was still desirous of avoiding a rupture with the holy see, and took

skilful measures of moderation, to heal the differences which had been made known. But Peter Castelnau, who was the pope's chief legate at the time, conducted himself in such a manner as to prevent any kind of reconciliation; he was proud, inflexible, and averse to every concession. He threatened Raymond in his own dominions; and required him to proscribe his own subjects. The count, disgusted with his behaviour, and indignant at his demands, sent him away: as he was returning to Rome, he was assassinated, and Innocent, resolved to avenge his legate's death on Raymond, put his estates under an interdict.* The clergy, docile instruments of the pontifical power, called on the King of France to assist the church. Philip Augustus, on his side, was well pleased at having an opportunity of confiscating the domains of the Count of Toulouse: he raised four thousand men at arms, whom he sent into Languedoc, and authorised the preaching of a crusade in his kingdom.

The approach of more than fifty thousand crusaders, who were in arms, and ready to destroy every one of his subjects, alarmed Raymond: he endeavoured to allay the storm which was ready to burst over him, by telling the legate, that he was willing to make a public penance. He appeared in his shirt at the door of a church, and made a solemn abjuration of his errors. The legate passed his stole over his neck, and drew him to the altar, where he promised entire obedience to the court of Rome, and was relieved from his excommunication, on his engaging to fight against his own subjects. The crusaders then ravaged Languedoc, and put every thing to fire and sword. At Beziers alone thirty thousand persons are said to have been killed by the crusaders, under Montfort, Earl of Leicester; and seven thousand persons who had taken refuge in the churches, were not allowed the benefit of the sanctuary, respected for every crime at this period, but were cruelly put to the sword.†

Wherever the Vaudois were seized, they were burnt alive; and many were murdered who had fled to England and Germany. It is difficult to describe the horrors of this continued massacre; the fanaticism of an ignorant soldiery was worked upon, to make them think they were acting in a meritorious manner; but what language can be strong enough to characterise the horrible councils of Rome—of that church which arrogates to itself the attribute of infallibility, and which not only excited this persecution, but canonised two monsters, who were the most active in the work of murder and devastation? They were Dominick Gusman, and Francis d'Assise, who each of them founded an order of monks called after their respective names. The Dominicans have zealously imitated their founder, and we find that the offices of the Inquisition have almost always been filled by them. "I can never admit," says Pasquier in a letter to the President Brulart, "that the material arms of Montfort would have overcome the Albigenses, without the holy exhortations and preachings of St. Dominic, who was with him throughout the expedition."‡

* 15th Jan. 1208. Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* liv. 76. Du Hailan, *Hist. de France*, liv. 10, p. 510. Pierre de Vaulx Cer nay, *Hist. des Albigeois*. Dan Vaissette, *Hist. de Languedoc*, vol. iii. p. 153.

† In July 1209. Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* liv. 76. De Thou, liv. 6.

‡ *Œuvres*, vol. ii. p. 266.

* Appendix, No. II.

† Lampe, *Hist. Eccles.* p. 246–249.

While Languedoc was being laid waste, Raymond went to find the pontiff at Rome, and entreated him to put an end to the work of destruction. The pope sent orders to the legate to suspend hostilities, but his commands obtained no attention. Raymond then became indignant, and hastened to join the ranks of the Albigenses, invoking the support of the Emperor Otho, then suffering papal excommunication. That emperor paid no attention to his prayer, but Peter II. of Arragon, his kinsman, came with an army to his assistance.* At the siege of Toulouse in 1218, Simon Montfort, the barbarous chief of the crusaders, was killed, by which event Raymond was enabled to recover most of his estates. But it was not till six years afterwards that the pope could be induced to restore the title to the family; for he had made the cruel Montfort Count of Toulouse, during Raymond's excommunication. The latter part of the thirteenth century was occupied with the struggles between the Guelph and Ghibeline factions, which, added to another crusade in the East, left the Vaudois in comparative obscurity, and their persecution abated.

John Wickliffe, an Englishman, was the next who entered the lists for the cause of the Reformation. His first attacks were directed in 1360, against the abuses of the mendicant friars; he afterwards preached against the errors of popery in general. He earnestly recommended the study of the Scriptures, and translated the Bible into English. The powerful protection which he received from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, alone preserved him from the severe punishment which the enraged monks would have inflicted on him. He died at Lutterworth, on the 31st of December, 1387; thirty years after, by order of the council of Constance, his body was dug up from the grave, burned, and the ashes thrown into a neighbouring stream. His followers were called Lollards or Wickliffites, and they very soon began to experience persecution. Lord Cobham, who had professed their doctrines, was hung up by a chain round his waist, and was burned or rather roasted to death. About the same time, John Huss and Jerome of Prague were burned alive for the same opinions: Huss had obtained a safe conduct from the emperor, before he would answer the summons to appear; but the council of Constance refused to recognise it, declaring, "that faith need not be kept with heretics."†

Although it is not clear that any of the Vaudois were able to establish themselves in England; it can hardly be doubted, that a considerable portion of Wickliffe's heresy was acquired when he was sent by Edward III. on different missions to the popes of Rome and Avignon, for at that time, the church had two infallible heads. At that period, the unfortunate Vaudois were burned whenever they were taken; and their opinions having been once described, his acute intellect was thenceforth occupied in inquiring whether they were not right, and if the church herself was not wallowing in heresy. A great many of the Vaudois took refuge in Bohemia, and different parts of Germany; and when Wickliffe's preaching and writings

were made known, they rallied, and resumed existence as a reformed church.

A war ensued, which lasted thirteen years. The Hussites were headed by John Zisca, who led them to repeated victories, which, we must confess, were accompanied at times with cruelty and fanaticism.* He died in 1424, and was succeeded by Procopius, who was equally serviceable to them. By a well-timed concession respecting the use of the cup by the laity in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the church of Rome regained its authority over a considerable number of the Hussites. The rest remained firm, and in the succeeding age were among the first to join the followers of Martin Luther.

There were still some Vaudois in France in the reign of Louis XII., and those of Cabrières and Merindole sent deputies to plead their cause before that king: they obtained an audience, in spite of the opposition of the clergy. Having declared that they received and adopted the Scriptures, the Apostles' Creed, the Decalogue, and the Sacraments, but that they did not believe in the pope, nor in his doctrines, the king sent persons to inquire on the spot if their assertions were true. The commissioners, on their return, reported, "that in those parts, baptism was administered; the articles of faith, and the ten commandments were taught; the Sabbath was solemnly observed; and the word of God expounded: and that as to the fornications and poisonings of which they were accused, there was no instance of it to be found." The king, on hearing this, declared, "these people are much better than myself, and all the rest of my Catholic subjects."‡

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the chair of Saint Peter was filled by three popes in succession, (for the pontificate of Pius III. lasted only twenty-six days,) whose characters, though widely different, contributed to discredit the holy see, and to ensure success to the preachers of a reformation. Roderic Borgia, who assumed the title of Alexander VI., is so well known in history, that his very name inspires horror; he died in 1503. Julian de Rovero, or Julius II. after procuring his election by presents and promises, filled Europe with wars and factions. To such a degree did he annoy Louis XII., King of France, that although styled the eldest son of the church, he resolved on attempting to destroy the papacy.‡ So undisguised was this pope's passion for arms, that when Michael Angelo, who was employed in making a statue of him, asked if he would not like to have a book placed in his hand, he answered, "Rather a sword, for I should know better how to make use of it."§

Julius II. died in February, 1513, and was succeeded by the Cardinal John de Medicis, who took the name of Leo X.;‖ a man insatiate of luxury

* Lenfant, *Hist. de la Guerre des Hussites et du Concile de Bâle*.

† Lampe, *Hist. Eccles.* p. 291.

‡ Louis XII. had a medal struck with this inscription: "*Perdam Babylonis nomen.*"—Turretin, *Hist. Eccles.*

§ Armand Saintes, *Portraits Historiques des Papes*.

‖ Guicciardini, Paulus Jovius, and Fra Paolo Sarpi have each described the character of this pope; and they all differ in their account of his ruling passion. Guicciardini represents him as influenced by political craft; Paulus Jovius declares pride and vanity to have operated on his resolutions; and Fra Paolo describes him as a voluptuary, passionately fond of pageantry, and willing at all times to sacrifice the interests of the church, in order to gratify his own desires. It is possible that all three characters may be true, if his life be examined at different periods.

* Peter of Arragon was killed at the siege of Muret in 1213. Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* liv. 77. Du Haillan, liv. 10.

† John Huss suffered 15th July, 1415. Jerome of Prague, 30th May, 1416. Lord Cobham in 1418.

and splendour: when he was asked, in what style he would be treated; he answered, "As a great prince." Highly gifted by nature, he became the chief ornament of his own court, and the acting statesman of his own cabinet. He was a great patron of letters, and thus promoted the means of attacking superstition;* he was a great friend to the arts, and was by that means led into expences, which brought about the memorable sale of indulgences for the replenishment of his treasury. The Dominican monks, who were commissioned to sell them, abused their trust, and defeated its very object; instead of announcing them as pardons proper for the remission of penance enjoined by the church, they preached them as celestial favours, which by themselves abolished the most enormous crimes; and at the suggestion of Cardinal Pucci, the power of the indulgences was extended even to the dead, whose souls were released from purgatory directly after the money was paid.†

The people of Germany received these pardon-mongers in a manner very different from the inhabitants of Italy, France, and Spain; they had suffered too much from the quarrels between the emperors and popes, to entertain much veneration for the Roman hierarchy. Besides, every one who was sufficiently qualified by education, occupied himself with the discussions which had followed the preaching and the persecution of the Hussites; and but little was requisite to excite a violent feeling against the indulgences.

Among the preachers who exerted themselves to display the folly of the indulgences, and the profaneness of the Dominican monks, the most conspicuous was Martin Luther, a young theologian of Wittenberg in Saxony: his bold philippics struck them into absolute discredit. Had the Dominicans been withdrawn from Germany, the discussion would have been forgotten, and Luther's name would have been scarcely known; but the loss of what had been reckoned upon as sure profit made the Dominicans outrageous, and abuse was directed against the preacher by all who had expected to share in the spoil. Having once excited the hatred of the Dominicans, and rendered himself obnoxious to the Vatican, Luther could easily perceive that his only chance of safety was in a complete victory, in a thorough reform. He was well acquainted with the state of Rome under Alexander VI.; he knew to what extent every kind of vice was encouraged by the example of the superior clergy; and he boldly attacked the papacy with all the force of his satire and his indignation.

Leo X. receiving the homage of men of science, and beholding the great improvements which his fostering care had produced in the fine arts, at first would hardly condescend to notice the audacity of this monk, whose object was to overturn his government; to free modern Europe from rites more superstitious than those of Paganism; and, in a word, to restore Christianity to Christendom. But when the pontiff found that Luther's preach-

ing produced conviction in the minds of several princes, and that the old heresy of the Hussites was rekindled by him, he summoned Luther to appear at his tribunal, and give an account of his conduct. The unhappy fate of Savonarola, who was burned for having expatiated on the vices of Alexander VI. was too recent an example for Luther not to take warning by; he refused to appear, and proceeded in his labours with the more earnestness, as the pope had become his declared enemy.

It is possible, that if the Augustine monks had been appointed to sell the indulgences instead of the Dominicans, the former community would not have been the first to attack their utility; and consequently Luther would not have been raised from privacy, to perform the eminent part he afterwards undertook. But to assume that if Luther had remained quiet, the Reformation would not have been preached, is an hypothesis which can never be acceded to; and it is therefore no argument against Protestantism, to assert that disappointed avarice was its principal cause.* The numerous body of learned men who were living at that time could not all have remained silent; and the only difference would have been a trifling postponement of the date, and a change in the name of the Reformer. Indeed we are informed that Zuinglius commenced preaching in Switzerland in 1516, the year before Luther began his attack.†

The history of Luther's labours does not belong to our subject; he is too well known as the leading Reformer, to require any further account of him; a mere outline of the progress of his doctrines is therefore all that is necessary to form a just opinion of the succeeding history. We shall mark their establishment in Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, and Denmark, Great Britain, Holland and France; and when once the original Christian church is traced in a chain of descent from the Paulicians to the Vaudois, Lollards, Hussites, Lutherans, and Huguenots, our attention will be confined to the long and arduous struggle which the French Protestants had to maintain, not only for their social and religious existence, but also for the preservation of their lives.

1. Germany being the scene of Luther's operations, it is natural that his doctrines should produce an earlier effect in that country, than in any other; we have already seen that he was cited to Rome, but refused to go. Having a great friend in the Elector of Saxony, interest was made that he should be allowed to answer the accusation in Germany: he appeared, in consequence, at Augsburg, before Cardinal Cajetan, the pope's legate. As Luther refused to renounce his opinions, Leo X. issued two bulls, one to confirm and recommend the indulgences, the other to condemn Luther's doctrine as impious and heretical; at the same time ordering his books to be burned, and Luther himself to be excommunicated and proscribed, if he did not return to his duty within two months.‡ Luther appealed to a general council, and publicly

* Even Cardinal Pallavicini refutes this; for he states that it was not customary to employ the Augustine monks on such occasions: the Franciscans, Dominicans and Teutonic knights having had that privilege, without any claim being put in by the Augustines. *Hist. Concilii Tridentini*, lib. 1., c. 3.

† Turretin, *Hist. Eccles.* Besides which there is the preaching of John Weselius, or de Wesel, a Fleming, whose doctrines were condemned in 1478.

‡ Dated, 15 June, 1520. *Hist. du Concile de Trente*, p. 10.

* He was so anxious that his briefs should be well written, and free from the barbarisms which abounded in those of his predecessors, that he took for his secretaries Bembo and Sadolet, the two best writers of the age. Varillas, *Hist. sec. de la Maison de Medicis*, liv. 6.

† *Histoire du Concile de Trente*, par Fra Paolo Sarpi, p. 4, traduction de Houssaye. Edit. 4to. Amsterdam, 1686.

burned the Pope's bull at Wittenberg. In 1521, Luther attended the diet at Worms, having previously been furnished with a safe conduct. He was sent away in safety, but immediately after was proscribed, and would certainly have been overpowered by his enemies, but for the protection of the elector Frederic, who concealed him nine months in the castle of Westberg. On his enlargement, he prosecuted his preaching and writing with great success. His followers were first called Protestants in 1529, when the diet of Spire having forbidden the abolition of the mass, several princes protested against the decree, and formed the league of Smalcalde. That appellation now includes all who protest against the authority of the pope and the councils, whatever may be their particular tenets. After a long struggle, the treaty of Passau, decreed in July 1552, and confirmed at Augsburg in 1555, assured tranquillity to the Protestants, who by that time amounted to one half of the German population. Martin Luther died 18th of February, 1546, aged sixty-three years.

2. Switzerland was prepared by Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, and others, to embrace with eagerness the Reformation. Bernardin Samson, a Franciscan monk, was employed to sell the indulgences in that country; and his avidity and impudence outdid Tetzel, the Dominican, who had excited Luther's indignation in Saxony. He promised the remission of every crime, whatever it might be, to those who brought him their money; and declared that such was his power over purgatory, that at his wish alone the souls were released.* The whole country was in a ferment, and the monks complained of the preaching of Zuinglius; the senate thought it best to have the case publicly argued; and Zuinglius maintained his opinion by the Scriptures in opposition to traditions, councils, &c. so that he overcame all opposition, and found himself supported by the magistracy of Zurich. This was in 1523. The reform made great progress: at first processions were prohibited; the tombs said to contain relics, &c. were afterwards opened, and their contents, which consisted of bones and rubbish, were buried; the images were then removed from the churches; and in April, 1525, the mass was abolished. The example of Zurich was followed by Berne, Bâle, Schaffhausen, St. Gall and Geneva; Fribourg, Soleure, and the small cantons, not only adhered to popery, but made war with Zurich and Berne. The Protestants were defeated at Cappel, the 11th of October, 1531, when Zuinglius was killed. His death was afterwards avenged, and, after a sanguinary struggle, all the cantons united in proclaiming toleration.

3. The Reformation was preached in Sweden by Olaus Petri, who had heard Luther in Germany. The change of religion was effected with great facility in this kingdom, as it was a question of independence rather than theology. Gustavus Vasa encouraged it, secretly at first, but when he found the clergy would not contribute a portion of their revenues towards the necessities of the state, he sent to Wittenberg for preachers to assist Olaus Petri: the Protestant religion was established by law in 1527. In Denmark, the opposition was very trifling; the sovereigns of that country, particularly Christian III., giving their protection to

the Lutheran preachers; but it was established in Denmark rather later than in Sweden, although introduced at the same time into both countries.

4. When Luther began to preach the Reformation, the throne of England was occupied by Henry VIII., a man whose abilities would have rendered him conspicuous, had he been born in a private station; as a king, he would have been memorable for his violence and rapacity, even if his reign had not been so much connected with this most important era of our history. The first news of Luther's attack on the church of Rome kindled his zeal to such a degree, that he wrote a Defence of the Seven Sacraments, for which he was rewarded by the pope with the title of *Defender of the Faith*.† But so liable are all men to yield to circumstances, when their interests or passions are concerned, that Henry, on the pope's refusing him a divorce, threw off his allegiance to the see of Rome, and declared himself head of the church in his own dominions. The ice being once broken, his impetuosity could not be restrained; he robbed the monasteries to raise funds for his extravagance, and attacked the papacy in every possible manner, because it thwarted his views; but the advantage which accrued to the Reformation was never contemplated by him. A well known writer has so ably defined his character and conduct, that I shall quote his words:‡ "The Reformation owed nothing to the good intentions of King Henry: he was only an instrument of it by accident; nor doth he appear, throughout his whole reign, to have had any other views than those of gratifying his insatiable love of power, cruelty, oppression, and other irregular appetites. But this kingdom, as well as many other parts of Europe, was at that time generally weary of the corruptions and impositions of the Roman court and church; and disposed to receive those doctrines which Luther and his followers had universally spread. Crammer, Cromwell, and others of the court, did secretly embrace the Reformation; and the king's abrogating the pope's supremacy, made the people in general run into the new doctrine with greater freedom, because they hoped to be supported in it by the authority and example of their prince, who disappointed them so far, that he made no other step, than rejecting the pope's supremacy as a clog upon his own power and passions, but retained every corruption besides, and became a cruel persecutor, as well of those who denied his own supremacy, as of all others who professed any Protestant doctrine. Neither hath anything disgusted me more in reading the histories of those times, than to see one of the worst princes of any age or country, celebrated as an instrument in that glorious work of the Reformation."

On his death, in January, 1547, the sceptre passed into the hands of his son, Edward VI., then only nine years of age. He had been educated as a Protestant, and had he lived to manhood, he would, in all probability, have perfected what his guardians had begun during his youth. But his premature death in July, 1553, allowed the bigotted venom of his sister Mary, who became queen, to wreak itself on the Protestants, and her reign of five years is one continued tale of blood. None have more cause to lament this reign than the

* Leo at the same time conferred *indulgence* on all who perused the king's work.—Pallavicini, lib. 2. c. 1.

† Swift, *Preface to the Bishop of Salisbury's Introduction*.

* Turretin, *Hist. Eccles.*

Roman Catholics, for the persecution she excited has left such a deep remembrance, that the popish religion has ever since been detested by the nation.

Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. by Anne Boleyn, would naturally encourage the Reformation when she succeeded to the crown. Her reign lasted forty-five years, and the Protestant religion was firmly established. The church of England combines some of Luther's doctrines, with others of Zuinglius and Calvin: the most eminent divines of the age were employed in organising the new church, and so careful were they to follow the doctrines of the Bible, that there are very few Protestant dissenters who do not approve of the thirty-nine articles, although they may reject the discipline and liturgy of the church.

5. In Scotland, like most countries, the priests would not resign their authority without a struggle, and the early preachers of the Reformation became martyrs. But the vehemence of John Knox, who received his notions from Calvin, added to the confusion which followed all the three marriages of Mary Queen of Scots, enabled the Reformers to effect a more complete change than had been made in England. In the latter country, the monarch directed the reform, in Scotland the people did it all; and that is sufficient to account for the difference.

6. The Netherlands, in addition to the effects of Luther's preaching, were excited to revolt by the tyranny of Philip II. and the cruelty of the Duke of Alva; the new doctrines had been received there in 1550, and the Lutherans were rather numerous at that time. After an arduous struggle, they not only succeeded in establishing the rights of conscience, but also obtained a national independence.

There remains yet to be described the preaching of the Reformation in France; and we approach the immediate subject of this history.

CHAPTER II.

The Reformation preached in France—The Huguenots, or Protestants, are persecuted by Francis I.—Massacres at Merindole and Cabrières.

At the eventful period which now occupies our attention, two illustrious women were very instrumental in the encouragement of the Reformation; they were Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, daughter of Lewis XII.; and Margaret, Queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I., and mother of the celebrated Jane d'Albret.

The Duchess of Ferrara, with a vigorous mind, indulged in the prevailing subject of inquiry, and listened with attention to the preachers of the new doctrines. But the vicinity of her husband's dominions to Rome, made him fearful of exciting the temporal, as well as the spiritual wrath of his neighbour, and the duchess was compelled to dissemble her sentiments during his life. When she became a widow, she resolved on returning to France; she resided at the castle of Montargis, not far from Paris; and in the midst of their persecution, she constantly afforded an asylum to the Huguenots.*

* Gibbon, *Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*; and Brantome, vol. i. p. 325.

The Queen of Navarre, without embracing openly the new opinions, contented herself for a long time with protecting the learned men of that party, and giving them shelter in her states from the cruel death which awaited them in France. By degrees, however, she changed her opinions so much, that the constable Montmorency, discoursing with Francis upon the means of extirpating heresy, had no hesitation in saying, "that if he wished it to be exterminated, he must begin with the court and his relatives, naming the queen, his sister." Francis answered, "Do not speak to me upon that matter, she loves me too well to think otherwise than I approve of."*

It was under such auspices that John Cauvin, or Calvin, began to preach the gospel. He was born at Noyon, in Picardy, in 1509, and was ordained a priest at sixteen years of age: he had received his religious instruction principally from a relation named Olevitane, who inhabited one of the valleys of Piedmont, and had translated the Scriptures into French in 1520. Bucer and Melancthon had visited France just before, and created a taste for reform.† A Protestant congregation was established at Meaux the following year, and the doctrines of the Huguenots‡ (the name by which they were subsequently called), made so much progress, that the clergy were alarmed, and made such representations to Francis I. that from being rather favourably inclined towards the Reformation, they persuaded him to become a cruel persecutor.

An edict against the heretics was published the 9th of June, 1523, and the congregation of Meaux was dispersed. Some fled to Metz, others to Switzerland, and their minister, John Leclerc, became a martyr: he was tortured in a most horrible manner, and his mangled body was then burned.

The Jesuit Fleury mentions this persecution, in the following unfeeling terms:—"From time to time some false prophet appeared upon the scene, to publish his fanaticism, or sound the disposition of the court. But repression was prompt: it cost dear to one Berquin of Arras; to Jean Leclerc, a wool-carder of Meaux;§ and to Jacques Pavane, a clothier of Boulogne, for having spoken under pretended inspiration. They were all burnt alive; and a dread of the fire silenced the spirit of several oracles. History mentions these despicable names, doubtless to perpetuate the reproach of their birth or their impiety, rather than to celebrate these vile founders of the Calvinistic church."||

These martyrdoms were followed by many others; and such havoc was made among the Huguenots, that an annual procession was instituted to render thanks to the Almighty that they had got rid of the heretics. It would be a painful task to give an account of the many examples of constancy on one side, and Satanic rage on the other; so numerous were the cases which occurred,

* Brantome, vol. i. p. 335 (*Vie de Margaret*).

† Maimbourg complains of these pretended doctors taking the insolent liberty of interpreting the Bible in a sense different from the Catholic church.—*Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 1, p. 10. Paris, 1682.

‡ See Appendix, No. III.

§ Leclerc was banished from Meaux for calling the pope *Antichrist*; he was burnt at Metz, in 1523, for breaking an image; Berquin suffered at Paris, 1529. Benoit, *Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. i. p. 8.

|| *Hist. du Cardinal de Tournon*, par le P. Charles Fleury, de la compagnie de Jésus, p. 215. Paris, 1728. This violent writer must not be confounded with Claude Fleury, author of the *Hist. Ecclésiastique*.

that to describe them would convert this work into a martyrology; one circumstance, however, cannot be passed in silence, as it shows what encouragement was personally afforded to the murderous zeal of the priests by Francis I. When Dymond Levoy was burned with five others in 1528, that king went bare-headed to witness the execution, and was accompanied by a procession of priests and monks.*

Francis, Cardinal de Tournon, Archbishop of Lyons, was at this period the king's principal adviser. He is celebrated as a negotiator and statesman, but especially as a persecutor. Born in 1489 at Tournon, in the Vivarais, he entered an Augustine monastery at the age of twelve; and in his twenty-eighth year was elevated to the archbishopric of Embrun. During the captivity of Francis I. he was frequently consulted on public affairs, and was commissioned to negotiate for that monarch's liberty: from that time he possessed the king's entire confidence. He passed successively to the sees of Bourges, Auch, and Lyons; and was raised to the dignity of cardinal in 1530.†

He was long employed in attempts to reconcile the King of England with the pope; and was subsequently engaged in negotiations with Charles V. But when the return of peace, in 1538, gave him leisure to attend to the internal affairs of France, all his efforts were devoted to the suppression of heresy; which object he pursued to the end of his life, although the decease of his patron Francis, deprived him of the means of entirely accomplishing it.

The influence of such a man was unfortunate for the Protestants, who were recovering from the consternation caused by the first persecution. The Queen of Navarre openly encouraged the Reformation, and gave the Protestant ministers a refuge in Bearn: she even appointed a Calvinist, named Roussel, to the bishopric of Oloron; and united her influence with that of the Duchess d'Estampes, to give the king a favourable impression of the reformed religion.‡ By their persuasions, Francis was induced to hear a sermon preached by Lecoq, curate of St. Eustache. He publicly professed Catholicism and a hatred of Luther; "but," observes Maimbourg, "he preached the doctrines of Zuinglius, and the king could not at first discern the venom concealed in his fine phrases." The cardinals of Lorraine § and Tournon compelled Lecoq to make a public recantation of his errors; but the Queen of Navarre was not discouraged; she extolled the merits of Melancthon, and persuaded the king to invite him to a conference with the French divines, upon the best means of restoring harmony in the church.||

Melancthon being renowned for learning and eloquence, the Catholic clergy were alarmed in the same degree that the Protestants were elated at the prospect of his visit. Tournon, however, succeeded in changing the king's opinions, by a scheme, described by Maimbourg, as worthy of immortality. He entered the royal apartment,

reading, or pretending to read, a work of St. Irenæus. Francis inquired what book engaged him, and the cardinal instantly directed his attention to a page, where Irenæus had given full scope to his feelings against heretics; showing that the apostles would not even frequent any public place where they were admitted. Tournon then expressed his grief that with such examples, the eldest son of the church should have sent for an heresiarch, the most celebrated of Luther's disciples. His observations produced the intended effect: Francis revoked the invitation of Melancthon; protested upon oath, that he would never desert the Catholic faith; and issued orders to prosecute the heretics with rigour. Upon which the learned father observes:—"This sudden and generous resolution was like a thunderbolt to the Protestants, who had no idea of such a reverse under the protection of the Queen of Navarre."*

In the meanwhile, Calvin was diligently employed in preaching at Bourges and Lignères; and it was not until the danger was most imminent that he retired from France. He took refuge in Italy with the Duchess of Ferrara, but persecution followed him, and he went into Germany. Passing through Geneva, in 1536, he was induced to remain there by the persuasions of William Farel, who, like himself, had been compelled to quit his native land, on account of his religion. Calvin became the head of the church at Geneva, and wrote there his *Christian Institutes*, which he dedicated to Francis I., imploring his compassion for the Protestants.† Cardinal Tournon represented to that monarch, that the dedication of such a work was an outrage on the royal majesty, and the religion of his ancestors. The book tended to increase, rather than to diminish the rage of persecution in the king's breast; influenced by the cruel suggestions of the clergy, he gave fresh orders for punishing the Calvinists wherever they could be found, and persons were employed to hunt after them: it was even declared a crime to pray in French.‡ Numbers of pious men and women were burned alive; and as the speeches delivered by the martyrs at the stake became a powerful means of conversion, measures were taken to prevent them from addressing the spectators.

Tournon's orders were rigorously executed. To use his biographer's expression, "it was as dangerous to converse in secret, as to discuss in public. Nothing escaped this great man, who seemed to multiply himself, in order to discover artifice or punish temerity; so that foreign princes were accustomed to say, that he alone was equal to an Inquisition in France."§

But cruel as was the general persecution of the Huguenots throughout France, it appears almost nothing compared with the massacre of the inhabitants of Merindole and Cabrières. They were the descendants of the ancient Vaudois, who had taken refuge in different countries, and amongst others in the mountains of Dauphiny; where they procured the means of subsistence by unwearied

* See Beza, D'Aubigné, and De Thou for an account of these martyrdoms. Even Maimbourg adds his testimony to the "rigours exercised against these pretended martyrs."—*Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. I.

† Biographie Universelle, art. Tournon.

‡ Mirapou, *Hist. des Troubles de Bearn*, p. 107.

§ John, Cardinal of Lorraine, brother of Claude, Duke of Guise.

|| Maimbourg, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 1. p. 26.

* Maimbourg, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 1. p. 29.

† The Abbé Anquetil, in his work entitled *Esprit de la Ligue*, considers this publication as the grand support of the heresy, for it systematized the doctrines of the Protestants, and enabled the different congregations to keep together, even if their minister were taken from them.

‡ Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 95.

§ Charles Fleury, *ut antea*, p. 214.

industry. Directly they heard of the Reformation in France, they declared the Huguenots to be their brethren; and the identity of their faith drew upon them the same kind of vengeance. They were summoned by the parliament of Aix on account of their religion, but were restrained from appearing by the imminent danger which would attend their compliance. It was then decreed that they should be exterminated as rebels, their goods confiscated, their houses destroyed, and that even the trees of their plantations should be dug up.* During the life of the President Chassanée this horrible sentence was not executed; but his successor, the Baron d'Oppède, obtained from Francis I. permission to carry it into execution, which he did with the troops returning from Italy; and to prevent the charge of having highly coloured this tale of woe, the account is taken from a Catholic writer, who will not be suspected of exaggeration.†

"Uninterrupted executions, however, did not arrest the progress of the seduction; the innovators continued to increase, although the sword of justice was constantly hanging over their heads; at length, in 1545, Francis I. gave permission to employ the aid of arms against them. It was granted at the solicitation of the Baron D'Oppède, first president of the parliament of Aix, a violent and sanguinary man, who revived against the Vaudois, assembled in the valleys of the Alps on the side of Provence, a decree of that parliament given five years before. Everything was horrible and cruel, says the historian De Thou, in the sentence pronounced against them, and everything was still more horrible and more cruel in the execution. Twenty-two towns or villages were burned or sacked with an inhumanity, of which the history of the most barbarous people hardly presents examples. The unfortunate inhabitants, surprised during the night, and pursued from rock to rock by the light of the fires which consumed their dwellings, frequently escaped one snare only to fall into another; the pitiful cries of the old men, the women, and the children, far from softening the hearts of the soldiers, mad with rage like their leaders, only set them on following the fugitives, and pointed out the places whither to direct their fury. Voluntary surrender did not exempt the men from execution, nor the women from excesses of brutality, which make nature blush. It was forbidden under pain of death, to afford them any refuge. At Cabrières, one of the principal towns of that canton, they murdered more than 700 men in cold blood; and the women who had remained in their houses, were shut up in a barn, filled with straw, to which they set fire: those who attempted to escape by the window were driven back with swords and pikes; finally, according to the tenor of the sentence, the houses were razed, the woods cut down, and the fruit trees pulled up; and in a short time this country, so fertile and so populous, became uninhabited and uncultivated. Historians agree that on this occasion the orders of Francis were exceeded; and many add that this prince, when dying, enjoined his son severely to punish the guilty."‡

* Decree, dated 18th November, 1540. *Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 2.

† Abbé Anquetil, *Espirit de la Ligue*, vol. i. p. 14, et seq.

‡ Mainbourg, in describing this massacre, says, that above 3000 persons were killed, and 900 houses were plundered, and then destroyed. *Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 2.

De Thou, in his history, states more than has been related by the Abbé Anquetil, for he says that previous to permitting this horrible affair, Francis commanded William Du Bellay, to make inquiry respecting the doctrines and morals of these people, and that he had sufficient evidence of their innocence and piety, with the exception of their holding in horror the superstitions of the church of Rome. But what was the result of this inquiry and report? only a delay of three months, which was allowed them to amend themselves in; with the threat, that if they still persisted in their error at the expiration of that period, the punishment would be inflicted on them.*

The following account of this persecution is from a source beyond suspicion—a report to the *Académie des Inscriptions*, on the preliminaries of the execution at Cabrières and Merindole.† The Vaudois of the latter place had petitioned the parliament of Aix. The perusal of this document, observes the reporter, brought tears into our eyes; we notice at the commencement, a confession entirely Calvinistic; such doctrine having been either derived from Valdo, or communicated by the preachers of Geneva. The Vaudois offered to renounce all opinions contrary to the Scriptures; but the parliament replied, that as they were notorious heretics, they must abjure; for there was no alternative.

The parliament was anxious to be spared the severe measures which would be forced upon them, if the Vaudois did not change their opinions: an endeavour was made to soften their obstinacy, but in vain. Among them were several Catholics, who were involved in their fate. The report states, "God offered to spare a criminal city, if ten righteous persons were to be found there; but a greater number of orthodox Christians could not save Merindole. Unfortunately the president Chassanée died about this time (1542). His death did not appear natural; it was believed to be the work of those who meditated the sanguinary execution, of which Oppède was the principal instrument."

The people of Cabrières were subjects of the pope; while their brethren of Merindole were engaged in parleys about abjuration, they resorted to arms; and drove up the papal troops to the gates of Avignon. The pontiff implored assistance from the King of France, who ordered the Count de St. Grignan to employ the military against the rebels.‡

The excesses committed were fully substantiated on the trial before the Parliament of Paris, which occupied no less than fifty sittings.§ The Baron d'Oppède's defence, which is deemed an extraordinary specimen of eloquence, admits the accusation in full, but justifies the deed by the Divine command, and casts the entire responsibility on the precise orders of the king:¶ he was acquitted; but Guérin, advocate-general of the parliament of Aix, was beheaded at the Grève. He had acted under the instructions of Cardinal Tournon;¶ but the terrible influence of that ecclesiastic had been greatly diminished in the interval previous to the proceedings; or he would unquestionably have prevented

* De Thou, liv. 6.

† Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xviii. p. 375.

‡ Ibid. p. 383.

§ Cause deferred to Parliament of Paris. 17th March, 1551.

¶ Mainbourg, *ut antea*, liv. 2.

¶ Charles Fleury, p. 252.

their being instituted. Justice was demanded of Francis, immediately after the commission of such atrocities; but the representations of the parliament of Aix, induced him to give a letter of approval, with orders to continue the prosecution of the remaining heretics. And it was only the approach of death, that caused him to enjoin a scrupulous inquiry upon his son.*

Such was the condition of the French Protestants at the death of Francis I. which took place the 31st of March, 1547; he was succeeded by his son Henry II.; but so divided was the court at his accession to the throne, that the Protestants obtained considerable support and protection. Many nobles, and even some princes of the blood, gave them countenance; the motives of most of whom might have originated in court intrigue, but the greater part finished by embracing the Protestant religion from absolute conviction.

CHAPTER III.

Reign of Henry II.—Divided State of his Court—Revolt in Guyenne—Peace between England and France.

ON the accession of Henry II. everything seemed to promise a happy and a prosperous reign; the kingdom was at peace, and the finances were in good order; the state being not only free from debts, but having a considerable sum in the treasury.† The new king was also of an age to induce an idea of experience in him; especially as his father had early initiated him into the secrets of government, and had introduced him to his counsils. Added to this the state of the forces was satisfactory; the troops being numerous, well disciplined, and commanded by skilful generals.

The expectations, however, in which the nation had indulged, were soon reduced to nothing. The court became very soon divided into four parties; and their mutual opposition and jealousy produced the long series of wars, with which France was torn during the remainder of the sixteenth century.

The party first in importance was that of the constable Montmorency, who had been exiled from court by the late king, but who enjoyed the friendship of the young monarch, and possessed very great influence. Francis I. had cautioned his son against recalling the constable;‡ but Henry paid no respect to his father's advice, for the first thing he did was to send a courier to Montmorency, ordering his return. The constable mounted his horse the moment the courier reached him, and soon arrived at the palace, where he was kindly received by the king, who conversed with him for full two hours in his chamber.§ Such marks of favour were enough to make his friendship sought by many of the nobility, and even some of the princes of the blood, who loaded him with their civilities.

The second party, which was equally powerful with the former, if the king's favour be not taken

into the account, was that of the princes of Lorraine, generally called the Guises.* Francis I. had viewed the whole of their conduct with a suspicious eye: he considered the pitch to which their ambition might carry them, and the subsequent history of France has justified his fears;† for he is said to have warned his son that their great fortune would create troubles in France.‡ Henry II. was therefore bound to keep them out of power as much as possible. This party had the advantage of having two leaders, who were constantly in good intelligence, because they could not become each others rival; the Cardinal of Lorraine was at work about the court, while the Duke of Guise was in the field, and as the defence of the Catholic religion was the plea for every act of this party, the clergy were all engaged in its support.

Diana of Poitiers, Duchess of Valentinois, the king's mistress, was at the head of a third party.§ She possessed great influence over the king by her beauty and her wit; but it does not appear that she abused her power. Brantome says of her, that she was a very good Catholic, and bore a great hatred to those of the religion.||

The fourth party was that of the queen, Catherine de Medicis, whose character could barely show itself in the lifetime of her husband, but who afterwards possessed supreme influence in the government of France, during the successive reigns of her three sons. She surpassed Machiavelli himself in political craft: by constantly adjusting the equilibrium of the contending parties, she prevented each from overwhelming the other; and by prolonging the sanguinary struggle, she extended the duration of her own power.

These four parties were eagerly looking out for the means of increasing their influence, and enriching themselves and their connexions; and to effect their object, they made use of every kind of manœuvre to deceive the king, whose authority was in a great measure laid aside during the struggle.¶ The constable plainly saw that his only strength lay in coinciding with the Duchess of Valentinois, and flattering the king's passion for her. The dismissal of Cardinal Tournon, and other ministers of Francis I., was the consequence.

A very few months had elapsed, before the internal peace of the kingdom was disturbed by a revolt in Guyenne and Saintonge. Some violence had accompanied the collection of the taxes in those provinces, and the people made loud complaints. No attention being paid to them, their complaints were changed into threats, which soon produced a rebellion. The public indignation was very great, and fifty thousand men were assembled, and fought several actions with the

* Claude of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, had six sons, viz. 1. Francis, who succeeded him in 1550 as Duke of Guise: he is sometimes called Prince of Joinville, sometimes Count d'Aumale. 2. Charles, Archbishop of Rheims and Cardinal of Lorraine. 3. Claude, created Duke of Aumale in 1547. 4. Louis, Cardinal of Guise. 5. Francis, Grand Prior. 6. René, Marquis d'Elbeuf.

† The following quatrain was very common in France:

*Le roy Francois ne faillit point,
Quand il prédit que ceux de Guise,
Mettroient ses enfans en pourpoint
Et tous ses sujets en chemise.*

See *Mém de Condé*, and *Satyre Menippée*.

‡ Davila, liv. i. traduction de Baudoin, 12mo., Paris, 1666.

§ De Thou, liv. 3.

|| Brantome, vol. vii. p. 11. (*Vie de Henri II.*)

¶ Villerleville, vol. i. p. 293, et seq.

* Maimbourg, *ut supra*.

† Brantome, vol. vii. p. 2.

‡ The cause of this dislike was Montmorency's interfering when the Cardinal Tournon recommended Francis to make Charles V. sign a promise to give up the Milanese. The constable contended that the emperor's word was sufficient. Villerleville, vol. i. p. 284. Fleury, *Hist. du C. Tournon*, p. 184.

§ Brantome, vol. vii. p. 147. Vie de Coligny, p. 79.

king's troops. The magistrates and the parliament of Bordeaux succeeded in calming the tumult in that quarter, and thus saved that great city from the horrors of pillage. But in other parts the insurrection was quelled with more difficulty. Moneins, the king's lieutenant in Dauphiny, was killed by the insurgents. Montmorency represented to the king, how necessary it was to make some severe examples, and by the most rigorous justice prevent any repetition of such disorders.* Two divisions of the army in consequence marched towards these provinces; one was commanded by Francis of Lorraine, afterwards Duke of Guise; the severe constable himself commanded the other. The former commander exercised some clemency, and punished only the leaders of the sedition; but Montmorency made preparations for the most ample vengeance. The inhabitants of Bordeaux were terrified at his approach, and sent deputies to try to soften him; they offered him the keys of the city, which he refused to receive at their hands. "Begone," said he, "with your keys, I will open your gates with mine, (meaning his cannons); I will have you all hanged; I will teach you how to rebel against your king, and to kill his lieutenant and governor."†

The erection of a tribunal of blood, was the consequence of Montmorency's arrival at Bordeaux. Executions took place without intermission, and a dreadful number of the inhabitants were burned alive or hanged. Bordeaux was treated like a town taken by assault by a foreign army; the bells were taken from the churches to make cannon; the Hotel-de-Ville was demolished; and a heavy contribution levied on the inhabitants. The constable's cruelty was not however satiated by ruining one great city; he ravaged every district which had participated in the revolt, and exercised his vengeance on those towns, which had even been visited by the other division of the army.‡

While the domestic peace of France was thus affected by revolt, Germany was the scene of a violent struggle. The Protestants had formed an union called the League of Smalcalde, and the Emperor Charles V. had entertained fears, lest he should be compelled to come to terms with the Lutheran party. The battle of Muhlburg, which was fought the 4th of April, 1547, put an end to the war, by the victory which he gained over that body. During the reign of Francis I. the rivalry between that king and the emperor became the motive of considerable assistance in favour of the German Protestants. Henry on succeeding to the crown of France, had sent Vielleville to London, to propose a peace with Edward VI.; that failing, he was afterwards absorbed in a plan for taking Boulogne from the English; and by discontinuing the reinforcements for the Protestants of Germany he insured success to the emperor. Henry commenced the siege of Boulogne in the summer of 1549; but Charles V., having settled his own affairs, was ready to oppose him, in his quality of guardian of the young King of England; and he remonstrated with Henry II. against the siege of Boulogne, which was raised in consequence. That town was afterwards redeemed from the English for four hundred thousand crowns, besides the loss of all the expenses of

a long siege. A treaty of peace was then concluded between England and France, in which it was stipulated that Edward VI. should marry the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II.*

The prospect of a lasting peace with England was highly gratifying to the king, who began to grow weary of the fatigue of government, and longed for an opportunity of indulging his bias for pageantry and pleasure. He had been absent from Paris above two years, and his return was celebrated by the most splendid fetes.†

CHAPTER IV.

Persecution under Henry II.—Edict of Chateaubriant—War with the Emperor—Siege of Metz—Abdication of Charles V.

THE system of persecution which had been adopted by Francis I. as the means of extirpating heresy, was vigorously continued during the reign of his successor.‡ But the Huguenots were not to be deterred from following the dictates of their conscience; on the contrary, the danger of martyrdom, while it excited every generous feeling in the breasts of the sincere, became a preventive to desertion with the wavering, who though willing to acknowledge themselves persuaded in matters of theology, would avoid liability to an accusation of dreading personal danger. It was in vain that the funeral piles were kindled incessantly in every town in France; the Protestants persisted in holding their assemblies, and making a profession of their doctrines. Henry, to add to the importance of the executions, went in person to several; and on his return to Paris, the fires were kindled in different parts of the city. At one of these piles, an old domestic of the king's was dying in the flames when the monarch passed by: he was seized with horror, and retired immediately to his palace, to conceal his agitation and remorse.§

At length it suited the political views of the Cardinal of Lorraine to arrest so horrible a persecution; he was desirous of engaging Henry in a war with Charles V., and of coming to an arrangement with the Pope Julius III., who had joined the emperor in attempting to expel Octavius Farnese from his duchy of Parma; notwithstanding the latter had married Charles's natural daughter. None of the princes of Italy would dare to assist Farnese, and but for the help which he received from France, the duke must have been overwhelmed. The struggle in Italy ended by the pope's seeking peace; a measure to which he was driven by an edict passed in France, forbidding any money to be sent to the court of Rome. Another edict was published at the same time, which stopped in some degree the violence of the persecution, by placing the Calvinists under the secular jurisdiction: it was called the edict of Chateaubriant.||

A new war was preparing in Germany: Maurice of Saxony and Albert of Brandenburg put themselves at the head of the Protestants, and marched

* Vielleville, vol. i. p. 433. De Thou, liv. 5, p. 343.

† Brantome, vol. vii. p. 87.

‡ Vielleville, vol. i. p. 437, et seq. De Thou, liv. 5.

* Treaty dated 24th March, 1549-50.

† 15th May, 1550.

‡ Fra Paolo, *Hist. du Concile de Trente*, p. 280.

§ *Hist. de la Ville de Paris*, par M. Felibien, vol. ii. p. 1032.

D'Abnigné, *Hist. Universelle*, vol. i. p. 75.

|| Dated 27th June, 1551.

against the emperor. They sent an embassy to Henry II. reminding him of his engagements and promises, and urging him to establish an alliance with them.* The King of France could not recede with honour; not to assist the Protestants would be imputed to the fear of Charles V., and the war was ardently desired by the young nobles of the court, who demanded an opportunity of exercising their valour. The most lavish flattery was bestowed upon the king, who was excited by the description which was given of his father's chivalry. Still Henry was averse to renew the expeditions of Francis I.; he preferred the image of war in tournaments to the honour of undergoing the reality, with arms in his hands. The deputies, before they left Paris, were entertained with brilliant fetes, in October, 1551.†

A bed of justice was held the 12th of February, 1552, when the king announced to the parliament the motives of the war, and directed the measures necessary for supplying the funds for its expenses. The speech, however, which Henry addressed to the assembly, contained the most incongruous ideas; he justified the war by showing that he was bound to assist the Protestants of Germany, and at the same time recommended the most severe measures against the Protestants of France.

The taking of Metz was the first event in this war. The Constable Montmorency gained possession of that town by a stratagem which excited the admiration of Charles V. himself.‡ But the approach of the French forces, and some successes which the allies had gained, induced the emperor to take other measures. He began to be tired of opposing the Reformation, which all his power had proved unable to quell, or even to repress. He perceived that he was fighting the battles of Rome at his own cost; and he proposed to the Elector of Saxony to hold a congress at Passau the 26th of May, and that a truce should be kept till the 8th of June.§

But so zealous was the emperor in support of the Catholic religion, that he could hardly bring himself to relinquish the struggle with heresy; and when he proposed the truce, he most likely contemplated the advantage which might be taken of the interval, in sending to Italy for fresh troops. However, the conduct of the pope himself decided Charles; directly the fortune of war appeared adverse to his party, the pope took measures accordingly, and immediately dissolved the council of Trent. The treaty of Passau was concluded in July, 1552, and the pacification of Germany enabled the emperor to direct his whole force against France.||

Henry was very much vexed at having drawn upon himself so formidable an enemy, who resolved on carrying the war into the heart of his kingdom: he would willingly have purchased peace by the restitution of the places he had taken, but the emperor's anger gave no opportunity for an accommodation.¶ All that could be done was to put strong garrisons in those towns which the emperor would probably attack first. Coligny offered to

defend Metz, but the Duke of Guise was preferred: there was, however, employment for him elsewhere, for the emperor had a hundred thousand soldiers, besides twenty-five thousand which he had in Flanders, most of them veteran troops who had assisted in his previous campaigns. The king was so embarrassed that every one expected the constable would be disgraced, as he had advised the king to go to war. Anthony of Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme, afterwards known as King of Navarre, commanded the forces sent against the army of Flanders; but as his military judgment was not very highly esteemed, he was accompanied by the Admiral Coligny.* Meanwhile the emperor was making the most formidable preparations for the siege of Metz. He had collected around him all his most skilful generals; and he was supplied with the most numerous train of artillery ever seen at any siege. On reviewing his forces, Charles exclaimed, "I will take Metz, or I will perish before the place."†

On the other hand, the Duke of Guise was resolved to defend the town to the utmost: the desertion of the Elector of Brandenburg, who joined the emperor with his troops, did not disconcert him. The breaches were repaired as soon as made, and such was the duke's confidence in his garrison, that he sent a letter to the king with the assurance that he would answer for Metz, and that the troops collected in Champagne and Lorraine might be disposed of in other parts.‡ Frequent sorties were made, and were generally directed against the quarters of the treacherous Elector of Brandenburg: his army was by that means almost destroyed in detail; had the elector himself fallen, it would have been a just punishment for his ingratitude to a king, who was involved in the war solely by serving him.

The examples of bravery were so frequent and vigorous on the part of the besieged, that when a general assault was ordered, the army remained mute. The emperor was indignant, and after losing thirty thousand men, he raised the siege and retired to Brussels, overwhelmed with vexation, and resolved to effect something to remove his disgrace.§ Early in 1553 he attacked Therouanne. Henry II. was indulging in fêtes and tournaments when the news reached him, and Coligny was sent with assistance immediately; Francis de Montmorency, the constable's son, commanded the town, but was obliged to propose a capitulation. Charles seemed to acquiesce, and while the garrison were waiting the result of the terms they had offered, the emperor ordered an assault and the place was taken. The garrison were put to the sword, and the town was destroyed.||

The emperor then attacked Hesdin with success, but failed in his attempt upon Doullens, where the Admiral Coligny had the command. The operations in the course of the following year were varied. The battle of Renti, fought on the 13th of August, 1554, was the only event of consequence: both parties claimed the victory, but the emperor's object was effected. He wished to raise the siege of Renti, which place the admiral had invested,

* Hist. du Cardinal Granvelle, p. 176. Paris, 1761.

† Vielleville, liv. 4.

‡ Brantome, vol. vii. p. 134. Metz was taken 10th April, 1552.

§ Hist. du Cardinal Granvelle, p. 178.

|| De Thou, liv. 2.

¶ Vie de Coligny, p. 125.

* Vie de Coligny, p. 126. De Thou, liv. 2.

† Hist. du Cardinal Granvelle, p. 193.

‡ Ibid, p. 194.

§ 21st Jan. 1553.

|| Hist. du Cardinal Granvelle, p. 200. Mathieu, *Hist. des Guerres entre les Maisons de France et d'Espagne*, p. 18.

and the battle rendered that measure necessary.* Charles was nearly made prisoner on the occasion, and escaped only by the excellence of his horse.†

Both parties at last grew tired of the war, yet neither would make a proposal for peace, and the war was carried on until the accession of Philip II. in February, 1556. In the interim Pope Julius III. died, on the 23d of March, 1555; he was possessed of but little abilities, or he would have contributed to disgrace the see of Rome. To increase his superiority over the cardinals, he endeavoured to lower them; perhaps from the consciousness of his being unable to elevate himself: he bestowed a cardinal's hat on a boy who had the care of a monkey, and assigned that as a reason, when the college remonstrated with him about it.‡ Marcellus II., who succeeded him, survived only a few days, and the chair was then filled by John Peter Caraffe, who took the title of Paul IV. As Charles V. had thrown great impediments in the way of his election, he was desirous of being avenged, and undertook to drive the emperor out of Italy. He openly espoused the interest of France, and did everything to excite the zeal of Henry II.§ He promised him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, and declared Charles to be an enemy of the church. A division of the spoils of that monarch was projected by the pontiff, who distributed crowns and territories to those who would join his cause. But whilst Europe was in suspense respecting the turn affairs might take, the monarch himself retired to the monastery of St. Just in Estremadura, abdicating his vast dominions, and resigning all his riches, with the exception of one hundred thousand crowns per annum: Charles V. died the 21st September, 1558, aged fifty-eight years.

CHAPTER V.

Increase of the Protestants—Matthew Orri appointed Inquisitor—Seguier's Speech to the Council—Attack of the Populace on the Protestants—Renewal of Hostilities—Inquisition established.

A TRUCE for five years between France and Spain immediately followed the abdication of Charles V.: neither of the monarchs, however, intended to conclude a peace by that means; they only reposed in order to be better prepared for new combats. Henry took the opportunity of fortifying himself in his new acquisitions, while Philip, who penetrated Henry's designs, was equally anxious for a renewal of the war; an event which the pope likewise was eager to bring about. The truce was at length broken, but the state of the Protestants in France requires some mention: to that subject, therefore, we now return.

The neighbourhood of Geneva had facilitated the introduction of the reformed doctrines at Lyons, and the spread of Protestantism was very rapid. Tournon hastened from Rome to purify his diocese from heresy: he found, on reaching Lyons, that the Calvinistic worship was regularly organised, and that a synod was soon to be held in that city. Five ministers were instantly arrested

by his orders; they were tried as deserters from the faith of their fathers—as rebels to the edicts of their prince; and as such were condemned to be burned. This severe treatment of the pastors struck terror into their flocks; and the measures of vigilance adopted for detecting further attempts to preach the proscribed tenets, were very successful. "The archbishop's cares were not fruitless," observes his eulogist; "Lyons preserved its faith in the midst of contagion, and in the vicinity of Babylon."*

It has already been mentioned, that by the edict of Chateaubriant, the crime of heresy was made cognisable by the civil power. The parliament of Paris, notwithstanding its recent degradation, by the creation of judiciary charges, which were sold to replenish the treasury, was still a respectable body, and included among its numbers many men eminent for their talents and virtue. Thirty years had not slackened the fires of persecution, while the priests were judges of the heretics; but no sooner was the parliament entrusted with the charge, than the Protestants experienced a great improvement in their condition. The inutility of the executions became evident to that body, and the rigour of the law was suspended. The Calvinists took advantage of the opportunity to strengthen their cause, and in 1555 a church was erected for the reformed worship.† The clergy was enraged at this indulgence, but the parliament remained firm; the enemies of toleration, finding their influence was decaying with the magistracy, had recourse to every machination they could devise, to excite the hatred of the populace, and the vengeance of the government, against the followers of the reformed religion; by the influence of the Cardinal of Lorraine, they obtained an edict which again enabled them to wreak their bigotry upon the Protestants.‡

One method of depriving the Calvinists of an indulgent interpretation of the edict of Chateaubriant, was the appointment of an Inquisitor of the Faith in France. Matthew Orri, a Dominican monk, had been appointed by the pope to that office.§ He was authorised to cite all heretics before him, to interrogate, and condemn them; in addition to which, he possessed the power of penetrating into the privacy of families by means of a secret police, and of exercising a surveillance over the religious opinions of every one, by his numerous band of spies. Even the bishops themselves were disgusted with such an investiture of authority, and remonstrated against it; the king's council, however, approved of the plan, and it was very soon presented to the parliament in the form of an edict.

The odious tendency of the proceeding excited the indignation of the parliament. Seguier, one of their presidents, was charged to declare their remonstrance, in presence of the council.|| In his

* Fleury, *Hist. du Card. Tournon*, pp. 274—279.

† Beza, *Hist. Eccles.* Garnier, *Hist. de France*, vol. xiv. p. 3.

‡ De Thou, liv. 16.

§ Beza, *Hist. Eccles.*

|| Pierre Seguier, born in 1504, died 1580, was elevated to the rank of president à mortier, in 1554. His speeches, which are remarkable for their bold sentiments, have been collected and printed, as well as his treatise *De Cognitione Dei*. The speech in question is one of the finest he ever made, and has been inserted at length by Garnier, *Histoire de France*, vol. xiv. p. 28. Fleury also gives a part of it in his *Ecclesiastical History*. The extract in the text is but a small portion of the speech, which was delivered 16th October, 1555.

* Vie de Coligny, p. 151. Mem. de Tavannes, p. 173, fo. edit.

† Brantome, vol. iv. p. 14.

‡ Armand Saintes, *Portraits Historiques des Papes*.

§ Mem. de Tavannes, p. 192.

speech, that orator traced out all the dangers of the proposed measure; he also dwelt with great force upon the right of appeal, which he invoked for the accused. "We abhor," continued he, "the establishment of a tribunal of blood, where secret accusation takes the place of proof; where the accused is deprived of every natural means of defence, and where no judiciary form is respected. Begin, sire, by procuring for the nation an edict which will not cover the kingdom with funeral piles, which will not be wetted either with the tears or the blood of your faithful subjects. At a distance, sire, from your presence, bowed down under the pressure of rural labour, or absorbed in the exercise of arts or of trade, they are ignorant of what is preparing against them; they do not suspect that at this moment it is proposed to separate them from you, and to deprive them of their natural guardian. It is for them, it is in their name, that the court presents you its humble remonstrances, its ardent supplications. As for you, sirs," said he, turning himself towards the ministers and counsellors of state, "you, who so tranquilly hear me, and apparently think that the affair does not concern you, it is fit that you should be divested of that idea. So long as you enjoy favour, you wisely make the most of your time; benefits and kindnesses are showered on your heads; everybody honours you, and it enters the mind of no one to attack you; but the more you are elevated, the nearer you are to the thunderbolt; and one must be a stranger to history, not to know what is often the cause of a disgrace. Even although this misfortune should befall you, you would retire at least with a fortune, which would in a measure console you for your fall, and which you might transmit to your heirs. But to date from the registering of this edict, your condition would cease to be the same; you will have, as before, for successors, men poor and hungry, who, not knowing how long they may remain in office, will burn with a desire to enrich themselves at once, and they will find a wonderful facility in so doing; for, certain of obtaining your confiscation of the king, it will only be necessary to make sure of an inquisitor and two witnesses, and though you may be saints, you would be burned as heretics." This speech made a very deep impression on the council, and the king was so much affected, that he remitted the affair to another examination.

Notwithstanding the opposition of the government, and the appointment of an inquisitor, the doctrines of the Reformation made astonishing progress. A simple and reasonable form of worship, in which the preachers expounded the Holy Scriptures in their vernacular tongue, and assured the congregation that their worship, to be accepted, must proceed from the heart; a service stripped of a number of unmeaning ceremonies, and free from the gaudy trappings of the Roman church, must necessarily make converts with all who dared to think seriously upon the subject. The papists denied to man the right of thinking for himself; they asserted that the Scriptures having been examined by the councils, their meaning was fixed, and to investigate them was impious; the Protestants, on the contrary, invited their congregations to search the sacred writings; to take nothing from their bare assertion, but to try their sermons by the test of Scripture; an immense number of converts was the necessary consequence of the difference.

But another motive, and a very powerful one too, contributed to increase the number of Calvinists. The government had declared in favour of the Romish clergy, and had shown a resolution to support the Catholic religion in every possible way; in consequence, every one who was dissatisfied with the ministry, felt induced to join the ranks of its declared adversaries. While the enemies of the court were affected by the disappointment of their hopes, and induced to join the Calvinists out of spite, a very considerable number of the nobility, who were actually belonging to the court of Henry II., were stimulated by curiosity to attend the Protestant service, principally because it was forbidden. Many of them were seriously affected by what they heard, and some openly professed themselves Protestants. In spite of his severity, Henry II. found himself surrounded by Calvinists.*

In the month of May, 1557, a tumult took place, which sufficiently announced the hostile disposition of the Catholics. Four hundred Protestants were assembled one evening to celebrate the Lord's Supper, at a house in the Rue St. Jacques, opposite the College Plessis. The opportunity was too good to be lost, and their enemies collected a mob around the house. No effort was made to interrupt the service, but when the Protestants wished to quit the place, and retire to their respective homes, they were assailed with such abuse and threats, that they could plainly perceive their lives were in danger. The darkness of the night would have enabled most of them to escape through the crowd, and thus avoid the fury of their numerous enemies, had not lanterns been placed in the windows of the neighbouring houses. Many were murdered; some few who had arms succeeded in cutting their way through the mob; but there remained some old people and women, who would certainly have been massacred, had not a magistrate appeared, accompanied by some soldiers, who took them into custody to the number of two hundred; the mob then dispersed.†

Proceedings were immediately commenced against the prisoners, among whom were persons of great family connexions. The Cardinal of Lorraine demanded the condemnation of all of them; but the parliament was not so blood-thirsty, and after a long process, and great delay, five Protestants were condemned to the fire.‡ Fortunately for the others, the king required some levies in Germany and Switzerland; the Elector Palatine solicited the enlargement of the prisoners; and as it would have been inconvenient for Henry to lose the friendship of that prince, he ordered them to be treated with moderation, to the infinite regret of Pope Paul IV., who loudly complained of it in the Consistory.§

Hostilities had been renewed some time: the pope flattered Henry with a prospect of the empire, and the possession of Italy. The Duke of Guise took the command in that country, where he was opposed to the Duke of Alva; but no action was fought in that quarter; and though he took Naples, he could not keep it. On the side of

* Garnier, vol. xiv. p. 33.

† De Thou, liv. 19. Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 76. This writer, however, says it occurred in August.

‡ They were burned 13th September, 1557. *Felibien*, vol. ii. p. 1060.

§ *Hist. du Concile de Trente*, p. 388. *Soulhier, Hist. du Calvinisme*, p. 13.

the Netherlands, the Admiral Coligny made an attempt on Douay; he ravaged Artois, which belonged to the King of Spain, and pillaged the town of Lens. The English taking part with Spain, sent reinforcements to Flanders, and the Spaniards prepared to take St. Quentin, whither Coligny had retired. On the 10th of August, 1557, the Constable Montmorency, having advanced to relieve the town, contrary to the wish of Marshal St. André, was suddenly attacked by the enemy, who had treble his force. The event was most disastrous: John of Bourbon, brother of the King of Navarre, was killed; St. André and Montmorency were taken prisoners, all the baggage was lost, and six hundred gentlemen of rank were left upon the field of battle. Coligny, however, detained the enemy seventeen days before the feeble ramparts of St. Quentin, and thus prevented the Spaniards from taking the full benefit of their victory.* The king was alarmed at the news, and despatched several couriers to the Duke of Guise, ordering him to come with his army from Italy. The duke resolved secretly to avenge the disgrace of St. Quentin upon Calais,† which town he took the 8th of January, 1558, after it had been in possession of the English above two hundred years. Vielleville followed up this success by besieging Thionville, a strong town, from which the Spaniards frequently disturbed the French territory; and Guise arrived with his forces and took the place.‡ As a contrast to his great success, Marshal Termes was defeated at Gravelines, and taken prisoner by the Spaniards, when a great many persons of rank were killed. On this occasion, also, the opportune arrival of the Duke of Guise prevented the victor from pursuing his advantage.§

The duke's reputation acquired great lustre from the success of his operations. The court were enraptured with him, and his influence increased considerably. The use which was made of it was injurious to the Protestants; for the Cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, persuaded the king to establish the Inquisition by edict. Three inquisitors general were appointed, viz., the Cardinal of Lorraine; the Cardinal of Bourbon, brother of the King of Navarre; and the Cardinal of Chatillon. They had power to inflict capital punishment on all persons found guilty of heresy.||

The parliament could not well refuse to register this edict, as it proceeded from the king himself in a bed of justice; but they mitigated its severity, by allowing all laymen an appeal from such a tribunal. The power of life and death was once more snatched from the clergy, although they had given a million crowns at the states-general to induce the king to grant their wishes. But on the other hand, an edict was published, forbidding the judges to commute the sentence of death and confiscation of property for any convicted, not only of heresy, but also of having brought into France books printed at Geneva against the Catholic religion.¶

CHAPTER VI.

Treaty of Cateau Cambresis—Meetings at the Pré-aux-Clercs—Du Bourg and five other Counsellors arrested—Death of Henry II.

THE captivity of the constable had thrown the direction of affairs into the hands of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and the Guises had availed themselves of the eclat of the duke's victories, to promote the marriage of the Dauphin with Mary Queen of Scots, their niece; the power and influence of that family was paramount. But the king's esteem for Montmorency remained undiminished; so great was Henry's attachment to him, and such delight did he take in his conversation, that he would often sleep with him.* His imprisonment, therefore, would be a cause of great regret to that monarch.

On the other hand, Philip was well informed of Henry's weakness; he knew that no event would please him like the constable's liberation; and having himself a great desire for peace, he craftily allowed his prisoner to have an interview with his sovereign. A conference at Cercamp followed; plenipotentiaries met for France, England, Spain, the Empire, and Savoy. The terms offered were too humiliating to be accepted, the negotiations were broken off, and Montmorency went back to his confinement. At length, after several ineffectual attempts at a treaty, the King of Spain consented to more reasonable terms; the death of Mary Queen of England, had removed a considerable part of the difficulty.

Peace, let the treaty which might produce it be ever so good, would do away with the greater part of Guise's power, and would therefore be opposed by him; the Cardinal of Lorraine also was too cunning to promote a measure calculated to destroy his authority. But in vain did that party exert themselves to prolong the war, for the resentment of the Duchess of Valentinois counteracted all their plans, by using her influence with the king in favour of the constable. The cardinal finding his family at the highest pitch of favour, considered he had no further occasion for support. Forgetful of his great obligations to the Duchess of Valentinois, he began to think it a humiliation to pay her the accustomed deference. He even went so far as to make use of raileries against her, which she could not forgive. Her influence over the king continued in a surprising degree, and she was determined to show him that she would not be insulted with impunity, and that she had power enough to shake his credit. She resolved to get back the constable, and oppose him to the Guises. She was able not only to persuade the king to make peace, but even to appoint Montmorency himself as the negotiator.† She secretly informed him of what she was doing in his behalf; and to unite his interests more closely with hers, she proposed the marriage of her niece, Henrietta of Bouillon, with d'Amville, his second son.‡

* Vie de Coligny, p. 180. Vie de Crillon, vol. i. p. 16. De Thou, liv. 19. D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 26. Brantome, vol. v. p. 101.

† Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 76. Mem. de Tavannes, p. 203. De Thou, liv. 20.

‡ 23rd June, 1558. Marshal Strozzy was killed at this siege. Brantome, vol. v. p. 320. Vielleville, vol. iv. pp. 36 and 92.

§ Brantome, vol. v. p. 102. D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 28.

|| Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 395.

¶ Maimbourg. Hist. du Calvinisme, liv. 2.

* Vie de Coligny, p. 102.

† Vie de Crillon, vol. i. p. 39.

‡ The constable, Anne de Montmorency, had five sons, viz. 1. Francis, generally known as Marshal Montmorency, died in 1579 without issue, he took the title of Montmorency; he was constable under Henry IV. 3. Gabriel, Lord of Montberon, killed at the battle of Dreux. 4. Charles, Lord of Meru, and subsequently d'Amville. 5. William, Lord of Thoré.

The conferences of Cercamp were again resumed, and the treaty of Cateau Cambresis was signed the 3d of April, 1559. The following articles were agreed to, among others; that Calais, and several other towns in that quarter, should be given up to France; that Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II., should marry the King of Spain; and that the Duke of Savoy should have Piedmont, and marry Margaret, daughter of Francis I.

The Guises were completely stripped of their power by this treaty. The cardinal sought for an occasion of making himself necessary to his sovereign; he considered that religion was the subject most fertile in circumstances, calculated for his object, and it was not long before an occasion presented itself. At this time the most frequented promenade in Paris was the Pré-aux-Clercs, situated where a part of the Faubourg Saint Germain is at present. The students of the university were generally in favour of the reformed religion, and not only made a profession of it, but publicly defended its principles. They had been in the habit of meeting at this place for several years, and the monks of the abbey St. Victor having refused to let them assemble in the Pré-aux-Clercs, a very serious affair sprang out of the refusal at the commencement of this reign.* So far from confining their dispute to wrangling, or even invective, they had several rencounters in which blood was shed. The students, being the more numerous party, carried their point; the monks resigned the field to them, and the Pré-aux-Clercs was more than ever frequented. It became at this time the grand rendezvous of all the Protestants, who would sing Marot's psalms during the summer evenings.† Such numbers giving confidence, many persons declared themselves Protestants whose rank had hitherto deterred them from such a step. Among such, the most eminent was Anthony of Bourbon, first prince of the blood, and in right of his wife, King of Navarre. The Bourbon princes had been kept aloof from court as much as possible, during the late and the present reigns: the example of the Constable of Bourbon had caused it to be thought dangerous to give them power;‡ this circumstance, added to the hatred subsisting between them and the Guises, explains why the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé would join the Huguenot party. The Queen of Navarre, Jane d'Albret, had early imbibed the doctrines of the Reformation from her mother, Margaret, sister of Francis I.: she had besides received great injuries from the most Catholic King, who had seized upon part of her dominions.

At length the public attention was so much drawn to this assembly, that games and dances were neglected for the sake of going there. Pro-

hibition only served to excite a desire of joining the Huguenots, and exhortation upon its dangerous tendency was unheeded. Every day produced some new writing either to defend the reformed doctrines, or to attack the errors of popery. The Catholics published replies; but discussion tended to increase the mischief still more, for the replies being serious, instead of persuading, produced only disgust and ennui, while the satire awakened attention, and fortified prejudice.

The evil pervaded every condition; the court and the army, the cities and the country places, and even the tribunals, hitherto inaccessible to heresy. The Catholic clergy could be restrained no longer; they resolved to do something which should stay the moral pestilence; and the Cardinal Bertrand denounced the assembling at the Pré-aux-Clercs, as factious and seditious.* The parliament could not entertain a question which would accuse many of its own members of heresy, and Bertrand's summons produced no effect, notwithstanding the powerful appeal made to their fanaticism, by Bourdin, the attorney-general.†

The Cardinal of Lorraine was indignant at such a want of bigotry in the parliament, and persuaded the king to hold a bed of justice, when he might appear to consult the counsellors on the measures to be taken with the heretics; but that the different persons should be minutely observed, and if possible their secret sentiments ascertained: he proposed also that some measure should be submitted to their consideration and judgment, which might draw from them avowals, proving their own heresy. Montmorency, instead of dissuading the king from such black treachery, approved of the cardinal's advice in the council. Vielleville alone raised his voice against it, as a measure degrading the royal dignity. To induce the king to adopt his proposal, the cardinal is said to have expressed himself as follows:—"Sire, although it should serve for nothing more than to show the King of Spain that you are firm in the faith, and that you will not suffer in your kingdom anything whatsoever which may disparage your excellent title of Most Christian King, still you ought to proceed about it boldly and with great courage; you must gratify all these grandees and nobles of Spain (who have accompanied the Duke of Alva for the solemnity and honour of their king's marriage with your daughter) by ordering half a dozen counsellors of the parliament to be burned in the public place, as Lutheran heretics, which indeed they are. By so doing we shall preserve the body of the parliament. But if you do not take these measures of precaution, the whole court will be infected and contaminated with it, even to the clerks, attorneys, and tipstaves." As Vielleville was averse to the Lorraine party, he may have exaggerated the cardinal's proposition; but he declares, that when it was his turn to speak upon the subject, he opposed the measure to the utmost, and told the king to his face, "that he was going to take upon himself the office of an inquisitor of the faith, and that the cardinal's proposal would entirely destroy the joyous feeling of the public."‡

The cardinal's opinion, however, prevailed, and

* De Thou, liv. 20.

† La vraie Histoire de la fausse Procédure contre Anne Dubourg, &c. first printed in 1561, republished in *Mém. de Condé*, vol. i.

‡ Vielleville, liv. 7 c. 24.

* In 1548. De Thou, liv. 5 p. 337. Felibien, *Hist. de Paris*, vol. ii. p. 1065.

† Clement Marot had recently published a translation of the psalms in French verse; they had been set to music, and were very much admired by the king and court. But when the Protestants made use of them as part of their worship, these psalms were considered the characteristic of heresy, and were consequently forbidden among the Catholics.

‡ The Bourbons descend from Robert, fifth son of Louis IX., commonly called Saint Louis. Charles of Bourbon, Count de Vendôme had seven sons, viz. 1. Louis; 2. Anthony, King of Navarre; 3. Francis, Count d'Enghien; 4. A second Louis; 5. John, killed at the battle of St. Quentin; 6. Charles, Archbishop of Rouen and Cardinal; 7. Louis, Prince of Condé; none left any issue except the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé.

on the 15th of June, 1559, the king, accompanied by the constable, the Duke of Guise, the Cardinals of Lorraine and Bourbon, and a crowd of the nobility, went to the parliament unexpectedly, and opened a bed of justice without any preparation having been made for that solemnity. The palace had been given up for the fêtes of the royal marriages about to take place, and the parliament was at this time sitting at the convent of the Augustins, which on the king's arrival was immediately surrounded with soldiers.*

The counsellors were then engaged in framing certain regulations respecting the judgments to be given against the Protestants. The king's arrival not only created surprise, but even great uneasiness among them : which perceiving, the monarch endeavoured to conceal his violent indignation, and tried to assuage their alarm by mild and courteous observations. He declared himself free from every kind of angry feeling against those counsellors who had adopted the new religion, and begged them all to speak their opinions freely, and to recommend what to each seemed best calculated to pacify the kingdom.

The counsellors readily fell into the snare. For they were invited to speak openly and candidly by their sovereign ; and that sovereign too the son of Francis I., who considered the word of a gentleman the most binding obligation ; and whose usual adjuration was to that effect, *foi de gentilhomme* !

Many of the counsellors urged the cause of justice and humanity ; and while they recommended a milder legislation for the Protestants, they pointed out the danger of continuing a useless rigour towards a party now become so numerous. The more experienced judges confined their remarks to general ideas, but some used less caution.—“ Let us begin,” said Louis Faur, “ by examining who is the real author of our troubles, for fear lest the same answer should be made to us, which Elijah formerly made to Ahab, ‘ It is thou that troublest Israel ! ’ ” A look at the Cardinal of Lorraine directed the application of the passage to him. Anne Dubourg excited considerable surprise by the boldness of his remarks : he had enlarged upon the cruelty with which the Protestants were pursued, and energetically observed, “ While men are conducted to the stake for the sole crime of praying for their prince, a shameful licence encourages and multiplies blasphemies, perjuries, debaucheries, and adulteries.” The courtiers became uneasy, for they considered the remark was intended for the king and the Duchess of Valentinois.†

Among the counsellors who supported the cause of mercy and toleration were Seguier, De Thou,‡ and Harlay. The president, Lemaitre, was for continuing rigorous measures, and eulogised in his speech the different monarchs who had distinguished themselves in the suppression of heresy, particularly Philip the Fair, who condemned to the fire six hundred heretics in one day.§

Henry's purpose was decided before he went to the parliament ; the speeches which he heard there

were not the cause of the proceeding which followed, but were a strong reason for exciting his personal displeasure against several of the counsellors. He rose in a great passion, and gave vent to a torrent of reproaches against all those who had called for lenient measure. On leaving the place, he made a sign to the Count Montgomery, captain of his Scotch guards ; a fierce look directed toward Dubourg, Faur, and three others, were sufficient instructions for him ; he immediately arrested them in the midst of the parliament, and conducted them to prison.*

The king gave orders that their trials should be proceeded with immediately, especially that of Dubourg, whom he was desirous of seeing burnt with his own eyes.† The arrest of the counsellors was followed by the apprehension of all known Protestants. The prisons were filled with persons accused of heresy ; informers received encouragement for denunciations ; and the dread of being enveloped in their punishment, prevented every one from affording them protection or concealment. The destruction of the reformed religion was resolved upon, and when the ambassadors of several Protestant princes of Germany endeavoured to obtain some mitigation of the severity with which they were treated, the king refused to attend to their observations.‡ Every hope was destroyed for the Huguenots, not one of whom was to be left in France, when, unexpectedly, an event occurred which completely changed the face of affairs, and removed their persecutor from this world, by the hands of the same man, whom he had just employed in violating the law of the land, and that too in the very sanctuary of justice.

In order to add splendour to his daughter's marriage, a tournament was held in the Faubourg St. Antoine, the 29th of June, 1559 ; fourteen days after the king's visit to the parliament. A vast concourse of people assembled to behold the chief nobility display their prowess. The four champions were the king, the Prince of Ferrara, the Duke of Guise, and the Duke of Nemours.§ Among such true-bred courtiers, the king of course would be the conqueror ; and he was so delighted with his achievements, that he called upon Montgomery to appear in the lists, and take one of a pair of lances, which had not yet been broken. The count made every excuse, and the queen did all in her power to dissuade her husband from renewing the combats ; it would seem that she had anticipated some accident.|| The king persisted, and the champions rushed on each other. In the rencounter, a splinter from Montgomery's lance struck the king in his left eye, at the instant when the sudden shock had moved his visor : Henry fell immediately, and was carried to the palace of Tournelles, where he expired eleven days after, the 10th of July, 1559, in the forty-first year of his age. The character he has left behind him has escaped

* Pasquier, D'Aubigné, Felibien, vol. ii. p. 1066, and Hist. du Calvinisme, liv. 2.

† Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 400. Vieilleville, vol. iv. p. 158.

‡ Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 397.

§ See Brantome, Pasquier, and Tavaannes, p. 217.

|| Brantome, vol. vii. p. 46. This writer also mentions that a short time previous, Henry had had his nativity cast, and the astrologer told him he would die in a duel or single combat. The constable, who was present, ridiculed the idea ; but the king observed, that those people sometimes spoke the truth ; and that for his part he should prefer dying by the hand of some brave man. p. 58. (*Vie de Henri II.*)

* De Thou, liv. 22.

† Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 77. D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 84. De Thou, liv. 22.—*La vraye Histoire*, &c.

‡ Christopher De Thou, father of the historian ; he was made chief president in 1562.

§ Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 396-7. D'Aubigné, et *supra*, and *La vraye Histoire*, &c.

a considerable part of the obloquy which it deserves, on account of his defects being carried to such excess by his sons, Charles and Henry. It must, however, be borne in mind, that it was his fixed intention to destroy all the Protestants,* and that his sudden death alone has preserved him from the execration which clings to the name of Charles IX. Weakness and deceit were as predominant in him as in his son Henry III., but in consequence of some favourable circumstances, he was less embarrassed; an estimate of his government may be properly made, by comparing the flourishing state of the treasury at the death of Francis I. with its miserable condition at the accession of Francis II.

CHAPTER VII.

Accession of Francis II.—Re establishment of the Guises—Execution of Anne Dubourg for heresy.

THE death of Henry II. caused a complete revolution in the court, by changing the relative power of the different factions; the nation at large, too, was considerably affected by the circumstance, as the civil wars which afterwards desolated France, although not entirely caused by the measures which followed, were certainly hastened and heightened by them. Henry left four sons, viz. Francis, Charles and Henry, who reigned in succession; and Francis Hercules, Duke of Alençon; the eldest, barely sixteen years of age, succeeded him as Francis II.

The young king, of a mild temper and a feeble mind, gave himself up entirely to his wife, Mary Queen of Scots, a niece of the princes of Lorraine; which was sufficient to restore the Guises to power, independent of the hatred which the queen mother had conceived for Montmorency, on account of the alliance between his family and the Duchess of Valentinois. Francis himself had also taken a great dislike to the constable, for having prevented his joining the army two years before.† To win the queen mother entirely to their party, the Guises joined in her views of vengeance against those who had displeased her; particularly the late king's mistress, who was immediately exiled from the court.‡

The Bourbon princes, whom the Guises considered their natural rivals, were removed more than ever from any influence. During the interval which elapsed between the unfortunate tournament and the king's death, Montmorency had exerted himself to induce the princes of the blood to join him in keeping the Guises from the supreme authority. The King of Navarre was not sufficiently alert; the Guises were powerful and on the spot; the princes of the blood were sent on some errand into Spain; and the constable was recommended, by the king himself, to take the benefit of the air at his country seat.

Montmorency's vexation was soothed by the hope that his cause would be avenged by his nephews the Chatillons, better known by their seigniorial appellations of Coligny and Andelot.§

Their importance was considerably increased by their becoming leaders of the Protestant party; and at this time, they indulged the idea of persuading their aged uncle to join that interest. They were indebted to him for their advancement, and he could plainly see that they would become formidable to the Guises. Montmorency, however, was too determined a hater of the Huguenots, to think of supporting their cause.

Andelot was a warm, enthusiastic admirer of the Reformation; he scorned to conceal his sentiments, and his conversation was noticed by all the court. Shortly after the taking of Calais, Henry II., hearing that he had made some very heretical assertions, sent for him to his chamber, at the suggestion of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and interrogated him upon his opinions. Andelot, without being in the least disconcerted, answered the king with great firmness, notwithstanding he had been cautioned to use prudence in his answer, "Sire, in matters of religion, I can use no disguise, nor can I deceive God. Dispose, as you please, of my life, my property, and my appointments; but my soul, independent of every other sovereign, is submitted solely to the Creator, from whom I have received it, and whom alone I believe it my duty to obey under present circumstances, as my Almighty master; in a word, I would rather die than go to mass." The king's anger was so excited, that he was about to stab the intrepid man, but he contented himself with sending him to prison at Melun, and depriving him of his office of colonel-general.* Pope Paul IV. imperiously demanded that Andelot should be burned for heresy, but that was not an easy matter to effect; for the constable, his uncle, had great influence at the time; and the Cardinal of Chatillon, his brother, was one of the inquisitors-general, and of course would refuse to sacrifice so dear a relative.

Coligny was remarkable for his caution in taking a step; but having once decided, he was inflexible: no one possessed greater intrepidity, or more perseverance; instead of overcoming him, difficulties served only to excite his ardour. It was his brother Andelot who first gave him a taste for the new opinions, but he was too wary to make public profession of them at once. He had been noticed for his very religious conduct when a Catholic; he had maintained several priests at Chatillon, and established schools for the instruction of youth; on becoming a Protestant he continued the same acts, changing only the priests for Protestant ministers.† When his brother was in prison, he blamed him for his conduct, showing him that to irritate the monarch was not the best method of serving his cause. With great difficulty, Coligny at length obtained from his brother a declaration of regret for having expressed himself in such a manner, and by the influence of the constable he was set at liberty. So anxious were the Guises to ruin Montmorency, that they set spies upon his conduct, while his nephew was in confinement, in hopes of being able to accuse him of openly favouring the Protestants.‡

3. Francis Chatillon d'Andelot, colonel-general of the French infantry. The family of Chatillon had anciently exercised sovereign authority over Nantua and Montlucet, two small towns in the neighbourhood of Geneva.

* Brantome, Le Laboureur, Commentaires de Montluc, and Vie de Coligny.

† Vie de Coligny, p. 74.

‡ Ibid. p. 192.

* Apologie de Louis XIV. par l'Abbé Caveyrac, p. 33.

† Brantome, vol. ix. p. 469. (*Vie de Charles IX.*)

‡ Davila, liv. 1.

§ The Marshal de Chatillon married Louisa de Montmorency, the constable's sister; he had three sons, viz. 1. Odet, Cardinal of Chatillon and Bishop of Beauvais; 2. Gaspard Chatillon de Coligny, Admiral of France; and

But both the Chatillons, had become anxious for an opportunity of publicly declaring their sentiments; and the state of affairs, at the beginning of the new reign, soon supplied them with occasions. The violent persecution which had signalised the last days of Henry's reign, had created a spirit of resistance; from existing by stealth and concealment, the Huguenots were driven to defend themselves: and they became an important party in the kingdom. Coligny and his brother publicly joined the Protestants, and induced many persons of distinction to do the same; among others the Count de la Rochefoucault, and Francis de Vendôme, Vidame of Chartres.* The queen mother also felt the tyranny of the Guises to such a degree, that the Protestants entertained great hopes of her joining their party, as the only means of counteracting their power.

In the mean time Montmorency's plan, although it failed at first, was not altogether without effect; the King of Navarre became the centre of a party, composed of the princes of the blood, and the heads of the principal families, who held an assembly at Vendôme. The constable was not there, but sent his secretary. Whatever difference there might be among them, was all merged in the grand question of hatred to the Guises. But no entreaties of Coligny, backed by the desire of vengeance, could induce the constable to join the Protestants; to change his religion, at the end of a long orthodox life, alarmed his conscience; and to him it appeared impossible for an honourable man to be of a religion different from that of the king. The general measure, however, was discussed by the assembly. It resolved itself into two questions; whether the authority ought to be removed from the Guises? and what means should be employed to bring it about? The first question was decided without a dissentient voice; but as to the means of successfully acting upon that decision the meeting was divided; some being for negotiation, others for violence. The milder counsel prevailed, and the King of Navarre was sent to court to try to obtain the interest of the queen mother.†

The Guises were informed of what was passing, and when Navarre went to court, they left nothing undone to worry and vex him. His arrival was announced, but the king had been persuaded to hunt in an opposite direction.‡ The apartments prepared for him were very unsuitable to his rank; and whenever the Duke of Guise came in contact with him, he was assailed with hectoring language, and insolent remarks. At last he obtained an audience of Francis, but it was in the presence of the two Lorrain princes; and when he exposed the complaints of the nobility against them, Francis dismissed him, observing that he was very well satisfied with their services.

Having failed in his errand to the king, he tried how far the queen mother would befriend him; he had several conferences with her, which ended by her declaring herself in his favour, but she informed him at the same time, that she could do nothing for him. The populace in general were so attached to the Guises, that his appeal to them met with no

better success; his commission disgusted him, and he resolved to rid himself of it.*

After having conducted the Princess Elizabeth to Philip II., her husband, he retired to his principality of Bearn, determined to have nothing more to do with affairs. He had consented to go to Spain, conceiving that he might make some arrangement respecting his dominions, which that monarch had seized; but Guise's cause and Philip's were identified, as the whole of the king's reign testifies; and the same disappointment awaited him in that quarter. The conferences of Vendôme therefore produced no other effect than to expose the wishes of the party, and indeed the persons composing it.

It was now five months since Anne Dubourg had been in prison for heresy: a few days after the late king's death, he had been declared a heretic, and was ordered to be given up to the secular power for punishment; but he made appeals at every stage of the proceedings, and a long delay was the consequence. The other counsellors were liberated, but he was condemned to be hanged, and his body to be burned.† Minard presided at his trial; he displayed such partiality, and evinced such personal hatred to the accused, that Dubourg could not resist the impulse of his feelings, and upbraided the judge with his conduct; he concluded by telling him that he would soon have to appear at a more awful bar, when he would wish to be as innocent as he then was.‡ This prediction was soon verified, for on the 12th of December the president Minard was shot as he was returning to his house in the evening. The individual who murdered him was supposed to be Robert Stuart, a person of very good family in Scotland, and distantly related to the queen; a man of a daring and intriguing disposition.§ He endured the torture without giving the least information, and the Guises persuaded the queen to disown him for her relation. Dubourg was executed on the 23rd; his firmness on going to the fatal spot excited much sympathy among the spectators: but measures were taken to prevent his addressing them; for the executioner had orders to gag him if he attempted to speak. At the foot of the gibbet, he refused to kiss a crucifix which was offered him, and was immediately pulled up and strangled, while the mob uttered shouts of *Jesu Maria*.||

A violent persecution of the Protestants then took place: the Cardinal of Lorraine established a commission for judging and condemning heretics.¶ The judges of this bloody tribunal completely answered the cardinal's wishes; they even excited his surprise, by the extent of their operations and alacrity in convicting and executing heretics. A legion of spies, under the direction of the inquisitor Moucharès, were dispersed through Paris, and added daily to the number of victims.** The cardinal's object was to encourage the populace in their fanaticism. The Catholics were permitted to assemble in the streets, and sing hymns before

* Davila, liv. 1. D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 87

† Mém. de Condé, vol. i. p. 300. Edit. 4to. Paris, 1743.

‡ Vie de Coligny, p. 197.

§ The same person who killed the Constable Montmorency, at the battle of St. Denis.

|| There is a *procès verbal* of the execution in Mém. de Condé, vol. i. p. 300.

¶ Mém. de Tavannes, p. 220.

** This is the origin of the term *Mouchard*, a spy of the police.

* A *vidame* was a person who held lands under a bishop, on condition of defending the temporal interests of the see.

† Davila, liv. 1. D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 87.

‡ De Thou, liv. 23.

little images of the Virgin. Persons passing by were invited to join their devotions; if they refused so to do, they were ill-treated, and whatever complaints might be made, the excesses remained unpunished.*

The Cardinal of Lorraine gave full scope to his passions: his haughty behaviour excited the discontent of many of the nobility, and his cruel persecuting spirit kindled a general feeling of horror. Francis was king in name only, for the cardinal and his brother possessed all the authority; and instead of using their power in any manner beneficial to the country, they seemed to study the readiest methods of debasing it. When tyranny suffers crime to go unpunished, and makes no attempt to prevent its recurrence, it almost invariably drives the people into a conspiracy, which gives them a hope of overturning what would otherwise overwhelm them. The French Protestants were at this time reduced to that extremity.

CHAPTER VIII.

Conspiracy of Amboise.

It may be owing to the mild character of the King of Navarre that the conferences at Vendôme produced no effect: he felt an aversion to creating a civil war, and was besides of so undecided a character, that by a hope of regaining his wife's estates he could at any time be diverted from his main object. His brother, the Prince of Condé, was a different kind of man; ambitious, restless, and enterprising; detesting the Guises, and being allied to Montmorency and the Chatillons, he assumed an important rank in the discontented party, which was now swelled by all the Protestants, and such Catholics as joined in the hatred of the Lorraine princes.

At the close of the year 1559, several conferences had again been holden at Vendôme and Laferté: when, finding their party included six hundred gentlemen of family, a resolution was adopted to have recourse to arms, to take the king out of the hands of the Guises, and bring these latter to an account for their conduct. The Prince of Condé, in joining this association, is said to have made a restriction to his engagement; that nothing should be undertaken against the king, the princes his brothers, or the state.†

In this affair, which arose as much from political discontent as from religious persecution, and which is named the conspiracy of Amboise, the principal agent was John de Bari, Lord of La Renaudie, a gentleman of Perigord, who combined every quality requisite for directing such a movement. Having committed a forgery, he had been assisted by the kindness of Guise himself in making his escape from the prison of Dijon,‡ and had subsequently led a life of concealment, of banishment. It was desirable that the head of the conspiracy should not be too distinguished a person, in order to avoid suspicion; it was at the same time necessary that he should be a Huguenot, in order to have the full co-operation of the Protestants. La

Renaudie was, therefore, extremely well suited for the occasion: during his residence at Geneva he had become acquainted with all the French in that town who had been expatriated for their religion; he was active, intelligent, and persevering, and had several times shown himself brave even to rashness.*

The plan of operation being decided on, he announced to all his friends that the Prince of Condé would put himself at their head whenever their force was sufficient to warrant his so doing; at the same time he invited them all to meet him at Nantes, on the 1st of January, 1560, availing himself of the concourse of people which some fêtes about to be given would collect, as a blind for the sudden arrival of so many persons from different parts.

The gentlemen were punctual to the rendezvous; and though a considerable number of them were not informed of the full purpose of their meeting, they expressed neither surprise nor backwardness: they agreed without hesitation to attack, in a time of peace and in the very presence of the king, the ministers invested with his authority. The tyranny of the Guises had excited such a feeling, that nothing could chill their ardour. La Renaudie addressed the meeting at length. After displaying the injuries which the ministry of the Lorraine princes had brought upon the country, he gave them to understand that they only waited for the death of Francis II. to establish their family upon the throne. "For my part," added the speaker vehemently, "I swear, I protest, I take God to witness, that I will never think or do, or say anything against the king, against the queen his mother, against the princes his brothers, against any of his blood; but that I will defend to my latest breath the majesty of the throne, the authority of the laws, and the liberty of the country, against the tyranny of foreigners."† We swear it! exclaimed every one present. They signed the oath, shook hands in token of union, embraced each other weeping, and loaded with imprecations any who should be perfidious enough to betray their associates. Before they separated, they fixed the place and time for carrying their plot into execution: it was to be on the 15th of March, at Blois.‡

Brantome, who was personally attached to the Guises, and was constantly about them, declares that Coligny had no part in this conspiracy:§ those concerned in it considering that he would not join in a measure personally against the Duke of Guise, who was not at that time his declared enemy. But he heard that the plot was in agitation, by letters from the Prince of Condé and Andelot, and they all three resolved to take the field immediately. La Renaudie should have made himself master of Blois, when they would arrest the Guises in the king's name, and call the states-general.||

Everything happened at the outset entirely to their wishes, and they grew more sanguine and less reserved, or perhaps some member was either treacherous or indiscreet; but by some means the Guises had scent of the plot, and removed the king from Blois to Amboise, a town with a strong castle and garrison; there, considering themselves sufficiently safe from any sudden attack, they again became supine, and were on the eve of being sur-

* Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 401. De Thou, liv. 23.

† L'Histoire du Tumulte d'Amboise, reprinted in the first volume of Mém. de Condé, pp. 320 et seq.

‡ Brantome, vol. viii. p. 82.

* Davila, liv. 1.

† De Thou, liv. 24.

‡ Davila, liv. 1.

§ Brantome, vol. viii. p. 168.

|| Vie de Coligny, p. 207. Mém. de Tavaannes, p. 222.

prised, when the too great confidence of the chief conspirator caused the entire failure of the plot.* La Renaudie lodged at Paris, at the house of a friend named Avenelles, a lawyer, who, observing the number of persons constantly calling at his house, conceived some suspicions; and mentioning them to La Renaudie, he frankly acknowledged the existence of the conspiracy. Avenelles heard him attentively, and showed great good-will for the success of the enterprise: but turning over in his mind the importance of the affair, and foreseeing its difficulties and dangers, he was seized with fear, and decided upon revealing the whole to the Duke of Guise's secretary, then at Paris.† The secretary sent Avenelles to Amboise without delay, where he was interrogated: the Guises were thus informed of their danger. Hitherto they had fancied the conspiracy was confined to a few individuals, but the confession of Avenelles gave them warning to prepare against a formidable and an organised party.

They were, however, as yet, only in possession of the extent of the plot, and the names of some of the conspirators, for Avenelles knew no more; they were thus obliged to make exertions for discovering further particulars. Robert Stuart, who was suspected of having killed the president Mironard, and who was at this time in a dungeon at Vincennes, was sent for, with several others, to be examined, on the supposition that they must have some knowledge of the plot.‡ The majority of the council considered the Chatillons as more likely to know the state of the case, and the queen mother sent for them, under pretence of consulting on the plan which ought to be adopted under such circumstances. Coligny and Andelot came very readily, and on being introduced to the queen mother's chamber, the admiral spoke warmly against the bad administration of affairs; he pleaded the cause of the Protestants, and recommended that the penal statutes against them should be suspended. The chancellor Olivier and the more moderate of the council adopted his opinion, and an edict was drawn up in favour of the Calvinists.§

But the remedy came too late to be of use; the declaration was not published before the 12th of March, and the day fixed for the enterprise was the 16th: it had been changed from the 15th when the court removed from Blois to Amboise. The Prince of Condé, not despairing of the case, came to Amboise with some resolute men, who were to be concealed in the castle, as well as in the town, and ready to second La Renaudie's attack from without. Neither the nearness of the danger nor its magnitude were able to disconcert the Duke of Guise, who gave orders well calculated for the circumstances. He sent instructions to the governors of the provinces to arrest all per-

sons taking the road to Amboise; he collected troops and called upon all the neighbouring nobility to attend the king. Such officers as he could not depend upon, were sent upon distant commissions; still, in spite of these precautions, the conspiracy would have succeeded, had not some one given Guise the plan of operations; he required no more, and prepared everything accordingly.

On the 16th of March the troops of the conspirators appeared, and, as far as they could, they followed the plan agreed upon at Nantes. It was there arranged that a troop of Calvinists, unarmed, should enter the town on pretence of petitioning the king: if they were admitted they would soon be able to get possession of the ramparts; if they were refused admittance, a large body of cavalry in the neighbourhood was to hasten up, and make themselves masters of the gates of the town. While this was taking place, those who had come in with the Chatillons and Condé were to go at once to the Guises and arrest them; or, if they resisted, to kill them on the spot.

As the duke knew all this plan, he changed the king's guard, and ordered the gates to be built up. He posted the Chatillons and the Prince of Condé in the most conspicuous places, and surrounded them with confidential persons, who would prevent their joining the assailants.*

Parties of cavalry were also sent to scour the country before the conspirators had assembled; they were thus attacked in detail, and all the prisoners then taken were hanged up on the battlements of the castle. Still the conspirators persevered: the fate of their companions did not deter them from continuing their operations. La Renaudie exerted himself to collect the different parties: in so doing he sometimes traversed the country attended by one man only. On one occasion he was near the castle of Noizai, the arsenal of the conspirators, defended by the Baron de Castelnau.† A detachment of royalists surrounded him, with orders to take him alive, if possible: a relation of his, the Baron de Pardaillon commanded it. Finding it impossible to gain the castle, La Renaudie resolved to sell his life dearly; he rushed on Pardaillon, and killed him with his own hand: he very soon after received a ball from a carbine, fired by a page of the baron's; he had sufficient strength to kill the person who had shot him, and then expired. His little band, on losing their leader, fled in every direction; many of them were killed on the spot, and others were made prisoners and hanged. La Renaudie's body was placed on a gibbet with the inscription—Chief of the rebels.‡

The death of the leader having to all appearance put an end to the conspiracy, the Chancellor Olivier recommended an amnesty to all who would return to their homes. Many had availed themselves of the proclamation, and had set out on their journey, when a last effort of some of their party in the neighbourhood of Amboise, brought on their destruction: they had attempted to enter the town during the night; their object was foiled, but the Guises were indignant; the amnesty was revoked,

* Davila, liv. 1. Pasquier, vol. i. p. 860, and vol. ii. p. 79.

† It is stated in *l'Histoire du Tumulte d'Amboise*, that Avenelles belonged to the conspiracy, and was induced to betray his friends by the hope of making a fortune; but as that account was drawn up under feelings of irritation, I have preferred the statement of the principal French historians.

‡ The king wrote a letter to Montmorency, desiring him to proceed immediately to Amboise, with his son the Marshal, and to take with them those persons who know something of the plot: one of them was Robert Stuart. The letter was dated 25th Feb.—*Mém. de Condé*, vol. i. p. 334.

§ D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 93. The edict, dated 11th March, 1559-60, is given in the *Memoirs of Condé*: the Huguenot preachers were excluded from its benefits.

* Davila, liv. 1.

† Noizai, in the Touraine, is two leagues N.W. of Amboise.

‡ Davila, liv. 1.—Pasquier, vol. i. p. 860—De Thou, liv. 24.—D'Aubigné, vol. i., *Hist. du Tumulte d'Amboise*.

and above twelve hundred persons were put to the sword, hanged, or thrown into the Loire with their hands and feet bound.* Many persons were put to the torture in order to obtain sufficient evidence for attacking Condé and the Chatillons, upon the grounds of the conspiracy; but among so many conspirators, there was only one who implicated them, and even he could only speak from report.† One of the most considerable victims on this occasion was the Baron de Castelnau; a man greatly distinguished for his virtues and his services. The Duke of Nemours having met him one day at the head of a detachment, called to him, asking how he came to be in arms against his king? Castelnau answered, "that their plan was not to make war against the king, but only to make remonstrances against the tyranny of the Guises." "Lay down your arms then," said Nemours, "and if you wish to address the king as becomes a faithful subject, I promise you, upon my faith, to enable you to speak to the king and to bring you back in safety." Castelnau, in consequence, surrendered the castle of Noizai to the Duke of Nemours, who took an oath and signed it, that no harm should happen to him or his followers. They went together to Amboise, where the unfortunate baron found that the promise which had been made him was not binding, for the Duke of Nemours had exceeded his orders. Castelnau's bravery did not forsake him on the scaffold, where he died a martyr to his religion; the Duke of Nemours felt very indignant at the circumstance, as he had given his signature, which tormented him probably much more than it would have done if his word alone had been passed.‡

The Prince of Condé could not expect to escape the suspicion of being concerned in the conspiracy; scarcely any charge could be made out from the confession of La Renaudie's secretary, who had been racked for that purpose, but some letters were discovered, which, whether genuine or not, afforded materials for an accusation. The Guises kept secret the contents of the letters in question, and waited a favourable opportunity for laying hold of the prince. His friends, however, sent him advice of what had occurred, and warned him not to come to court; but the queen mother sent him word that she would answer for his safety, and he came directly and demanded to have his character cleared of the charge. The king gave him an audience before the whole court, and the different ambassadors, when the prince pleaded his cause with great ability. He complained of the suspicions which had been raised against him; that some persons had represented him as a man who meditated designs against the king's person; he showed that his arrival was sufficient proof of his innocence, for that if he felt himself guilty, he should not have been mad enough to surrender himself as he had done. He took a review of the accusations against him, declaring them the calumnies of his private enemies, who would not dare to state them in his presence. "But," said the prince in conclusion, "if any one is bold enough to maintain that I have tempted the French to revolt

against the sacred person of the king, and that I am author of the conspiracy, renouncing the privilege of my rank, I am ready to prove him a liar in single combat."

The Duke of Guise plainly perceived that these words were addressed to him, but he took care not to notice them; on the contrary, he pretended to be persuaded of Condé's innocence; for he immediately rose in the assembly, and said aloud, "that he would not suffer so great a prince to be thus aspersed; and begged to be chosen as his second."* Those who had seen the letters upon which the charge was grounded, could not comprehend the reason of the duke's conduct; reflection, however, made it generally thought that the queen mother's influence had drawn the Prince of Condé from his unpleasant situation in order to display her power to the Guises, that they might not fail in due deference to her will in future.†

It was otherwise with the nation at large, who were astonished at Guise's generosity to his greatest enemy. The duke's cruelty to the other conspirators was forgotten, and every prejudice against him was effaced. The king could not condemn, and yet was afraid to absolve the Prince of Condé; he remained a short time about the court, when his presence being a burden to the Guises, he was allowed to retire to his chateau at La Ferté-sous-Jouarre.

CHAPTER IX.

Death of the Chancellor Olivier, who is succeeded by Michael de l'Hopital—Assembly of the Notables at Fontainebleau—States-General at Orleans—Arrest and condemnation of the Prince of Condé—Death of Francis II.

THE executions which took place in consequence of the conspiracy of Amboise, were both numerous and summary; a judicial process was not even thought of, and capture was followed by immediate punishment.‡ But when the first feelings of indignation had subsided, and the greater part of the malcontents were killed or dispersed, the government took measures for a more moderate line of conducted. The chancellor Olivier had always advocated gentle methods, and had shown great reluctance in condemning the numerous victims, required by the revenge of the Lorrain princes. The chancellor trembled lest the nation should charge him with so much bloodshed; while the Guises entertained strong suspicions that he belonged to the conspiracy. The conflict of his feelings so affected this eminent judge and excellent man, that he was taken ill and died a few days after.§ He deplored to the last the sad necessity which had reduced him to appear an instrument of Guise's despotism; he turned his face to the wall, and refused to see the Cardinal of Lorraine, who called on him just before he died, saying, that he was the accused cardinal who had been the cause of all the condemnations.||

The person appointed to succeed him was

* Davila, liv. 1. De Thou, liv. 24. D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 95. and Hist. des derniers Troubles de France, vol. i. p. 4. Paris, 1600.

† Vie de Coligny, p. 210.

‡ Ils estoient pendus tous bottéz et esperonnez. Hist. des derniers Troubles, liv. 1.

§ 30th March, 1560.

|| Vieilleville, vol. iv. p. 193. Hist. du Tumulte d'Amboise.

* D'Aubigné, *ut supra*.—The edict is given in the *Journal de Brulart*.

† Vie de Coligny, p. 208.

‡ D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 94. Hist. du Tumulte d'Amboise. Vieilleville, vol. iv. p. 191. Brantome, vol. vi. p. 410. De Thou, liv. 24.

Michael de l'Hopital, than whom no one could be found more deserving or more capable. He was born about the year 1503; his father was physician to the Constable of Bourbon, and accompanied him to Italy, taking with him his son Michael. When he returned to Paris his talents soon brought him into notice, and he passed with honour through the different gradations of the magistrature. While a counsellor of the parliament, he had exerted himself to reform the different abuses, which long neglect had suffered to arrive at a disgraceful pitch: he received, as might be expected, but little support, and his single arm could do scarcely anything in furtherance of his laudable undertaking; still his endeavours ultimately produced benefits, for which France is bound to revere his memory. The persecution of the Protestants had occupied his attention, from the first attempt to establish the inquisition; and on every occasion his powers had been exerted in the promotion of tolerant measures. At every step of his advancement, so highly was his character esteemed, that the appointment was universally applauded. He was, however, very austere, and was feared by all the magistracy, who dreaded his inquiring into their lives and capacities. Brantome calls him a second Cato, having his appearance in everything, with his long white beard, his pale face, and grave manner: he mentions also that many persons at court used to say he was a perfect likeness of St. Jerome.*

The favourite object of the new chancellor was to calm the public mind, by having the great question of toleration discussed in an assembly of the states-general; and to call a national council for regulating and defining the theological disputes and differences then prevalent.† He feared at first that the Duke of Guise would be opposed to such a plan; but to his surprise, both the duke and the cardinal consented to call an Assembly of the Notables at Fontainebleau, on the 21st of August. L'Hopital indulged the idea of establishing peace in the kingdom, and anticipated a happy conclusion to the solemn deliberations about to take place. The Guises it appears looked forward with equal complacency to the probable consequences of such a discussion; they considered that in the collision of the opposite parties, in the warmth of debate, the real opinions of different persons might be perfectly ascertained; they could then count their enemies with ease, and take the most effectual measures for strengthening their own cause. The persons invited to the assembly were the princes of the blood, the more powerful nobles, and the principal magistrates.

The general conduct of the Guises displayed such haughtiness to the whole noblesse, and such rancour against a considerable number of families, that the assembly at Fontainebleau was looked upon as a snare. The dreadful example of Amboise showed how far their revenge would carry them, and the more the character of those princes was considered, the greater distrust was excited in the public mind. The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé paid no attention to the king's summons; they retired to the chateau of Nerac in

Gascony. The Montmorencies and Chatillons did not dare to disobey the call, but went to the assembly as to a military conference, being escorted by a large body of horsemen.* When the business of the assembly was opened, the admiral went on his knees before the king, and presented a petition from the Protestants. The king handed it to l'Aubespine his secretary, who having read, "a request of the people, who address their prayers to God according to the true rule of piety," all those who were in favour of the Guises began to murmur. The king ordered silence, and the secretary continued reading the petition, which contained a very humble prayer that the persecutions might cease; it showed also, that though they were called heretics they were quite ready to abide by the Scriptures; that the pope was not a proper person to decide upon such matters, as his decisions had more partiality than justice; and concluded with supplicating the king to reflect upon their miseries, and adopt such remedies as his prudence might suggest.†

Coligny's proceeding went directly to excite the opposition of the violent Catholics, and the Cardinal of Lorraine spoke at length against the Protestants. Coligny in his reply observed, that "he spoke on behalf of fifty thousand persons," which so enraged the Duke of Guise, that he declared vehemently, "that he would break all their heads with a hundred thousand good Catholics, whom he would lead against them."‡ This is said to be the beginning of the mortal feud which arose between the Duke of Guise and the admiral. Marillac, Archbishop of Vienne, and Montluc, Bishop of Valence, both addressed the assembly, and proposed (as the best and safest way of settling the question) to submit to the resolution of a general council freely and legitimately assembled; it was concluded that the states-general should be held in December, and the national council in January.§

Opinions are divided respecting the conduct of the Guises on this occasion; some writers maintain that, but for the hostile movements of the Prince of Condé, the states-general would have been conducted without any violent measure on their part; others, however, contend that their design from the first was to collect the Protestant leaders, and arrest them all at once; but the secret information which reached the prince compelled him to take arms in his own defence. Secrecy was no longer necessary, and the Guises openly pursued their principal object, the destruction of the Bourbon princes, who were a barrier to their ever obtaining the throne.

With this view they changed the commanders of the different provinces, in order to have all the forces at their disposal, and surround the King of Navarre and his brother with their emissaries. They had therefore the earliest intelligence of Condé's collecting troops in Dauphiny; they seized a person in his employ, named Lasague, who had on his person some of the prince's correspondence.|| The letters appeared to contain

* Davila, liv. 2.

† Vie de Coligny, p. 213. De Thou, liv. 25.

‡ Brantome, vol. viii. p. 170. Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 80. Davila, liv. 2.

§ Hist. des derniers Troubles, liv. 1. p. 4. D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 97. Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 413. Mém. de Condé, vol. i. p. 555.

|| De Thou, liv. 25. p. 526.—Sommaire récit de la Calomnieuse Accusation de M. le Prince de Condé, &c. &c. Inserted in vol. ii. of Mém. de Condé.

* Brantome, vol. vii. p. 91.

† One of his first measures was the Edict of Romorantin, dated 4th May, 1560. De Thou says, that it was framed solely with a view to prevent the Guises from establishing the inquisition in France.

nothing of importance; but the bearer was tortured to make him give sufficient information for them to put the prince on his trial. Lasague informed them, that there was a project for a general movement to demand the disgrace or the death of the Lorrain princes. It was not, however, till his life was threatened, that he gave them the desired information; he told them to dip in water the wrapper of a letter written by the Vidame of Chartres. The hand-writing of Dardois, the Constable's secretary, became visible; they learned the continued and unchangeable resolution of that nobleman to destroy the Guises, with his opinion that he hoped to succeed in spite of the King, and that they must no longer hesitate, but attack them with open force.*

The Vidame of Chartres was immediately put in the Bastille, where he was treated with great rigour;† the queen-mother was said to have entertained a great passion for him, but she deserted him on this occasion. After remaining for some time in suspense as to his fate, he was set at liberty, and died soon after, with a suspicion of having been poisoned.‡

The Bourbon princes received at first the most pressing invitations, and afterwards imperative orders to attend the states-general at Orleans: if they were absent, they were informed that they would be treated as criminals. Condé was for setting the court at defiance, but the King of Navarre would not risk the loss of his estates. They had already assembled a considerable number of gentlemen, both catholics and protestants, who traversed Gascony with them, and who would have supported the undertaking, as recommended by the Constable Montmorency. Repeated commands from the court at length intimidated the King of Navarre, and he dismissed his little army, saying, "I must obey, but I will obtain your pardon of the King." "Go," said an old captain, "and ask pardon for yourself; our safety is in our swords."§ The gentlemen became indignant, and went away to their different homes.

In the month of October the Bourbon princes set out for Orleans. They were cautioned not to go, as they would be called to account for several tumults which had taken place in different parts; but they considered that their friends who would be at the meeting, were sufficiently numerous to prevent any measure of that kind. Some of their well-wishers who were about the court, proposed to seize the children of the Duke of Guise as hostages; others suggested that Condé should remain in security, while Navarre went to Orleans. This latter counsel was in vain urged by the Princess of Condé and her mother; contrary advice, given by the Cardinal of Bourbon prevailed, and the two brothers, pursued their journey together.|| The Admiral had received similar cautions, and his brother, the Cardinal of Chatillon, was very urgent in persuading him to stay away: he had, however, so great a wish to obtain the edict for liberty of conscience, that nothing could restrain him; he considered also that his friends would require his presence, and that he should not doubt the word of

the king, who had promised personal safety to all whom he summoned.*

The Bourbon princes and the Chatillons arrived at Orleans about the same time; the Prince of Condé was immediately arrested; the King of Navarre was watched so closely that he could not be said to be at liberty; and Coligny and Andelot were surrounded by persons, who were to keep a constant eye upon them.† The friends upon whom all four had reckoned, thinking their cause hopeless, abandoned them; indeed the king showed such indignation against the Prince of Condé, that his destruction appeared inevitable.

A commission was appointed to try him: the prince refused to plead to such a tribunal, alleging that a prince of the blood could be tried only by the parliament of Paris, assisted by the peers: he was told that the King's pleasure was, that he should be so tried, and that if he did not plead, they should proceed at once to condemn him.‡ The prince displayed great intrepidity, and protested against the power which put him on his trial contrary to law: he was found guilty, and condemned to be beheaded. Although the greatest dispatch was used in every stage of the proceeding, a delay inevitably took place, and postponed the conclusion of the affair. The relations of the prince availed themselves of this interval, in trying to obtain his pardon. The Princess of Condé threw herself at the king's feet, bathed in tears. Francis said to her, "Your husband has wished to take away my crown and my life." When the Guises were applied to, they observed, "We must with one blow cut off the head of both heresy and rebellion."§ The complete destruction of heresy was to follow the prince's execution, and every one was to be compelled to sign a confession of faith, drawn up by the Sorbonne, in 1542.||

The King of Navarre made great efforts to save his brother's life, little thinking that his own was in danger at the same time.¶ The Duke of Guise had formed a plan for murdering him in the king's chamber; and had even obtained the consent of Francis II. Navarre was summoned to the king's presence, but at first refused to go, having been told, that at a sign from Francis, the assassins would fall upon him. When the order came a third time, he went, making this remark to Reinsy, one of his gentlemen, "I will go, I will fight as long as I have a breath of life. If I fall, take my shirt, stained with my blood; carry it to my son, and let him give up his life rather than the desire of avenging it." Francis did not dare to attempt so foul a crime; the signal was not given, and Navarre returned without harm. The Duke of Guise, quite vexed at seeing him escape, exclaimed with indignation, "what a poor King we have!"***

* Vie de Coligny, p. 218.

† D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 101. Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 81.

‡ An arrêt to that effect was given 20th Nov. 1560.—Mem. de Condé, vol. i.

§ Davila, liv. 2.

|| Hist. du Calvinisme, liv. 2.

¶ On one occasion a soldier was hired to murder him with a pistol, while hunting; but the Duke of Anjou advised him not to join in the excursion. He went to bed, complaining of a violent colic, and when the King found that the chief object of the hunting party was defeated, he returned at once to his apartments.—Cayet, liv. 6, p. 510.

** De Thou, d'Aubigné and Cayet. According to the Abbé Anquetil, Guise's expression, when he found Francis would not consent to the murder, was, "O le lache! O le poltron!" —Esprit de la Ligue, vol. i. p. 84.

• Davila, liv. 2. D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 97. De Thou, liv. 25, p. 542.

† 29 Aug. 1560. Journal de Brulart.

‡ Brantome, vol. x. p. 365.

§ Voltaire, *Essai sur les guerres civiles de France*.

|| D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 101.—Davila, liv. 2. De Thou, liv. 26.

No entreaties could move the King to pardon his kinsman, whose execution was now urged by the Guises. Every delay which occurred was a disappointment to them; and Francis had resolved on a journey to Chambord, in order to avoid witnessing the dreadful spectacle, when suddenly he was taken ill, and compelled to keep his bed. At this news the Chancellor sent for Ambrose Paré, the King's surgeon, and on questioning him, he found that Francis was not likely to recover. He was very desirous of postponing the prince's death, and had delayed signing the order for his execution by counterfeiting illness. The Guises, alarmed at the state of the King's health, and fearing their victim would escape, went to his house, and begged him to sign it: he pretended to have a violent cholick, which prevented him from examining the body of the decree, a thing necessary for him to do, before he could sign it. The Chancellor's pretended illness lasted till the King's danger became imminent; he then changed his ground, and recommended the Queen Mother to take advantage of the present situation of affairs, for uniting herself closely with the princes of the blood, as the Guises already began to despise her. She agreed with the Chancellor, and Coligny was charged with the negotiation.*

The Prince of Condé, in the mean time, was proof against all fear: his tranquillity was unruffled. Although deprived of his own servants, and debarred from seeing his wife, his gaiety never deserted him; and he wrote letters to the princess, full of consolation.† Nor did his firmness quit him when the state of the King's health gave him some hopes; for when he was solicited to consent to an accommodation with the Guises, he answered, "the only means of settling it is with a lance."‡

The King continued to get worse every day, and the Guises knew well that they could find no equivalent in the next reign for their influence over their niece the Queen Consort; the death of Condé, therefore, became of less importance to them than the friendship of the Queen Mother, who would be sure to direct every measure, when the succeeding monarch came to the crown. The King of Navarre having promised to renounce his rights to the regency, which must very soon occur, Catherine agreed to suspend the sentence of death hanging over his brother.§ The Guises at first were anxious to have it carried into execution; they recommended the destruction of the house of Bourbon, and offered their persons, their fortunes, and their influence, to assist her.|| But the Chancellor L'Hopital had shown the Queen that to support the Lorraine princes would ensure her own ruin; she was wise enough to value his advice, and sufficiently crafty to avail herself of the offers of each family against the other. Francis II. died the fifth of December, 1560, in the eighteenth year of his age, having reigned only seventeen months. Extremely feeble in both body and mind, his youth exempts him from being accountable for the misfortunes of his government, and converts into pity the reproaches to which he would be exposed.

The death of Francis II. has frequently been

attributed to poison. Such suspicions can never be either clearly defined, or fully removed; their very nature presenting a barrier to all éclaircissement. The Prince of Condé was, of all others, the most interested in the event; and next to him the Admiral Coligny, who was in prison till the King's illness rendered him necessary to the Queen Mother, in the negotiation between her and the King of Navarre; but neither Condé nor Coligny were accused of having instigated such a thing. The Guises had too much to lose by the King's death to be exposed to such a suspicion.

The surgeon, Ambrose Paré, has been charged with putting poison into an abscess in the King's ear, at the command of Catherine de Medicis, who saw no other way of preserving her authority.* That Paré was not considered guilty of such a crime, by those who were the most competent judges, we may infer from this circumstance; that although a declared protestant, he was continued in his post of King's surgeon, and at the massacre of the St. Bartholomew, Charles IX. kept him in his own chamber, to preserve him from the slaughter: he sent for him previous to the massacre, and commanded him not to stir out.† Whereas had he been really suspected by the Guises; such is their acknowledged character for vengeance, that he must have fallen a victim to it: supposing him guilty, he had doubly injured them; he had destroyed the great power and influence they were enjoying, and he had thwarted their revenge upon the Prince of Condé.

With respect to Catherine de Medicis, it must be stated, that she has been accused of poisoning three of her sons, besides the dauphin Francis, her husband's brother,‡ and Jane d'Albret, Queen of Navarre. Her general character certainly justifies the imputation; but such serious charges ought not to be too generally received, for in all ages and countries a suspicion of poisoning has always been circulated, when any important person has died suddenly. At the same time there is evidence enough in history, to prevent us from dismissing every such accusation, as equally unfounded.

CHAPTER X.

Reign of Charles IX.;—Assembly of the States-general;—Formation of the Triumvirate;—Edict of July.

THE accession of Charles IX. completely changed the face of affairs: the ascendancy of Catherine de Medicis over her son Francis, had been counteracted by the influence of the Guises over their niece, his consort; the new King was only ten years of age, and his mother assumed the direction of affairs free from almost every control. The rival parties were busy in opposing each other, instead of limiting her authority.

One of the first acts of this reign was a letter which Charles wrote to the parliament, on the

* Vie de Coligny, p. 221.

† Brantome, vol. i. p. 428.—(*Vie de Charles IX.*)

‡ Brantome, vol. vi. p. 399. According to De Thou, liv. 1. p. 37, the king (Francis I.) would not permit an investigation. In the 'Life of Tournou' by the Jesuit Fleury, suspicion is directed against the Emperor. "The confessions of Montecuculi did no credit to the enemies of France," p. 141. It is however obvious that Charles V. was more interested in the death of prince Henry and his bride than in that of the dauphin. For the *arrêt*, see Villeroy, vol. vii.

* Vie de Coligny, p. 220. D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 103.

† De Thou, liv. 26.

‡ Esprit de la Ligue, vol. i. p. 85.

§ Mém. de Tavannes, p. 242.

|| De Thou, liv. 26.

8th of December, 1560;* in which after announcing the death of Francis II. he informed that body, "that considering his youth, and confiding in the virtue and prudence of the queen his mother, he had requested her to undertake the administration of affairs, with the wise counsel and advice of the King of Navarre, and of the persons of distinction in the late king's council." This was a great blow to the Guises; but though lowered in their power and influence, they were very far from being cast down, for all zealous catholics placed their entire hopes in that family, for preventing the growth or even the continuance of heresy. On the other hand the Prince of Condé recovered his liberty, and the hopes of the Protestant party began to revive; especially as the King of Navarre was lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and the Chancellor L'Hopital had openly expressed his desire of establishing liberty of conscience. As the two factions were now about equal in force, the queen was in hopes of maintaining her ascendancy over both; her object was therefore to remain on good terms with all parties, and to avoid taking any part in their disputes; every succeeding quarrel, let the advantage be on whatever side it might, would increase her relative strength; and in an age when violence was so much resorted to, the number of her rivals, and enemies, must soon be diminished.

As yet the Constable was independent of each party; his hatred to the Guises was equalled only by his detestation of the Huguenots; Catherine, however, thought it prudent to attach him to herself, and sent for him to court. On his arrival, both parties caressed him, and left nothing untried to win him to their side: he refused the offers of the Guises, without, however, joining the Bourbon princes.

When he came to Orleans, he exercised his authority as Constable, in dismissing the bodies of armed men, who were stationed at the gates: "I wish," said he, "that in future the king may go about his kingdom in security without guards." On approaching the young king, he went on his knee, and shed tears on his hand, while he kissed it with heartfelt loyalty: "Sire," said he, "let not the present troubles alarm you; I will sacrifice my life, and so will all your faithful subjects, for the preservation of your crown."†

After making the necessary arrangements for conducting the different branches of the administration, the states-general assembled on the 13th of December. It would seem that in reality they had been convoked under Francis II. for no other purpose than to assure and legalise the vengeance intended for the Prince of Condé: that project having failed, there was no further occasion for them. Still as they were assembled, it was thought they ought not to separate without doing something; and, in consequence, the king with the whole court went to hear the speeches made by the chancellor and other orators.‡

The Chancellor L'Hopital was deceived by the demonstrations of pretended zeal for the public good, and by the politic conduct of the queen mother. His speech attests his mistake: he indulged in the anticipation of beholding France re-

stored to happiness and concord. The guarantee of this happy prospect, of his restoration, of the rightful authority of the king and the laws, was to be the work of a national council, in which religious discord was to be extinguished, and the salutary reign of toleration should be hailed by all parties. In tracing out the long series of troubles, and the gloomy picture of crimes committed in the name of religion, he disposed the minds of many to be favourable to his plan, and partake of his hopes. The necessity of peace was his main argument, and he easily proved that a difference of faith was no reason for breaking it. He passed in review the different departments of the government, and pointed out the reforms, of which each was susceptible. Much was required to be done in the laws, and courts of law; but his display of the financial state of France quickly convinced them that there was the part which required the most speedy and the most complete reform; "the king," said he, "has found his finances so much exhausted by ten years of war and other expenses, that his father and his brother appear to have left him no other inheritance than motives for weeping."*

The president of the noblesse demanded a reform of every body except the nobles, who alone did their duty, according to his opinion. The speaker for the Tiers Etat inveighed severely against the clergy, and the speaker for the clergy called upon the king to punish the heretics without pity; his sentiment, however, was so ill received that the orator was forced to explain it away.† The chancellor was delighted to find the temper of the states-general so well inclined for toleration, and so cheerfully did the various parties appear to concur in promoting the general good, that he considered his end as already attained.

But the unfortunate state of the finances spoiled the smiling prospect. The present penury was traced to the extravagant gifts, which Henry II. and the late king had bestowed on different courtiers. In the discussion, the names of many nobles were mentioned, as possessing great sums which ought to be refunded. The enemies of Guise in particular did not conceal their hopes of compelling him to restore very large sums, the grants of which could not be justified. L'Hopital perceived that their ill-will would be aroused, and their quarrels rekindled: in order to avoid such consequences, he adjourned the States-general to the fifth of May.

The sittings had continued till the end of January, 1561. During that interval the Prince of Condé had been called to court, and was subsequently declared innocent of the charges which had been brought against him:‡ he appeared in great credit and favour. The Bourbons found their party constantly increasing; still the Guises were very much favoured by the queen-mother. At length, the King of Navarre, and his brother, the Constable, the Chatillons, and the principal nobility, threatened to quit the court and to go to Paris, and have the King of Navarre declared regent by the parliament, unless the Lorraine princes were sent away.§ The carriages were

* De Thou, liv. 27.

† Ibid.

‡ A decree for that purpose was drawn up 13th March, (De Thou, liv. 27) but it was not registered till 13th June, 1561—*Journal de Brulart*.

§ Letter from Perrenot de Chantonnay, the Spanish ambassador: this correspondence is inserted in vol. ii. of the *Mém. de Condé*.

* *Mém. de Condé*, vol. ii. p. 212.

† *Mém. de Tavannes*, p. 243. Davila, liv. 2.

‡ The chancellor had sufficient influence to get a confirmation of the edict of Romorantin, and a letter from the king ordering the enlargement of all persons in prison on account of religion. *Mém. de Condé*, vol. ii. p. 266 et seq.

ready to leave Fontainebleau, where the court then was, having left Orleans at the commencement of February; and all the partisans of the Bourbon princes were prepared to mount, when the Chancellor advised the king to call Montmorency into his apartment.* Charles forbade the constable to quit the court, and expressly ordered him to remain near his person. This order overturned every thing: the constable dared not give an example of such disobedience; he stayed with the king. The King of Navarre, fearing that while they were going to Paris, the affair might be settled altogether without him, remained likewise. The parties then began to negotiate.†

Catherine supported the Guises in this affair, considering their power so great, that the consequences of their enmity were to be dreaded, by herself and her son. But she soon discontinued her protection; for it became very evident that the Spanish ambassador was the decided auxiliary of that party: he gave them advice, regulated their projects, and changed their plans, when not consistent with his views; the Guises, on their part, did nothing without consulting him, and lent him every assistance in their power, whenever he required such co-operation.‡

Such a connexion naturally excited the suspicions of Catherine, who deemed it necessary to encourage the Calvinists as a counterpoise. She showed herself friendly to the protestant leaders, in order that they might be disposed to second her in case of need. But her tolerance, although it gained her the good-will of most of the protestants, was the means of her losing the Constable's friendship; and, in consequence, her plan entirely failed. Montmorency was disgusted with the preference she showed for the new religion; one cause of discontent was followed by another, and he soon after joined the party of the Guises.

Circumstances were decidedly in favour of the reformed at this period, and, without the energy and influence of the Guises, the protestant cause might have been successful. "Heresy," observes a talented Jesuit, "was seen to enter triumphantly into the palace of the most Christian king; and it may be said that there it exercised complete sway." The queen permitted ministers to preach in the royal apartments, which were thronged, while a poor Jacobin who preached the Lent sermons at Fontainebleau, had no audience. The whole court seemed Calvinist; and meat was served at all the tables during Lent. No one talked of hearing mass; and the young king, who was taken to church for the sake of appearances, went almost alone. The pope's authority was ridiculed, the worship of saints, images, &c., was treated as superstition; and to sum up the edict in favour of the Huguenots prevented any one from being troubled on account of religion.§

Tournou exercised his influence over the Constable, to bring about a reconciliation between him and Guise; and, inflamed by the cardinal's eloquence, the noble veteran spared no efforts for suppressing such a scandal against the catholic religion. Having heard that Montluc, bishop of

Valence, was preaching in the Louvre with a hat and short cloak, similar to those worn by the ministers, he entered hastily, and fixing a menacing look on the bishop, called out to his attendants to pull down from the pulpit that bishop, disguised as a minister. Montluc, alarmed, quickly made his escape, to avoid the threatened violence.*

As the main strength of the Guises lay in the fanaticism of the multitude, they did all in their power to make the Queen suspected of heresy. They gave out that she had for some time embraced those opinions, otherwise she would not have interested herself on behalf of some protestants who were condemned to death. But all this would have led to nothing, had not the King of Navarre, in his desire to be revenged on the Guises, proposed that, instead of levying fresh imposts, all the grants made by the two last kings should be revoked. The Constable, who had received at different times as much as four hundred thousand francs, from that time looked upon the King of Navarre as his greatest enemy. The sums which the Guises had obtained were far more considerable; their old enmity was now buried in their community of interest.†

It has been mentioned that the states-general had been adjourned and not dismissed: it was decided, that in the interval before their re-assembly, there should be held an assembly in each province, to prepare the affairs for the general meeting. The assembly of Paris, among other things, proposed that an account should be made out of the large grants given by the two last kings to the Guises, the Duchess of Valentinois, the Marshal Saint André, and others.‡ This last-named person was of a good family; his name was James d'Albon. He had been the early companion of Henry II., and possessed a considerable share of his esteem. No one surpassed him in his expensive way of living; his table was served extravagantly, and his furniture and equipages were of the most costly description. In spite of the extent of his sovereign's kindness, he was constantly in debt; and, in consequence, he was always ready to share in any confiscation of property, on the ground either of heresy or rebellion. He and the Duchess of Valentinois had rendered themselves particularly obnoxious to the protestants by their activity in that particular.§

To avert the threatened storm, St. André proposed to the Duke of Guise to form a strict union with the Constable. In vain did the Chatillons assure their aged uncle that the proposed measure would not affect him; he was deaf to their entreaties: the influence of the Duchess of Valentinois induced Montmorency to be reconciled entirely to his old enemy.|| A league was formed, which has obtained the name of Triumvirate: Guise, Montmorency, and St. André, all swore at the altar to forget their old quarrels, and signed a treaty by which they were to be united, for the purpose of exterminating the heretics. The specious pretence of serving religion, while they meditated the most violent resentments, is of a piece with the tyranny which they inflicted upon France.

* Mem. de Tavannes, p. 243.—Brantome insists that the queen acted solely from her own suggestions, "for," says he, "she had more prudence than all the king's council together."—Vol. i. p. 65.—(*Vie de Cath. de Med.*)

† De Thou, liv. 27.

‡ Esprit de la Ligue, vol. i. p. 100.

§ Maimbourg, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 3.

• Fleury, *Hist. du Cardinal Tournou*, p. 358.

† Vie de Coligny, p. 225.

‡ Davila, liv. 2. Mem. de Condé, vol. ii. p. 331.

§ Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 369.

|| Davila, liv. 2. p. 165. De Thou, liv. 27.

The different parties were now blended into two; the Triumvirs supported by the catholics, and the Bou-bon princes at the head of the protestants. The queen had no desire to oppress the latter party, and, after some discussion, the Chancellor took the opportunity of proposing an edict, which suspended the pursuits against the Calvinists until the general council had been assembled. This was a great point gained; the different towns in France were for some time to be freed from the terrible spectacle of men being burned alive, for daring to follow the dictates of conscience. It was called the edict of July, 1561. But though it relieved the protestants from the punishment of death, it still refused them the principal prayer of their petition—permission to assemble for public worship. The Duke of Guise was highly pleased, and said aloud as he quitted the parliament, “To maintain this decree, my sword shall never stick to its scabbard.”* Remarkable words, which the duke afterwards acted upon, when a subsequent edict gave the protestants further liberty.

CHAPTER XI.

States-General at Pontoise—Conference of Poissy—The king of Navarre deserts the Protestant party.

THE declared object of the Triumvirate being to extirpate heresy, the protestants foresaw that they must endure fresh persecutions; prudence, therefore, induced them to prepare for their own defence. Their alarm commenced early in the spring;† and the spirit which they displayed contributed a great deal towards the passing of the edict of July.

The protestants were considerably increased in number, and the court was alarmed by a report, that the Huguenots intended to trouble the procession of the Fête Dieu. The Duke of Guise had quitted the court for a short time, intending to pass a few weeks with some friends at his chateau. About a fortnight after he had left, the queen-mother and the king sent for him back, as he was much wanted. Guise arrived, willing to undertake any thing for the good of the Catholic religion. When he prepared to attend the summons he said to his followers, “If it were for any other subject I would not stir; but as it concerns the honour of God, I will go; and whoever may wish to attempt any thing, I will die in the cause, for I cannot die in a better.” Brantome, who relates this, mentions that he was present, and accompanied the duke in a speedy journey to Paris. He adds, that the processions were made very devoutly and quietly, without any disorder, tumult, or insolence: but that every body said, with one voice, that but for the Duke of Guise there would have been lewdness and insolence, which being foreseen, he told the principal among them, that if there should be the least stir, they would soon join hands, and the Huguenots would get the worst of it.‡

* Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 85.

† A letter from the Spanish ambassador, dated 10th May, 1561, mentions a tumult at Beauvais, on which occasion the Cardinal de Chatillon was in very great danger. *Mem. de Condé*, vol. ii. p. 11. It is also mentioned by de Thou in liv. 28.

‡ Brantome, vol. viii. p. 90, et seq.

One result of the edict of July was the apparent reconciliation between the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Guise; it was brought about by order of the king, who wished to see them friends. They embraced each other, ate together, and swore mutual friendship; but they never pardoned each other. In the mean time the states-general were assembled at Pontoise;* they confirmed the queen in the regency, and the King of Navarre in his post of Lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The meeting was very thinly attended, having no representatives of the clergy, and but few for the other two orders. Instead of discussing the restoration of the royal grants, as the Triumvirs expected, the states-general attacked the whole body of the clergy; and so heartily did the greater part concur in condemning the dissolute and extravagant lives of the priests and monks, that the Huguenots began to entertain the most sanguine expectations. The cry became popular; and the ignorance, the bad morals, and the riches of the ecclesiastical body, were the general topics of conversation. The public wish was that their property should be reduced; one third, well administered, it was said, would suffice for the maintenance of the ecclesiastics, and the remainder could be employed in paying off the debts of the state, by which means the taxes might be diminished.†

But although the clergy had deserted their post in the states-general, the interests of Rome were not left unprotected. Among the courtiers who possessed great influence, the Pope had several pensioners; they formally opposed the proceedings. The public voice however was so strong on the occasion, that they considered the only way to avert the impending storm was to offer the king a round sum of money as a gift; the court accepted it, and the public clamours subsided.

The states-general, however, continued to demand a tolerant legislation in matters of religion; and to call for numerous reforms in the clerical order: this was the business of a general council, and the convocation of one became the desire of all parties.

The dogma of the Pope's infallibility, so far from having antiquity to plead in its favour, was not thoroughly established before the council of Trent. The old practice of the Romish church was quite contrary to such a notion.‡ Councils were continually held for discussing religious matters, and whether the affair related to doctrine or to discipline, all the prelates of Christendom were to be summoned to the assembly; but when a spirit of inquiry became diffused, the dangers of an Œcumenic Council were very much dreaded; and this dogma was more strongly insisted upon to counteract the evil.

When the reformation was first preached, Luther merely exposed those points which were fit subjects for a general council; most persons who were attached to the church acquiesced in the propriety of adopting some reforms, and earnestly desired

* The states-general held at Pontoise, were opened at St. Germain.

† The discourse of M. Bretagne, orator of the Tiers-etat, contains a development of these principles: it is given at length in the 2nd vol. of *Mém. de Condé*. See also de Thou, liv. 28.

‡ John Gerson, a celebrated divine of the 14th century, contends in one of his works that a general council can depose the Pope, and elect another. See Pasquier, vol. i. p. 346.

that a council should be held, to consider what changes were necessary for the good of the catholic religion. Had this been done, the reformation would have been effected without creating the violent convulsions which occurred throughout Europe. But the ecclesiastics in general were convinced that no reform could take place without stripping them of their wealth and impunity.* The clergy, both regular and parochial, were zealous in opposing the measure; the popes also displayed an extreme repugnance to it; they considered that in proportion as a reform in discipline would give dignity and glory to the church, it would diminish their grandeur and power.

The Protestants, so far from objecting to a council, were willing to abide by its decision, provided it were free and independent; that it should not be held in Italy, but in Germany; and that the decisions should be framed, not upon the sentiments of scholastics, or the laws of the Pope, but exclusively according to the Word of God. The Pope would not consent to such a trial; and when Charles V. insisted upon a council being called, Clement VII. answered him by excuses, equivocations, and delays.†

The succeeding pontiff, Paul III., was so pressed that he consented to call a council at Mantua in 1537: a variety of circumstances afforded excuses for repeated delays and removals. Vicenza was fixed upon in 1538; in 1542 the legate went to Trent, and the council began its deliberations; the prelates, however, arrived very slowly, and an adjournment took place till 1545. Eight sessions were held during 1546 and 1547, when a plague broke out, and gave a fresh occasion to delay the council. The death of Paul III., a war, and the opposite opinions of two or three succeeding popes prolonged this memorable council, which altogether had twenty-five sessions, the last of which was concluded the 3rd of December, 1563.

In all probability the council would never have been brought to a conclusion, if the people of France had not demanded it so earnestly. While they only expressed their desire by petitions, remonstrances, and letters from persons of rank, the Pope held firm, and the council remained suspended. But at length the call of the nobles was joined to the clamour of the nation, and it was announced, that if the Pope did not call one, a national council should be held. Pius IV. was alarmed, and in 1561 gave a bull for re-assembling the council at Trent.

The remedy did not come till the disorder was too far spread to feel its effect, and the delays of the court of Rome had made such an impression that the council would never be held, that a public discussion of the differences between the Protestants and Catholics was already agreed upon. It was decided that it should be held at Poissy; and although the Pope's legate, aided by a number of prelates, did their utmost to prevent it, the only thing which they could effect was, that the assembly should be called a Conference, instead of a Council.

The Cardinal of Lorraine had shown a great willingness to hold a council, and anticipated some

renown from the part which he should take in it, as he prided himself greatly upon his theological knowledge. The more zealous catholics, however, blamed him very much for compromising a faith which had subsisted so many ages; for whatever might be said, the bare wish for discussion was an attack upon it. "The government," says a violent catholic, "committed a very great fault, or at least an idleness, in permitting the conference of Poissy, instead of sending Beza and his troop to the council of Trent."*

The Pope also was so little pleased at the conference being held, that he sent Jacques Lain  , the general of the Jesuits, to try to break it off.† Maimbourg gives the following as the substance of his speech. "There was nothing more dangerous than to treat of any kind of reconciliation with the heretics, who are compared in the Scriptures to foxes and wolves in sheep's clothing; because under the fine appearance of an ambiguous expression, they insinuate the venom of their heresy, which becomes authorised by being received without precaution."‡

The Catholic bishops and the Protestant ministers were summoned, and the conference commenced on the ninth of September. The king went there with all his court, the princes of the blood, and the great officers of state. The divines consisted of five cardinals, forty bishops, a great number of doctors, and twelve ministers of the reformed religion. Theodore Beza was the leader of the argument on the side of the Protestants, and by his ability in this discussion, he obtained great honour; he quite justified the confidence of his party, and if he did not convince the Catholics, he astonished them by his eloquence, which was lively and animated; by the acuteness of his reasonings, and the extent of his learning. He was assisted by Marloratus, and Peter Martyr.§

The first sitting was opened by the Chancellor, who reasoning in his usual plain manner, insinuated that the Catholics ought to relax upon some points in order to win back the Calvinists. Such a compromise did not please the bishops, who wished to take note of the Chancellor's speech, that they might at a convenient time call upon him to give an account of his already too much suspected faith.¶

Beza was the first who spoke: he advanced into the centre of the assembly, and kneeling down, offered a most fervent prayer for divine assistance. He then made a profession of faith, expatiated on the rigours which had been exercised against his brethren, and concluded by defending the different points which were disputed by the Church of Rome. He was patiently heard until he came to the subject of the *real presence* in the Eucharist; his free style of discussion seemed not only indecent but horrible. He was, however, suffered to conclude his speech; but not without interruptions by the occasional expressions of anger, horror, and bigotry, which escaped from the catholics.¶¶

Cardinal Tournon spoke next; his remarks were

* Caveyrac, *Apologie de Louis XIV.* p. 30.

† Vie de Coligny, p. 235.

‡ Hist. du Calvinisme, liv. 3.

§ Discours des actes de Poissy. The Jesuit Fleury appears unable to restrain his indignation in describing this conference. He is lavish with abuse and calumnious insinuation. *Hist. du Card. T.* p. 367.

¶ Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 435. De Thou, liv. 28.

¶¶ Journal de Brulart, Discours des actes de Poissy.

* "The chief part of the property of the church, being given to have prayers for the dead, the heretics by destroying Paragator impoverish it."—*Mem. de Tavaannes*, p. 121.

† Turretin, *Hist. Eccles.* v. 2, p. 60. Pallavicini, *Hist. Concilii Trid.* lib. 2, c. 10, and lib. 3, c. 7.

chiefly directed to allaying any doubts, which the too forcible speech of Beza must have created in the minds of the king and princes present. He protested against the discussion altogether, and condemned the imprudence of exposing the young monarch to doubts which might injure his faith.

The hopes of the papists were fixed on the Cardinal of Lorraine: they considered his powers would bear down all before him. He confined his remarks to two points; viz., the authority of the church, and transubstantiation. His harangue was very diffuse, and displayed considerable talent. When he had concluded, the cardinals and bishops formed a circle round the king, and said to him—"There is the catholic faith; that is the pure doctrine of the church; we are all of us ready to subscribe it, to maintain it; and, if necessary, to seal it with our blood." Beza wished to reply, but as it was late, the sitting was concluded.*

The king was not present at the other sittings, in which a great deal was said to no purpose. The eucharist was the principal point of dispute, and the Cardinal of Lorraine availed himself of the presence of some Lutheran divines to bring them into contact with Calvinism, upon almost the only point of consequence wherein they differ. His object was to destroy the influence which the Huguenots possessed with the Duke of Wirtemberg, and to prevent any assistance coming to them from Germany.

The cardinal was arguing that subject, and concluded his speech with this question, addressed to Beza, "Do you, like the Lutherans of Germany, admit consubstantiation?" Beza replied, "And do you, like them, reject transubstantiation?"†

It was found useless to continue the conference, and the form of discussion was changed; each party named five commissioners to confer upon the disputed points. Both sides composed confessions of faith, which were reciprocally offered for signature, and were reciprocally rejected; and when they mutually desisted from debating, each party claimed the victory. Such was the result of a conference, from which the Chancellor L'Hopital anticipated such benefits for France.‡

The conference, however, was not without effect, for several bishops were so moved by Beza's arguments, that they devoted their attention to an inquiry after the truth. By the conversations which they occasionally had with the queen, they so far brought about a change in her sentiments, that she wrote a letter to the pope on the subject. "Those of the Reform," she observed, "are neither anabaptists nor libertines; they believe the twelve articles of the apostles' creed; therefore many persons think that they ought not to be cut off from communion with the church. What danger could there be in taking away the images from the churches, and retrenching some useless forms in the administration of the sacraments? It would further be very beneficial to allow to all the communion on both kinds; and to permit divine service to be performed in the vulgar tongue. For other matters they are agreed, that there shall be no innovation in the doctrine or discipline; and that they constantly preserve for the sovereign

pontiff the respect and obedience which are due to him."** The pope immediately wrote to his legate at Paris, to spare no exertions for strengthening the catholic party.† The best plan appeared to consist in winning over the King of Navarre, who was offered the kingdom of Sardinia in exchange for his dominions, which the Spanish government had seized upon. Cardinal Granvelle made the communication, but that prince had been so often duped in his treaties and discussions with the king of Spain, that he would not be tempted by the offer. The Guises and the legate then proposed that his marriage with Jane d'Albret should be annulled, and that he should marry Mary Queen of Scots, relict of Francis II.; but he refused that offer also, as well as the hand of Margaret, the king's sister.‡

But though proof to all the proposals which were made him, Anthony of Bourbon could not resist the impulse of his feelings, when his pride was attacked. The Prince of Condé was described as the head of the Protestants, while he was only second; the king's youth, on the other hand, opened for him a long career of authority; and if he became a Catholic, his power and influence would be so much increased, that he would be able to compel the King of Spain to come to some arrangement with him. The influence of the Spanish ambassador was added, and he very soon declared himself in favour of the Catholics, turning his back on his old supporters. The Triumvirs joyfully received the illustrious deserter; and the queen-mother saw no other way of restoring the equilibrium than by openly supporting the Protestants. The remainder of the year 1561 passed quietly away; both parties felt conscious of an approaching rupture, and occupied themselves during the interval in preparation for the conflict.

Navarre immediately compelled his consort to discontinue the preaching, which had taken place at his residence; and from full liberty in that respect, the inhabitants of St. Germain passed to a complete prohibition. The Protestants of distinction became in consequence more urgent in their applications to obtain a legal permission to assemble for worship.§

CHAPTER XII.

Edict of January, 1562—Discontent of the Catholics—Massacres at Vassy, Tours, and Sens—Guise enters Paris in triumph—The Triumvirs seize the king's person.

COLIGNY, ever watchful for the interests of the reformed religion, was early apprised of the attempts to win over the King of Navarre. He had suspected the motives of a mission to Spain, and employed persons to observe the messenger; who was arrested on his return, in the disguise of a pilgrim. He was searched from head to foot, in hopes of finding letters upon him, but in vain. Some one, however, observing, that when he was taken, he

* Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 433. Davila, liv. 2, p. 185.

† Brantome, vol. viii. p. 269. (*vie du roy de N.*)

‡ Hist. du Card. Granvelle, p. 381 et seq. Davila, liv. 2, p. 178, Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 95. De Thou, liv. 28. Strada, lib. 3.

§ Mem. de Condé, vol. ii. p. 21.

* Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 437. De Thou, liv. 28. Discours des actes de Poissy.

† Esprit de la Ligue, vol. i. p. 121. De Thou, liv. 28.

‡ The conference ended 19th September. *Le Journal de Brulart* contains a long account of the proceedings.

threw away his staff, the admiral desired it might be sent for; a countryman had picked it up, and carried it to his cottage: on examination it was found to be hollow: it contained letters relative to the Guises' application to the King of Spain, who, anxious to embroil France, had promised to grant them everything they desired.*

The admiral was surprised at Navarre's conduct; and the queen-mother was absolutely alarmed on hearing of the affair. She perceived that she was lost if a reconciliation took place between him and the Guises, and she could not expect support from Coligny, having given him so many reasons for distrusting her. At first she attempted to turn the King of Navarre from his design, but finding that chance hopeless, she decided on throwing herself into the arms of the admiral; and in order to gain his confidence, she promised to do all that he required of her.† The Reform was the object of his solicitude; and he obtained, in fact, an extension of the edict of July, by securing personal protection to the Protestants, because they became free from molestation on account of religion, although the edict did not expressly grant them liberty of conscience.

The queen's protection gave the Protestants great encouragement; and where their numbers were sufficient to deter any attempt at violence, they propagated their doctrines with success. They were guaranteed from a legal accusation; and the Catholics loudly complained of the authorities, for permitting the public preachings, which were declared an encroachment on the edict. In other parts, where the Protestants were not very numerous, the Catholics took upon themselves to avenge the outrages on their religion. Bloody scenes took place in various parts; and as the Protestants exercised reprisals, the whole kingdom appeared to be torn by an extensive feud.

In December, 1561, the Huguenots broke into the church of St. Medard, and committed terrible havoc. Several persons were killed in the fray, and the following day the scene was renewed with the destruction of the images, &c. The reason assigned was, that the bell for vespers had disturbed the Huguenots in their worship, and prevented them from hearing a sermon preached by one of their ministers in a neighbouring house. It appears, however, from a statement published at the time, that when the Huguenots peaceably requested the ringers to desist (for vespers were finished), they ill-treated their messengers: the Protestants were not the aggressors, or they would not so soon after have obtained the edict of January.‡

Complaints were continually brought to the government, from the party, which, according to circumstances, fared the worst; and the queen, at the joint solicitations of the admiral and the chancellor, summoned a meeting, at St. Germain's, of deputies from all the parliaments in the kingdom. The object of this assembly was to frame another edict, which would define the rights and privileges of each party, beyond the possibility of doubt or infraction.¶

To manifest their opposition to the measure,

neither the Duke of Guise nor his brother were present; but the constable and Marshal St. André took their seats among the nobles invited along with the deputies: they indulged in the hope of raising the whole assembly against the chancellor's proposal. This latter delivered a speech, remarkable for the frankness and the wisdom of the principles developed in it. He avoided all controversial matter, and explained the principal object of their deliberations. "Does the interest of the state," said he, "require the permission, or the prohibition of the meetings of the Calvinists? To decide, it is not necessary to examine religious doctrines; for even supposing the Protestant religion to be bad, is that a sufficient reason for proscribing those who profess it? Is it not possible to be a good subject without being a Catholic, or even a Christian? and cannot fellow-citizens, differing in their religious opinions, still live in good harmony? Do not, therefore, fatigue yourselves with inquiring which of the two religions is best; we are here, not to establish a dogma of faith, but to regulate the state."* The good old man, in pleading the cause of toleration and justice, did not conceal from himself the difficulty of his task; he expressed his conviction of the inflexible character of his opponents; but such was the influence of his discourse, combined with his venerable appearance, and the solidity of his character, that the assembly assented to his proposal, and adopted the well-known edict of January.† It was there decreed, that the Protestants should restore the churches which they had seized on, and the images, crucifixes, relics, and other ornaments, of which they had stripped them: they were not to oppose the collection of tithes, or other ecclesiastical revenues; they had the privilege of meeting for the exercise of their religion outside the towns, but unarmed; gentlemen alone were allowed to go armed; the Protestant ministers were forbidden to criticise the ceremonies of the Catholic religion in their sermons, books, or conversation; they were also forbidden to hold any synod, without permission from the court, or to travel from town to town to preach, but confine themselves to one church: with a few other articles; the whole being provisionally granted, until the decision of the general council.

The passing of this edict was considered a triumph for the Calvinists; while the Catholics received it with a gloomy silence, which indicated the desire of revenge, without expressing it. Most of the parliaments registered it without difficulty; but that of Paris refused to consent.‡ The fear of giving offence to the court induced the counsellors to yield after receiving two letters of *Jussion*; and the edict was registered with these restrictions—"considering the urgent necessity, as a temporary measure, and without approbation of the new religion."§

* Hist. du Concile de Trent, p. 452. De Thou, liv. 29.

† Dated 17 Jan. 1561-2.

‡ The answer given by that body was *non possumus, nec debemus*. Journal de Brulart.

§ Hist. du Concile de Trent, p. 453, and Mem. de Condé, vol. iii. p. 15, *et seq.* In the interval, before the edict was registered, a remonstrance of the parliament was addressed to the king, in which the persecution of the Protestants was justified by Calvin's treatment of Servetus. Calvin certainly acted on that occasion as a cruel persecutor, but it must be borne in mind that he had been educated in the Romish church, and acquired his bigotry in that school. The remonstrance is in Villeroy, vol. vii.

* Vie de Coligny, p. 238.

† Ibid p. 293.

‡ De Thou, liv. 28. Journal de Brulart. Mem. de Condé, vol. ii. p. 541.

§ Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 452. Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 91.

The new edict seemed to have a fair chance of bearing down every obstacle opposed to it. The Guises had quitted the court; the King of Navarre was occupied entirely with his passion for the fair Rouhet, one of the queen's maids of honour.* The only supporters of the Catholics remaining at court were St. André and the constable, who were very far from being able to cope with Coligny and Andelot, backed as they were by the queen-mother. But the triumvirate was not cast down: it was not without a special object in view that Guise had retired into Lorraine: he expected the Protestants would call on the different princes of Germany for help, and to prevent that was his first consideration. The pope's legate and the Spanish ambassador were continually inveighing against the edict; they found fault with the king's education; gave money and promises to create a party, and went so far as to demand the dismissal of the Chatillons; and when the queen gave as a reason for declining to comply, that the Calvinists were a powerful body, the ambassador made an offer of troops to wage war against them. The triumvirate, emboldened by the assurance of such protection, formed a plan for collecting a number of troops during the winter, and seizing upon the king's person early in the spring.†

In the mean time, Coligny, perceiving that his enemies did all they could to kindle a civil war, considered it right to take measures of precaution. He united himself more closely with the Prince of Condé, and called on him to make a public profession of the Protestant religion, which he did; and the effect of his example was such that many persons of rank did the same; and the number of persons, who came to the Faubourgs to hear the preaching, in a short time amounted to fifty thousand.‡

The indignation of the popish party, excited by the acts of the legate, and inflamed by the spread of the Huguenot notions, began at last to show itself. Maledictions and menaces resounded from their pulpits, and the anathema was soon followed by an exhortation to destroy the object of the curse. Wherever the Catholics were in sufficient numbers, and were not restrained by the authorities, they murdered a great many Protestants.

In such a season of public irritation, the Catholics in Paris wrote to the Duke of Guise to come and help them, as the queen seemed to become more closely connected with the Huguenots: Guise obeyed the summons, and left Joinville about the end of February: his suite, already numerous, increased as he proceeded; he was, in short, at the head of a little army.

Guise arrived at Vassy§ precisely as the Huguenots were performing divine service. He expressed great indignation, and went to church to hear mass. Only a small party followed him, the rest hastening to the spot where the Protestants were assembled, commenced their attack upon them by gross insults and abusive language. An assault so unprovoked, excited the indignation of the Protestants, and both parties soon came to blows. The strife was very

bloody, for Guise's men rushed into the building where the meeting was held, and fell upon the assembly sword in hand: women, children, and aged persons, were the earliest of their victims. The news of this tumult reached the duke, who immediately left the church to appease it. Unfortunately he received a blow on his cheek from a stone: the sight of his face bleeding rekindled and augmented the rage of his followers; they renewed the massacre, and continued it with barbarous activity. They pulled down and destroyed the pulpit, burned the books, and spared neither age nor sex; every one that could not escape from them was murdered. More than eighty persons were killed on this occasion.*

It has been said that Guise wished to interpose his authority, and prevent the effusion of blood; and that but for the wound he received, no massacre would have taken place. As a warrior he was celebrated for heightening the splendour of his victories by his humanity to the vanquished; but his generosity was confined, it would appear, to the field of honour; and when bigotry urged on to murder, that noble quality could not expect to be encouraged. Surely he would otherwise have shown, on behalf of defenceless women and children, and unarmed men, some of that pity which he had displayed upon the field of battle. His attendants consummated a frightful butchery, while he had a slight wound dressed at a trifling distance: indeed his retiring for that purpose tacitly encouraged them by exhibiting his wound as an excuse, as well as a pretext for their conduct. Subsequently, when the public voice accused him as the *butcher of Vassy*, he made an attempt to justify himself, and get rid of the imputation; but his observation to one of his officers, who commanded at Vassy, is an unanswerable argument for his guilt. Guise reproached him with having been the original cause, in not preventing a meeting of heretics. The officer excused himself by saying, that the edict of January allowed them to assemble in the suburbs. This reply inflamed the rage of the Duke, who laid his hand upon his sword, declaring that it must be settled by that means.† His attendants, therefore, had anticipated his intentions. If the special object of Guise's journey be taken into consideration, it must be admitted that he could not well be displeased with the zeal of his followers, in first insulting, and afterwards attacking the Huguenots; and he must bear all the ignominy of the transaction. One account‡ states that the duke approached when they were preaching, out of curiosity; another,§ that he

* See Vie de Coligny, p. 243. Brantome, (*Vie de Guise*.) and almost every writer of or upon that period. The Abbe Anquetil states, "that the carnage ceased only on account of the multitude of the killed and wounded."—*Esprit de la Ligue*, vol. i.

There were four accounts of this affair published at the time: they are reprinted in the third volume of *Mém. de Condé*.—1. Relation de l'occision du Duc de Guise executée a Vassy en Champagne.—2. Discours au vray et en abrégé de ce qui est dernièrement advenu a Vassy, y passant Monsieur le Duc de Guise; par Guillaume Morel; imprimeur du Roy, par privilege expris du dict Seigneur.—3. Memoire dressée par un Huguenot, au sujet du tumulte de Vassy. This is in Latin, and was intended for circulation among the Protestants of Germany.—4. Discours entier de la persecution et cruauté exercée en la ville de Vassy, &c.

† Davila, liv. 3.

‡ Mém. de Castelnau.

§ Brantome. This writer was very anxious to clear the duke's character; his account agrees with the *Journal de Brulart*.

* This lady bore him a son, who was archbishop of Rouen.

† Mém. de Condé, vol. iii. p. 377.

‡ Vie de Coligny, p. 243. The Cardinal of Chatillon, Bishop of Beauvais; and James Spifame, Bishop of Nevers, went so far as to be publicly married.

§ 1st March 1562. Vassy is a small town in Champagne, (Haute-Marne,) sixty leagues east of Paris.

warned the Protestants to suspend their service, till after he had heard mass, but that they only sang the louder, out of bravado, for he happened to come at the very moment they were singing psalms. But neither of these offer any reason to suppose that a handful of unarmed Protestants would have given provocation to a considerable troop, commanded by the first captain in France. Most Catholic writers treat this massacre with a cruel indifference; but as it was the occasion of a civil war which followed, they are always anxious to make the Protestants appear the aggressors.*

Vassy was not the only scene of violence and massacre; great excesses were committed at Cahors, Toulouse, Sens, Amiens, and Tours. At the latter town the greatest refinement of cruelty was displayed. Three hundred Protestants were shut up without food during three days; then tied together two by two, and led to a slaughter-house, where they were murdered in different ways. At Sens there was also an exhibition of atrocious fanaticism; during three successive days the bells of the cathedral invited the inhabitants to murder the Huguenots. Even the vines which had belonged to Protestants were pulled up by the roots. The bodies of the victims floating down the Seine appeared to call for justice on their persecutors, as they passed the residence of Catherine of Medicis.† But while one party called for justice, another clamoured for the extermination of the Protestants, and Montluc addressed a memoir showing how easily it might be effected.‡

The news of the massacres, but especially that of Vassy, excited a general indignation throughout France. The Protestants loudly complained of this disastrous infraction of the edict, and the Prince of Condé was charged to bear their remonstrances to the foot of the throne. The queen promised them full satisfaction, but it was not her intention to fulfil her promise. Theodore Beza hoped that the King of Navarre would be so affected by Guise's conduct, that he would again join the Protestants; but that prince called them all heretics and insurgents, and told Beza, "that whoever touched even the finger's end of his brother, the Duke of Guise, touched him in his whole body." Beza's reply was this: "I speak for a religion which teaches how to endure injuries better than to repel them; but remember, sire, it is an anvil which has used up many hammers."§

The admiral also endeavoured to reclaim the King of Navarre, but in vain. He would hardly receive him; he said that the Huguenots had abused the edict in their favour; and as they knew that Guise had opposed its being made, they had done everything in their power to assassinate him.||

* Tavannes, however, is an exception; he states, "that Guise arrived at Vassy at their hour for preaching, seized the minister, and killed several of the Protestants, and that his soldiers plundered the rest."—*Mem. de Tavannes*, p. 247.

† See the histories of the time by Beza, de Thou, and d'Aubigné.

‡ The memoir is to be found at length in the *Mem. de Condé*, vol. iii. p. 184, *et seq.*

§ Beza, *Hist. Eccles.* liv. 6. In the title-page of the edition printed at Geneva, 1580, there is a vignette representing three men in armour striking an anvil; with this motto:—

*Plus à me frapper on s'amuse,
Tant plus de marteau on y use.*

|| Vie de Coligny, p. 245. The king actually issued letters patent for an inquiry into the violences, aggressions, and excesses committed at Vassy, by some of the new religion, against the person of the Duke of Guise. The letters are dated 30th April, 1562.

The Protestants, perceiving that their destruction would be gradually effected by their enemies in spite of any edict in their favour, justly considered that an open war would afford them more security. The Prince of Condé, and all the persons of distinction in their party were anxious to take arms, but Coligny could not be induced to join them, and his refusal prevented their coming to any resolution.

The queen-mother perceived that such was the irritated state of both parties, that a civil war was imminent; still she did not give up all hopes of peace. She wished to attempt some conciliatory measures, and to contrive an interview between Condé and Guise, in the king's presence. Marshal Montmorency endeavoured to persuade the Protestants to suspend the exercise of their worship for a short time, but they would not concede so much to their adversaries, and demanded the full observance of the edict of January.* Catherine therefore wrote to the duke, entreating him to defer his journey to Paris, and join the king at Monceaux. But Guise wished for a triumph, not a reconciliation: he had several reasons for continuing his journey: he was anxiously looked for by the Parisians, who thought his presence necessary for the preservation of the Romish religion: he knew also that they detested Marshal Montmorency their governor, and expected on his arrival to be freed from him; he therefore informed the queen in reply, that his presence was more necessary in the capital than she supposed.†

No sovereign ever entered Paris in a more magnificent manner, than did the Duke of Guise on this occasion: he was accompanied by the Constable Montmorency, a brilliant escort of two thousand gentlemen, and a strong body of cavalry.‡ The provost of the trades harangued him; other bodies followed the example; and the shouts of the multitude, who crowded on his passage, overwhelmed him with the illusions of popularity.

The Prince of Condé returned to Paris, in order to oppose the Duke of Guise, but he had no chance; he could do nothing against so powerful an adversary, whom the Parisian populace had styled the defender of the faith, and who looked upon him as their liberator. It was in vain that he attempted to increase the number of his partisans, by showing himself frequently in the streets, accompanied by his gentlemen; and all that he could do, was to prevent Guise from wreaking his vengeance on the Protestants, which it appears was in contemplation.§ At length Condé found that Paris was not safe for him. He decided on quitting that city, and retired to Meaux, to assemble his forces. He wrote to the Chatillons: "Cæsar has not only crossed the Rubicon, but has already made himself master of Rome, and his standards are beginning to be displayed in the country."||

In the mean time, the queen had written to Coligny and Condé for assistance,¶ which was

* Beza, *Hist. Eccles.* liv. 6.

† Vie de Coligny, p. 245. *Mem. de Condé*, vol. iii. p. 224.

‡ Journal de Brulart.

§ *Mem. de Condé*, vol. iii. p. 194.

|| Sa Noue, *Discours politiques et militaires*, p. 546. Bale,

1567.

¶ "Ce qui est trop certain, que sans elle ni lui, ni ceux de Chatillon, n'eussent jamais osé entreprendre."—*Discours etc. de la vie de Catherine de Medicis*. This tract, which is written with great talent, has been attributed to different authors. It is published in the *Journal de Henri III.*, vol. ii. Edit. Cologne.

willingly given on the part of the Protestants, who were in general so incensed against Guise, that they were determined to crush him, or perish in the attempt. Numbers of Huguenots assembled from all parts of France, and directly they had sufficient force they determined to go to help the queen, and prevent her falling into the hands of her enemies. An event of that kind had been foreseen by Catherine, and as the castle of Montceaux offered no defence, she had conducted the king to Melun, a fortified town, and afterwards to Fontainebleau; but in vain had she taken these precautions, for the Triumvirs set out suddenly from Paris with a strong detachment of cavalry, and on their arrival at Fontainebleau, they informed the queen, "that they had come for the king; and that for her own part, if she would not go with them, she might retire where she pleased." Catherine made an attempt to gain time by threats and entreaties, in the hope of Condé's arrival. The constable, however, gave orders for departure, and everything being hastily got ready, the convoy set out for Melun. Catherine was in a state of dreadful perplexity; she was afraid to resign herself to the Triumvirs, but could not go away and leave her son in their hands. The place in which they were lodged had been used as a prison above a century.*

The Prince of Condé and Coligny were at the head of three thousand horse, but arrived too late to assist the queen; they therefore posted their forces at Villeneuve St. George, which was on the road by which Guise would conduct the king to Paris. It was of the greatest importance to the Protestants to deliver the king from the hands of the Triumvirs, and as their forces were more numerous than those of their enemies, they confidently reckoned upon a victory; but Guise made a circuitous march with great expedition, and arrived in safety at the castle of Vincennes, with the king and the queen-mother: he very soon removed them into Paris for greater security.†

During this time the queen suffered great uneasiness from her knowledge of the violent characters of the Triumvirs, especially as they were aware of her having written to the Prince of Condé, entreating him to help her. She had also desired Condé to pay no attention to any letters, which she or the king might be compelled to sign.‡ Having thus identified her cause with that of the Huguenots, she expected the worst from them, and took measures for being informed of their deliberations. The Triumvirs used to hold their consultations in the King of Navarre's chamber; and Catherine fixed a tube from the room above it, so that she could distinctly hear their conversation. Among other matters, she heard it proposed, by Marshal St. André, to tie her in a sack and throw her into the river, for otherwise they should never do any good. Guise could not consent to such a horrid measure, and showed how unjust it would be to murder the wife and the mother of their kings. Still, though she was sure of personal protection from Guise, she greatly feared lest an attempt should be made on her life by St. André without his knowledge.§ Catherine's greatest resource was in the attachment of the fair Rouhet,

whose ascendancy over the King of Navarre enabled her to procure information of the views of the Triumvirate; measures were taken to counteract them, and the Triumvirs finding all their plans disconcerted, and having suspicions of the way in which it occurred, looked upon Navarre as a faithless prince, who was more calculated to ruin than to benefit a party. From that time they kept him ignorant of all their intentions.

The Catholic cause being greatly strengthened and cheered by the arrival of the Triumvirs, and their success in seizing the king's person, they renewed their persecutions of the Huguenots in Paris; they drove them out of their churches, and loaded them with abuse. Montmorency, with his troops, ranged in order of battle, went into the suburbs, and attacked the Protestant places of worship; he broke open the doors, destroyed the pulpits and benches, and set fire to them. He then returned into the city amidst the acclamations of the populace, who saluted him with the title of Captain Brulebancs.*

CHAPTER XIII.

The Protestants take Orleans and other Towns—they Negotiate for Assistance from Abroad—Conferences of Tournay and Talsy—Beaugency Taken and Plundered.

HAD the Prince of Condé marched upon Fontainebleau a few hours earlier, he would have had that advantage over the Triumvirs which they now had over him; and as they would not have been able to remove the king from his hands, the result would, in all probability, have been highly favourable to the Protestants. He received a letter from the queen very soon after her arrival at Paris, in which she assured him, that her hopes rested upon him and his followers, to prevent her enemies from depriving her of the government.†

Condé immediately directed his views towards Orleans, and got possession of it. Andelot had proposed to surprise that town by introducing some troops; but, being discovered, he had to maintain a sanguinary battle against the Catholics. The prince's forces, fortunately arriving in the midst of the struggle, assured the victory to the Protestants.‡ This town became their head-quarters, and served them as a rallying point and dépôt. The principal nobles of that party came to join the prince, and the certainty of an approaching war became every day more evident. Manifestoes were published on both sides: Condé accused the Guises of being the authors of the troubles, in wishing to deprive the Protestants of the free exercise of their religion, which the edict of January allowed them; and called upon all true Frenchmen to join him at Orleans, that they might go and deliver the king and queen from the hands of the Triumvirs.§

On the other hand, the Guises published a declaration, stating that they were not more chargeable with the present state of affairs than the king of Navarre, the constable, and other Catholic nobles,

* Brantome, vol. vii. p. 79. Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 96.

† The Queen's letters are printed in *Mém. de Condé*, vol. iii.

‡ La Noue, p. 554.

§ Davila, liv. 3. The Prince of Condé published two manifestoes, one dated the 8th, the other the 25th April, 1562. *Mém. de Condé*, vol. iii. pp. 222 and 319.

* Beza, *Hist. Eccles.*, liv. 29. De Thou, liv. 6.

† Vie de Coligny, p. 248.

‡ Discours de la vie de Catherine de M., p. 371.

§ Brantome, vol. i. p. 68 (*vie de Catherine*).

who made common cause with them; and to show that they were not striving to deprive the Protestants of the edict of January, the king confirmed it in council, excepting always Paris and the court, where it was not to be allowed.* Another edict also appeared, in which the king declared that he was not a prisoner, and that all the reports about his captivity were false.†

The Protestant chiefs, however, extended their conquests, and fortified themselves in a great many towns; the queen-mother also wrote to Tavannes, "that she was decided on favouring the Huguenots as her only resource against the Triumvirate."‡ Condé showed everywhere the queen's letters, calling upon him for assistance; numerous bodies of gentlemen hastened to join his standard; and his forces soon amounted to six thousand men. He was for attempting a coup-de-main on Paris, but abandoned that idea on the representation of Coligny, who recommended the establishment of a line of defence upon the Loire.

The court was embarrassed at the rapid extension of the Protestant cause: they were very soon in possession of the principal towns of different provinces; Lyons, Bourges, Vienne, Valence, Nismes, Montauban, and Rouen, with many others.§ All the Orleannois was subjected to them, and the whole of Normandy declared in their favour: levies of men were everywhere made to swell their ranks, and detachments went from every part to join the Prince of Condé.

A remarkable instance of the zeal of the Huguenots is related by Brantome, from which some idea may be formed of the general feeling. A party of fifty soldiers set out from Metz for Orleans, and M. d'Espan, governor of Verdun, being informed of the circumstance, resolved to cut off their march. When he came up with them, they had taken a position in a windmill, and defended themselves till night put an end to the conflict. Before morning they made a bold sortie, and routed the few troops left to watch them, while the others took rest in a neighbouring village. They then renewed their march, and, after nearly thirty different skirmishes, they arrived at Orleans, with the loss of only three of their number.||

By their position at Orleans, they prevented anything coming to Paris from beyond the Loire; by possession of Rouen, nothing could arrive by the Seine. But although everything answered their wishes, and even surpassed their expectations, Coligny wisely reflected, that an enterprise against a party who held the king in their hands, and who could avail themselves of his name when they thought proper, was no trifling affair: he therefore induced Condé to do two things; to send into Germany for assistance, and to make such arrangements among the troops, that they should not be disbanded, either for want of pay, or through neglect of discipline. Andelot was appointed to the former charge, and acquitted himself with satisfaction, although the Guises thought they had taken their measures so well, that they were safe in that respect.¶

* Dated 11th April, 1562. Mem. de Condé, vol. iii.

† Davila, liv. 3. p. 211. A letter to the same purpose was sent to the Duke of Wirtemberg, dated 17th April, 1562.

‡ Mem. de Tavannes, p. 253.

§ Lyons was taken 30th, Valence 25th, Nismes 3rd April, 1562. Mem. de Condé, vol. iii.

|| Brantome, *Discours sur les belles retraites*.

¶ Vie de Coligny, p. 249.

To introduce order into an army composed of such materials was no ordinary task, and it required all the energy of Coligny to effect it. His first step was to have the Prince of Condé acknowledged for their general, and himself as his lieutenant, for hitherto they could not be called troops who had followed them, but well-wishers and volunteers, who had taken the field, thinking that one battle would decide their differences. Other ordinances were made for introducing order into the army; one principally for preventing every kind of excess and immorality—an order necessary on the ground of consistency, as they had taken arms for the defence of their religion. He also appointed chaplains to the different divisions, and succeeded in establishing great regularity and decorum.* An edict, compelling all suspected Huguenots to leave Paris, also contributed to swell their numbers.†

The Protestants, besides the mission to Germany for help, had sent the Vidame of Chartres‡ and Briquemaut to England, to treat with the Queen Elizabeth for assistance. It is not necessary here to inquire into the probable motives of that queen's actions; she may have been moved by the appeal to her compassion on behalf of the Huguenots; or her feelings may have been made subservient to her political views. The loss of Calais was recent: it was a wound to the national pride; and the opportunity of putting English garrisons into Rouen, Havre, and Dieppe, seemed to hold out a prospect of ultimately obtaining an equivalent. She sent six thousand men to the Protestants, and was to hold those three towns as a security for the surrender of Calais.§

This conduct on the part of the Protestants appeared so unnatural in the eyes of the queen-mother (who, though not a native of France, was very desirous of maintaining the national honour), that she completely changed her opinion of the Huguenot party; and, being very much incensed against Condé for publishing her letters to him, as well as for facilitating the introduction of foreign armies into the kingdom, she threw the whole weight of her influence into the scale of the Triumvirate.

But if the Huguenots are blameable for calling for assistance from abroad, their enemies are equally so; for the conditions which the pope and the King of Spain imposed upon the Catholics were quite as degrading to the dignity of a great kingdom; and the demand of the Duke of Savoy was exactly parallel to that of Elizabeth, being the cession of Turin, which the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis had ceded to France.

At the close of June the contending parties took the field: their forces were nearly equal, each having about ten thousand men. Condé and Coligny left Orleans, to attack Paris and deliver the king; the Triumvirs at the same time set out from Paris, to besiege the Huguenots in Orleans. Their forces thus coming in contact, an engagement was on the verge of taking place, when the queen-mother proposed an interview with the Prince of Condé, probably in consequence of his overtures, for several

* Vie de Coligny, p. 249.

† Dated 26th May, 1562. Mem. de Condé, vol. iii. p. 462.

‡ John de Ferrières, Lord of Maligny; he succeeded his cousin, Francis of Vendôme, in that office.

§ Davila, liv. 3. p. 236. Brulart, in his Journal, observes on this transaction, *voilà des effets de la nouvelle religion!*

letters had passed between them.* The queer was accompanied by the King of Navarre; the prince by Coligny. The conference was held at Toury, a small town in the Orleanuais; and the escorts were regulated by mutual consent, even to the number of paces which should separate them; lest, from words, they should proceed to reproaches, and thence to violence. But the gentlemen of the escorts had not been long in presence, when they recognised their relations and friends in the opposite ranks: they obtained permission of their commanders to approach, and rushing into each other's arms, they vowed reciprocally to promote pacific measures and sentiments.†

The conference lasted two hours, when the parties separated without coming to any conclusion: Condé persisted in demanding the dismissal of the Triumvirs, and the execution of the edict of January; the King of Navarre was decidedly averse to both measures. Some other unsuccessful attempts at negotiation followed. At length a secretary of state went in the king's name, and commanded the Prince of Condé to lay down his arms, restore the towns he had taken, and dismiss his troops, promising that the Triumvirs should immediately quit the court, and that no one should be molested for having taken arms, or on account of religion.‡

Condé and Coligny were too shrewd to fall into such a snare: they were satisfied that when once they had deposited their arms, the Triumvirs would overwhelm them with their power; and they refused to enter into any negotiation, unless the constable, Guise, and Saint André withdrew from the court and the camp.§ The queen persuaded them to retire to some distance, and a second conference took place at Talsý. Condé was desirous of knowing the queen's real intentions concerning the Protestants, and inquired if they were to be allowed the free exercise of their religion. Catherine's answer astonished him: for, notwithstanding she had given them great encouragement; had promoted the publication of the edict in their favour; and, in addition, had called upon them to preserve her and her son from the power of the Triumvirs, she did not scruple to say, "That, considering the constitution of the kingdom, no solid peace could be expected in France, so long as any other religion than the Roman was wished to be established: that the edict of January had been the signal for all the troubles: that edict must therefore be abolished, and the Huguenots be contented with the internal and private exercise of their religion." Upon this Coligny replied, "That, without the edict of January, there was no safety for them in France, they had therefore only to choose between death and exile; that they would prefer quitting their country, to remaining in it at the mercy of butchers, and they would voluntarily exile themselves, if they had the king's permission." The Prince of Condé expressed similar sentiments.||

Catherine had employed Montluc Bishop of Valence to bring round the Huguenot chiefs to this way of thinking, or at least to induce them to make this offer. That prelate, addressing the prince,

said, "The queen wishes to serve you, but you must have appearances on your side; propose to leave the kingdom, as a means of preserving peace, provided the Triumvirs will retire from the court: they will not do so, and you will throw the odium of the war upon your enemies, and give the queen an opportunity of joining your party." The queen pretended surprise on hearing such a proposition, and led the prince and the admiral to repeat their declarations, by seeming to doubt the possibility of their carrying it into effect; she afterwards told them, that, as it was the only remedy for their troubles, she accepted their offer: "It will be," said she, "only for a time, and during the interval we must hope the public mind will be assuaged. I do not even renounce your services; and I flatter myself, that if any ill-intentioned persons should wish to create a disturbance during your absence, I should always find you disposed to help the state. We will confine ourselves to this preliminary to-day; to-morrow we will settle everything."*

The Protestants had been drawn on by the queen's address so far that they could not retract; but they soon perceived the dreadful consequences which would result from such a measure. The whole army murmured, and loudly complained of the issue of the negotiation. What would become of them when they were no longer able to defend themselves? when they should have given up the towns which now afforded them refuge? and when their leaders should have abandoned them? On the following morning, when the prince returned to the conference, the queen expected that everything would succeed, and that the affair would be completed.† But Condé began by making complaints of the Triumvirs, of whose bad faith he had been apprised by an intercepted letter, in which they boasted of their intention of deceiving him. The queen wished to reply, but her voice was lost in the confusion which took place. The prince's friends called upon him to retire, as his person was not safe, for the duration of the interview not being fixed, the Triumvirs were free to return when they pleased. Everything was then in the greatest disorder. The queen made a fruitless attempt to restrain the prince, who was carried off by his friends. They took horse immediately, and set out for Orleans, determined to break off all negotiation.‡

The conference being thus broken off at the moment when the treaty was expected to be concluded, created a great excitement in both parties. The queen-mother was blamed for not having made sure of Condé and Coligny, which she might easily have done, as she had guards round her person, and the prince had none. For though the prince's escort was at no greater distance than that which accompanied her, it was evident that while the two escorts were fighting, the Protestant chiefs might easily have been carried off.§

The discontent which had displayed itself in the Huguenot army, on hearing of the preliminaries of

* La Noue, p. 560. Davila, liv. 3. p. 224. De Thou, liv. 30.

† Catherine was so confident of success, that she wrote a letter to the parliament of Paris, stating that peace was agreed upon.—*Mém. de Condé*, vol. iii. p. 568.

‡ *Mém. de Condé*, vol. iii. p. 540. Davila, liv. 3. p. 229.—*Discours des Moyens que le P. de Condé a tenus pour pacifier les troubles*, &c. Printed in *Mém. de Condé*, vol. iv.

§ Vie de Coligny, p. 263.

* *Mém. de Condé*, vol. iii. p. 481, *et seq.*

† Davila, liv. 3. La Noue, p. 558. De Thou, liv. 30.

‡ De Thou, liv. 30, p. 214.

§ *Mém. de Condé*, vol. iii. p. 512.

|| *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 15.

the treaty, was effaced by the joy which was testified by the troops on the arrival of the prince, and the rupture of the conference. The soldiers loudly called out for attacking the enemy directly, before the Triumvirs should have resumed their places in the royal army. The troops marched for that purpose, but their guides misled them: they lost time, and on arriving before the royal camp, they found the Triumvirs prepared to receive them.*

During the late conferences the King of Navarre had received in trust the town of Beaugency; but he refused to restore it when they were broken off. The Prince of Condé was indignant at such conduct, and when he found it useless to attack the royal army, he directed his forces against that place, and took it, after a very vigorous resistance on the part of the Catholics: the town was given up to plunder.† The soldiers behaved in the assault as if there had been a premium for him who should do the worst. Coligny himself had predicted great disorders, when somebody praised the decorum and good morals of his army. "This discipline," said he, "is a fine thing, so long as it lasts; but I am afraid lest these folks should lose their goodness all at once. I have commanded the infantry, and know them: they often make out the old saying—*A young hermit, and an old devil*."‡ The sack of Beaugency served as an excuse for still greater cruelties, which were exercised by the Catholics on retaking several places. The carnage in the towns, and conflagrations in the country, where chateaux were delivered to the flames, were the first results of the war between the Catholics and Protestants.§ The picture of France at this time is the most melancholy that can be imagined. Where the Huguenots had the advantage they destroyed altars and images; while the Catholics burned all the Bibles they could seize.|| There was no security, no asylum against violence: the faith of treaties and the sanctity of oaths were both set at naught. Tortures, contrived with care for delaying death, and increasing the duration of pain, were inflicted on persons who had surrendered upon capitulation. Husbands and fathers were poignarded in the arms of their wives and daughters, who were then violated in the sight of the dying men. Women and children were treated with brutality that defies description. Aged magistrates, the victims of an unbridled rage, were insulted after death by the populace, who dragged their yet palpitating entrails through the streets, and even ate of their flesh. This account is drawn out by a Catholic writer,¶ who informs us that "these excesses arose from the Calvinists not respecting the relics, images, and other objects of the Catholic worship, which caused the priests to thunder against the criminals from their pulpits; the zeal of the priests became madness and rage in the people, and the leaders lamented the abominable excesses, which they were unable to put a stop to."

When fanaticism pervades a people, there will

naturally be excesses on both sides; for revenge will operate as forcibly as bigotry. But it is not right to attribute these violences to the destruction of a few images and reliquaries; for it has been admitted by many persons, and among others by Brantome, whose revenue was derived from the church, "that the war had enriched France by bringing considerable treasures into circulation, which before had served no purpose whatever."*

The outrages committed by the contending parties in the central and western parts of France were outdone by the conduct of the generals who commanded in Languedoc, Provence, the Lyonnais, &c. Montluc was the leader of the Catholics, and Des Adrets of the Huguenots: they emulated each other in cruelty, and tried which could do the most.†

Blaise de Montluc in his memoirs relates, with great sang-froid, the cruelties which he had practised on the heretics. "I procured," says he, "two executioners, who were called my lacqueys, because they were so much with me."‡ He candidly avows, that his chief object was to injure the sectarians; that he would have destroyed them to a man; and that he felt against them a hatred and rage which carried him beyond himself, and made him use not only rigour, but cruelty.§

Beaumont, Baron des Adrets, his rival, was of great service to the Protestants by his activity: he overran all the south of France, and the pope had great fears lest he should march into Italy, and attack Rome. He was very furious, and possessed courage in a great degree; and, on account of his cruel disposition, was more formidable than any of his contemporaries. His treatment of the Catholic garrison of Montbrison shows the most dreadful brutality:¶ he amused himself by making his prisoners leap from the top of a very high tower. One of them, having advanced a second time to the edge of the precipice, made a halt. "What! do you take twice to do it?" exclaimed the baron. The unfortunate man answered without hesitation—"I will give you ten times to do it in." His readiness obtained him a pardon, which perhaps was the only occasion that Des Adrets ever exercised any mild feeling.¶ He killed and laid waste with a barbarity which made his officers shudder, and drew forth an admonition from Calvin, and a reproof from the admiral. De Thou says that "he saw him very old at Grenoble, but in an old age still robust and vigorous: he had a ferocious look, an aquiline nose, a face lean and bony, and marked with spots of black blood, as Sylla has been represented to us. In every other respect he had the appearance of a complete warrior."***

The Protestantism professed at the time by this monster has become the groundwork of an argument, showing that religious considerations had no place among the motives of Catherine de Medicis, whenever she displayed the cruelty of her

* La Noue, p. 566.

† Davila, liv. 3, p. 234.

‡ La Noue, p. 575.

§ The detail of these violences would be too voluminous to insert here: several books of De Thou's history are almost exclusively devoted to the subject. The province of Maine was remarkable for the dreadful scenes which occurred. Renouard, *Hist. du Maine*, vol. ii. p. 47.

¶ Hist. du Concile de Trent, p. 629.

¶ The Abbé Anquetil in *Espirit de Ligue*, vol. i. pp. 161—4.

* Vol. viii. p. 215. (*Vie de Chatillon*.)

† Brantome, vol. vii. p. 279. Bayle, art. *Beaumont*.

‡ Montluc, liv. 5, vol. iii. p. 27.

§ Ibid. liv. 4, vol. ii. p. 468.

¶ Montbrison was taken by Des Adrets 16th July, 1562.

¶ D'Anbiguë, vol. i. p. 147. De Thou, liv. 31.

*** *Mém. de la Vie de J. A. de Thou*, p. 10. This work was first published with a preface by Rigault, so framed as to lead to the supposition that he was the author; but it is generally thought that De Thou himself wrote the memoir.

policy. "Catherine took upon herself to prove, that the difference of worship was not considered in her calculations. Was it not she, in fact, who about the same time had the Catholics massacred by the Protestant bands of the ferocious Baron des Adrets?" *

Mainbourg, whose testimony on this occasion is unquestionable, states that he blindly threw himself into the Huguenot party, to revenge himself on the Duke of Guise, who had offended him; and the queen, wishing to injure that family, wrote to Des Adrets, exhorting him to destroy Guise's authority in Dauphiny by any means whatever, even by the help of the Huguenots, and promising him her protection and authority.†

But it was not necessary to know his motives for making a profession of Protestantism, for his conduct showed that he had no religion whatever. We learn, from the Abbé Caveyrac,‡ "that he returned *sincerely* to God and his king;" but not without his resentments being again called into action; for his cruelty excited such horror, that the Prince of Condé sent Soubise to supersede him in the government of Lyons, which made him renounce the Protestant religion, and return to the Catholic church.§

The Protestants afterwards experienced the effects of the cruel example which he set his children. "He taught them," says Brantome, "to be like himself, and to bathe themselves in blood. His eldest son did not spare it at the St. Bartholomew, and died at the siege of Rochelle, with remorse for the quantity he had shed." ||

CHAPTER XIV.

Hostilities between the Catholics and Huguenots—Sieges of Bourges and Rouen—Death of the King of Navarre—Battle of Dreux—Sieges of Orleans and Caen.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ill-will which followed the rupture of the late negotiations, the queen continued her efforts to bring Condé to an accommodation, to persuade him to make some attempt at conciliation. She informed him, that the council was determined to pursue the heretics with the utmost rigour; and that the king would put himself at the head of the forces, on the arrival of some foreign troops which he expected, and which would enable him to suppress the revolt. The parliament of Paris gave a decree, authorising all persons to take arms and fall upon the Huguenots, wherever they could meet with them.¶ And lest anything should be wanting to frighten the Protestants, letters-patent were issued,** declaring rebels all those who had taken arms; it showed that they were guilty of lese majesty, and as such condemned them all to death, confiscated their property, and declared them and their posterity for

ever unfit for all employes, honours, and dignities. To avoid the consequences which might have followed, had all hope of peace been extinguished, the Prince of Condé was excepted in this edict, on the ground of his being a prisoner in the hands of the rebels.*

Considerable reinforcements of Swiss and Germans arrived to join the royal army, while the confederates had the mortification of observing their forces gradually diminish; and as the towns, which had declared for them, were very widely situated from each other, it frequently happened, that, before Coligny could assist any place that was attacked, it was taken. In that manner the greater part of Normandy was recovered by the Catholics.† But these reverses, alarming as they were, did not cause so much uneasiness to Coligny, as the attempts and intrigues of the King of Navarre, to win over the Prince of Condé: his fears, however, on that subject were groundless, for Condé assured the admiral that he would make no arrangement without consulting him; and, to prove his sincerity, he informed him fully of every proposal which was made.‡

The Triumvirs proposed to attack Orleans, and finish the war by the capture of Condé and Coligny, who made that town their residence; they, on the other hand, considering their reputation attached to the preservation of that city, took every measure for its defence. The King of Navarre then turned his attention to Bourges, which was defended by a much smaller garrison. Condé exerted himself to relieve the place, but his force was not sufficient to break through the enemy's lines: Coligny, with his division, then hovered about the besiegers, and attacked such parties as were detached from the main body.

He despatched messengers, at the same time, to urge the return of many gentlemen, who had quitted him only from the dislike they had to remaining in arms without coming to an engagement. As they were dispersed through the different provinces, it was a work of time; and Coligny sent word to the commander of the town, to hold out as long as possible, as there would be assistance ere long. But Bourges was taken before the relief could arrive.§

A circumstance occurred during this siege, which is highly characteristic of the violence of these times. Among the different convoys which Coligny attacked, was a considerable one, commanded by a particular friend of Guise, named Chon. He, observing the admiral approach, called out to him, that he should be delighted to engage with him in single combat. Coligny's purpose not being to fight a duel, but to perform his duty as a general, answered him by so brisk a charge, that his squadron was thrown into confusion. Chon did not lose sight of his object, which was very discernible, for he called out to his men, "Ah, cowards! is that what you promised me?" Upon which two horsemen quitted the ranks, and tried to approach the admiral, who, perceiving their intention, gave orders to take them alive, if possible.

* From the *Etoile* Paris newspaper of 3rd September, 1826. The article from which this is extracted is upon the *Saint Bartholomew* which occurred in 1572; the cruelties practised by Des Adrets were in 1562, and yet the writer does not scruple to say about the same time.

† Hist. du Calvinisme, liv. 4.

‡ In a note to his Apology for Louis XIV. p. 7.

§ Hist. du Calvinisme, liv. 4.

¶ Brantome, vol. vii. p. 280.

** Dated 30th June, 1562.

** Dated 29th July.

* Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 629. Mem. de Condé, vol. iii. p. 571.

† Vie de Coligny, p. 265.

‡ Ibid.

§ Davila, liv. 3, p. 242. Vie de Coligny, p. 266. The capitulation, dated 31st August, 1562, is in the 3rd vol. cf *Mem. de Condé*.

They fought desperately: one of them fell, after killing three of the admiral's men, preferring death to being taken prisoner, although they called out to him that he should be spared. The other was taken after receiving several wounds. He was carefully guarded, while Coligny continued the fight with Chon, who was obliged to abandon his convoy, consisting of provisions and ammunition. The fight had scarcely finished, when some troops were seen in the distance coming to Chon's assistance, which induced him to return with them and again attack the Huguenots. But Coligny, observing that their forces would be no longer equal, prudently resolved to set fire to all the plunder, which would prevent his retreat; and, as soon as he was in safety, he examined his prisoner, upon the reproach which Chon had made him. At first he refused to give any information, but at length acknowledged that Chon had promised him and his companion a considerable reward, if they could kill the Admiral Coligny during the combat, and that they had been each furnished with a proof cuirass, and good arms. In a chivalrous age, the fact of challenging, and the desire of fighting such a commander as Coligny, has nothing reprehensible in it, rather the reverse; but the assassins, who were hired on this occasion, show that something more than honourable fighting was intended. As Chon would not give any explanation of the affair, the original instigator could never be discovered.*

Bourges being taken, the project of attacking Orleans was revived, but the queen-mother was opposed to it: she would not consent to a measure, which, if successful, would have given the Triumvirs too much influence: she recommended the siege of Rouen, and founded her argument on the fear of the English again establishing themselves in Normandy.† Her representations were backed by the appeals of the Parisians, who promised the king a present of two hundred thousand crowns, if he would drive the Huguenot garrison from Rouen, as they suffered nothing to go up the river.‡ Such weighty considerations could not be overlooked. It was with difficulty the English had been deprived of Calais, and already their troops were in Havre-de Grace, to make up for that loss: again, the blockade of the river might cause a disturbance in Paris: the royal army, in consequence, marched into Normandy, and commenced the siege of Rouen at the end of September.

The town was commanded by Count Montgomery, the same who had unfortunately killed Henry II. in a tournament. He was an excellent officer, very courageous, and capable of turning to his advantage the most untoward events: satisfied that he could expect no quarter, he resolved to make the place his grave, and displayed an inexhaustible stock of inventions for repelling the enemy.§ As the Protestants had warning of this siege, the garrison had received a reinforcement of two thousand English, twelve hundred choice infantry from Condé's army, four squadrons of horse, and one hundred gentlemen, who volunteered to perish in

the defence of the town.* The King of Navarre commanded the besieging army.

The place was vigorously attacked, and as obstinately defended. The queen, who was in the camp, several times summoned the inhabitants to surrender. The parliament had been removed to Louviers, and the principal citizens had quitted the city before the siege; and those who remained were very determined, being influenced by their ministers, who were personally interested in holding out to the last extremity, as the principal condition required by the queen was their banishment. Instead of submitting, they replied that they were faithful servants of their king, but that they would not submit to the Guises; they demanded the free exercise of their religion; and—asked to negotiate in the name of their whole party an honour which was not allowed them, notwithstanding a great wish on the queen's part to save the town from plunder.†

This obstinacy, on the part of the besieged, irritated the assailants, who redoubled their attacks. A breach was no sooner made than the active Montgomery threw up an intrenchment behind it, losing no opportunity for prolonging the defence, as he knew that Condé would endeavour to assist him. A second assault was given on the 26th of October, when Guise led his men to the attack after a spirited harangue, the effect of which he heightened by a display of great personal bravery. The explosion of a mine contributed to the success of the attack, which soon gave the Catholics possession of the town.‡

Montgomery had only time to leap into a galley, which was in the port, and by the promise of liberty, he induced the galley-slaves to row so well, that they got out to sea, although they had to pass a chain which was placed a few leagues below, to prevent the English sending any assistance up the river.§

Rouen, thus taken by storm, suffered all the horrors of pillage during three days. It is said, that when Guise beheld the result of his attack, while he was yet upon the ramparts, he recommended three things to his followers: to respect the honour of the women; to spare the lives of such good Catholics as had remained in the town from necessity; and to show no mercy to the English, the ancient enemies of France.||

The parliament of Rouen resumed its functions when the siege was over, and gave the weight of its authority to the punishments inflicted on the rebellious Huguenots. Several citizens and ministers, who had escaped the massacre, were put to death.¶ Among those who suffered was Augustin Marloratus, who had been conspicuous at the conference of Poissy: he was hanged in front of the cathedral. The constable and his son Montberon were so unfeeling as to insult the venerable minister when conducted to the place of execution. The Protestants at Orleans exercised reprisals on some prisoners: they hanged the Abbé Gastines, and Sapin, one of the presidents of the parliament of Paris.** Such measures are

* Vie de Coligny, p. 267.

† Davila, liv. 3. p. 246. De Thou, liv. 33. Mem. de Condé, vol. iii. Queen Elizabeth made a treaty with Condé, by which she engaged to assist the Huguenots against the Guises. Her disposition for securing an equivalent made this treaty a subject of uneasiness to Catherine. The treaty is dated 20th Sept. 1562.

‡ Vie de Coligny, p. 269.

§ Ibid., p. 271.

* Davila, liv. 3. p. 250.

† Mem. de Condé, vol. ii. p. 98. and vol. iv. pp. 45, 46.

‡ Davila, liv. 3. p. 258.

§ Vie de Coligny, p. 271. Brantome, vol. viii. p. 262. De Thou, liv. 33.

¶ Brantome, vol. viii. p. 101. (*Vie de Guise*)

|| Journal de Brulart. Beza, liv. 8.

** D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 159. Mem. de Condé, vol. ii. p. 105.

greatly to be deplored, yet unhappily are of too frequent occurrence in civil wars.

The taking of this important town cost the King of Navarre his life. He had behaved with the greatest courage throughout the siege, not sparing himself any more than the meanest soldier: he had tried to eclipse, if possible, the prowess of the Duke of Guise.* On the day before the final assault, he went into the trenches to observe the town, when a discharge of musketry struck him in the shoulder. At first the surgeons thought lightly of the wound, and he had a great wish to make a triumphal entry into the conquered city; but symptoms of danger were soon evident, and he expressed a desire to be transported to St. Maur, a village near Paris. He did not live to reach that place, but died at Andelys, the seventeenth of November, 1562, in the forty-fourth year of his age.† All writers who have given his character, describe him as deficient in every princely quality, except personal bravery: he was ambitious, without possessing foresight, or a capacity for seizing on the noble part which fortune seemed to have destined for him. He might have been the head of a powerful party, but became the tool of intriguing persons: he thought himself the Duke of Guise's equal, while he was no more than his slave. Voltaire says of him‡—"Anthony of Bourbon, father of the firmest and most intrepid of men, was the weakest and least decided. He was always so wavering in his catholicism, that it is doubted in which religion he died. He bore arms against the Protestants, whom he loved; and served Catherine of Medicis, whom he detested, and the party of the Guises, who oppressed him." Brantome states, "That he died, regretting his change of religion, being resolved to help the protestants more than ever, if he had lived; and that he sent word to that effect to the prince his brother."§ His death deprived the Triumvirs of the influence of his name; but they had so firmly established their power, that the loss of it was of no importance.

Guise having obtained a great accession of glory by the success of his attack on Rouen, the queen's anxiety and uneasiness were again excited: she had recourse to her favourite plan of sowing dissensions; and, to check his growing ascendancy, she would again have consented to protect the Huguenots. She attempted to create a dispute between Guise and Montmorency, by recommending the immediate siege of Havre; a measure which she was sure was contrary to the duke's intentions.|| But the constable was proof against her insidious flattery: he perceived her object, and was only the more willing to second the measures which Guise might recommend. Her

motives were equally discovered by the Duke of Guise, who, however, pretended not to have any suspicion: he opposed her proposal with the same earnestness of reasoning, which he would have used if he had not penetrated her views. He proved, that as Havre would certainly be assisted by the English, it was useless to attempt anything without a good fleet: he contended that the Huguenot force should be crushed in the different parts of France; to effect which, they must attack and vanquish them, for otherwise they would always have ministers and preachings; and concluded by showing that negotiation was useless, for any treaty would soon be broken by the Huguenots, if they had not what they asked for, and by the Catholics, if they were obliged to endure heresy any longer. It was then resolved to march upon Orleans.*

On the other hand, Condé was in rather an embarrassed state, for the only towns of importance which remained to his cause were Lyons and Orleans; too remotely situated to assist each other. A strong body, which Count Duras was conducting to him, had been defeated and scattered; and he trembled lest an army of Reitres, which had been raised in Germany, should be unable to escape Marshal St. André, who watched that frontier with a very superior force. His anxiety was at length relieved by information, that La Rochefoucault had collected the remains of Duras' division, and was on his way to join him; and that Andelot was near at hand with between seven and eight thousand men: he had conducted the German army, before mentioned, by circuitous routes, and had undergone the greatest difficulties. A reinforcement, at such a time, and of such magnitude, made the Huguenots forget the loss of Rouen: they thought no more of the decree of the parliament against their chiefs, who were condemned to death as rebels;‡ the greatest joy pervaded their ranks, and, thinking their forces quite a match for their enemies, they calculated on a victory if once they met. The Prince of Condé marched direct upon Paris, and fixed his headquarters at Montrouge, from whence his troops pillaged the faubourgs on that side. This movement brought back the royal army to the capital.‡

The queen-mother was not at ease on seeing an army of Huguenots under the walls of Paris: she had recourse as usual to negotiation, and sent proposals for peace, which she would have been pleased to conclude upon, had it been in her power. The constable and Guise pretended to approve of them, because, by delaying the contest, they expected the arrival of Montluc, with five or six thousand men. Besides, they constantly kept at work on the fortifications, threw up intrenchments in the faubourgs, and took every advantage of the time which Condé gave them. Condé and Coligny were aware that if the negotiation did not succeed, the fault they had committed was irreparable; but they both wished to terminate the war, and indulged in the hope of a new edict to confirm that of January.§

When the queen sent her proposals, she re-

* Brantome, vol. viii. p. 271. (*Vie de A. de Bourbon.*)

† Davila, liv. 3, p. 260; but De Thou (liv. 33) says he was forty-two years of age.

‡ In a note to the *Henriade*.

§ Brantome, vol. viii. p. 272. It is asserted by d'Aubigné, that he refused to listen to a Dominican, who wished to confess him, but declared his attachment to the reformed religion.—*Hist. Univ.* vol. i. p. 158. See also Beza, *Hist. Eccles.*; and *Particularitez de la mort du Roy de Navarre*, in the *Mem. de Condé*, vol. iv.

|| The letters of the Spanish ambassador (*Mem. de Condé*, vol. ii.) show that the Huguenots wished to establish themselves securely in Normandy, to be more ready to communicate with England. Guise, therefore, would be desirous of attacking them in other parts, to draw away their forces.

* *Vie de Coligny*, p. 273.

‡ Decree, dated 16th Nov. 1562. *Mem. de Condé*, vol. iv. p. 114.

§ *Mem. de Tannanes*, p. 267. *Pasquier*, vol. ii. p. 131. *La Noue*, p. 583. *Davila*, liv. 3.

§ *Vie de Coligny*, p. 275.

marked "That this time her terms were so reasonable, that she could not conceive that they could be rejected." She offered to allow the public exercise of the reformed religion, in all places allowed by the edict of January, except Paris and Lyons, the seats of sovereign courts, and the frontier towns: the Prince of Condé wished it to be extended to the suburbs of all towns and the houses of nobles and gentlemen; he also demanded one of the king's brothers, and a member of the families of Guise and Montmorency, as hostages, which could not be granted. The discussion was long; but when the expected reinforcement had joined the royal army, the conferences were completely broken off.*

The Protestant army was all this time suffering from the inclemencies of the season, while their opponents were quartered in the town. Condé had projected an attack on Paris by night; but hearing of the arrival of some Spanish soldiers, and observing that an unusual stillness pervaded the city, he had suspicions of some design against himself, and on the tenth of December, very early in the morning, he set out for Normandy, with a view of joining some English forces which Queen Elizabeth had promised to send him, accompanied by a considerable sum of money for his use.† He was closely pursued by the royal army, and overtaken near Dreux, where he found it impossible to avoid giving battle.‡ As a large body of troops had been left to protect Orleans from a surprise, there was a considerable difference in the force of the two armies: that of the royalists consisted of nineteen thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry; the confederates had four thousand horsemen, and only six thousand infantry.§ Montmorency and St. André each commanded a division of the army, while Guise remained in reserve, the quiet spectator of a battle imprudently commenced by the constable attacking Condé's division with only five hundred gentlemen. The prince received his charge with such resolution that the Catholics were thrown into complete disorder. The light cavalry, which came up to support the constable, was dispersed by Coligny. The veteran tried to rally his men: he led them a second time to the charge, but with no better success. Being wounded in the face, and thrown from his horse, he was presently surrounded and made a prisoner; his third son, Gabriel de Montberon, was killed at his side about the same time. So much was the constable detested by the Huguenots, that two gentlemen, into whose hands he had fallen, consulted whether they ought not to put him to death; but being joined by a person named Vesins, he persuaded them to abandon the idea of so shameful an act.||

The fight lasted altogether seven hours, during which time the advantage was constantly wavering; but at a moment when victory seemed to have declared for the Protestants, Guise, who had with difficulty restrained the ardour of his men, seized the opportunity of snatching the prize from the Prince of Condé. At the head of the troops who formed the reserve, he rushed forward upon

the conquerors, exhausted by a long and bloody fight. "March!" said he to those around him, "March! The victory is ours!"* The shock of fresh troops was irresistible; the Prince of Condé, almost alone, fought amidst the Catholics, when his horse fell and delivered him into the hands of his enemies. Singular reverse of fortune! He had but just before considered his victory as certain on the capture of Montmorency; and on the renewal of the conflict he became a prisoner in the hands of Damville, Montmorency's second son.

Directly Coligny perceived the battle was lost, he rode up to his brother Andelot, and urged him to lose no time in getting into Orleans with as many men as he could; for he foresaw that the next operation of the enemy would be against that town. Coligny then retired behind a wood, to a village called Blainville, whither Guise followed him close, being determined if possible to annihilate the Huguenot army, in spite of the recommendations of his friends, who wished him to be satisfied with his success. The fight was renewed with great obstinacy; and unlike the battles of modern times, in which the cannon deals destruction without being directed against particular persons, on this occasion the object aimed at was Coligny's life. Several of Guise's army had devoted themselves to slay him, or perish. But the admiral's good fortune carried him through the dreadful day, while almost every one who aimed at assaulting his person was killed. One of them was dressed in Guise's armour, and called on Coligny to advance, and fight him. He dashed into the admiral's ranks in pursuit of his object, and was killed. So closely did this person resemble Guise, that for some time it was thought the duke himself was killed. The esquire rode a remarkably fine charger of his master's, which deceived the Huguenots.†

Among the slain was Marshal St. André, who was taken prisoner, and afterwards murdered by a person who recognised him, and whom he had formerly injured.‡ Night at length put an end to the conflict; when the admiral, observing his men dejected at the capture of the Prince of Condé, availed himself of the darkness to retire, and thus avoid renewing the fight, which would have taken place had he slept there. About eight thousand men were killed on this occasion; among others, La Brosse, a great favourite of Guise, and who had begun the massacre at Vassy: his son was killed by his side.§ Guise remained master of the field, and attributed the victory to himself, although his loss was greater than that of the Protestants, in consequence of St. André's death. But he sent some standards to Paris, and report magnified his advantage, by announcing the death of Andelot, who not being seen anywhere was thought to be among the slain. This being the first pitched battle in these wars, the greatest importance was attached to it. The first account, which ascribed the victory to the Huguenots, was soon carried to Paris. The queen on hearing it is

* Brantome, vol. viii. p. 112.

† Beza, in *loc.* Brantome, *Disc. sur les belles retraites.*

‡ There is some difference in the accounts of the person who killed St. André. Brantome calls him Aubigny; others Baigne; while, in the life of Coligny, two Reîtres are said to have killed him. Mezeray says it was Robigny Mézières, son of the town-clerk of Paris. Vieilleville is very minute in his account of the Marshal's death.

§ Beza, lib. 6.

* Davila, liv. 3. Journal de Brulart, Dec. 1562. De Thou, liv. 33. Mem. de Condé, vol. iv. pp. 144 to 716.

† Brantome, vol. viii. p. 109. (*Vie de Guise.*)

‡ 19th Dec. 1562.

§ Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 1.

|| Vie de Coligny, p. 271.

said to have observed coolly, "Well, then, we will pray to God in French;" * and when she received the subsequent accounts, she was far from expressing any joy at the event. She could not see without fear the degree of honour to which it raised the Duke of Guise, who had no longer any rival to share his triumphs; and who wrote a letter, demanding the disposal of St. André's baton, in so arrogant a style, that the king, as well as his mother, were astonished. †

Condé was treated with great kindness by Guise, who conducted him to his quarters: they supped together, and the prince accepted of the offer of half the duke's bed. ‡ He was afterwards taken to court, where the queen-mother exerted herself to win him back from the Huguenot party; a task which offered some chances of success to her view, as, being removed from the counsels of the inflexible admiral, she thought he might be easily biassed. The kindness and attention he received from her on the occasion excited the disapprobation of the Spanish ambassador and many Catholics. §

The constable in the mean time was taken to Orleans, where he was attended by his niece, the Princess of Condé, who used every persuasive means in her power to promote a reconciliation between that veteran and her husband. A proposal was made for the exchange of the two captive generals; but the royal army, with Guise at its head, did not require Montmorency, while the confederates stood in need of the Prince of Condé. The queen would have promoted an accommodation, but she had no longer the power to oppose the ambition of the Duke of Guise.

The Parisians prepared for conferring the honours of a triumph on the defender of the faith, the conqueror of the heretics; but he would not be diverted from his purpose by such useless homage, and without delay commenced the siege of Orleans. || His approaches to the town were effected with great difficulty, on account of the frequent sorties made by the garrison, in which he lost a great many men. As he could not expect the admiral would suffer him to get possession of the place without making an effort to relieve it, he fortified all the avenues to his camp, and made lines of circumvallation of unusual magnitude, accompanied with every precaution likely to annoy an enemy. ¶

The admiral was not surprised to see him take such careful measures, and, in order to keep him in constant expectation of an attack, he would not retire to any distance, but endeavoured to recruit his forces without quitting that province. He never despaired of his cause; and without loss of time he had himself proclaimed general of the confederate army. The ministers in all parts of France contributed to assist him, and knowing how urgent the affair was, they sent him men and money as quick as possible: this, with some assistance from England, made him as strong as he was before the battle. Still he did not think it prudent to attack Guise in his entrenchments; a measure which he was also the less inclined to

take, as Andelot sent him word that he need entertain no fear on his account, for he hoped that at the end of three months the duke would be no more advanced than he was at the beginning of the siege. *

As Coligny could confide in his brother's statement, and was also convinced that the season of the year, the numerous sorties of the garrison, and the incessant fatigue of a siege would greatly weaken Guise's force, he marched to meet the English troops in Normandy, thinking to return with greater force, and be able to raise the siege. But when he had got to some distance, he was deeply concerned to hear that a change had taken place in his brother's affairs; and a letter from Guise to a friend being intercepted, he learned that one of the Faubourgs had been taken, and that Andelot had lost near six hundred men in defending it; with many other untoward circumstances. The letter concluded by stating, that Andelot could hardly keep the inhabitants from giving up the town, and that in four or five days he expected to be master of it, for he proposed to bombard the place two days successively, and then give a furious assault: as the fortifications were not very strong, he would probably have succeeded. †

This news afflicted and perplexed the admiral. To return and attack the duke's camp with his forces when they were fatigued would be madness, as he had considered it impracticable while they were fresh: such a proceeding would ruin his army without helping his brother. His enemies already exulted in his ruin, and it was given out, that if the two Chatillons could be taken it would only be necessary to execute the decree of the parliament, which condemned them to death as guilty of high treason. The admiral, being resolved to do something for his brother, went at once and laid siege to Caen, which was commanded by the Marquis d'Elbœuf, brother of Guise; proposing if he could get hold of him to make him a pledge for Andelot's safety. ‡ No time was to be lost; and, notwithstanding there was an armed force in the neighbourhood, the admiral would not make any lines, but at once attacked the town, of which he had possession in two days, by the gates being opened to avoid an assault. The marquis retired to the castle; but being quite inexperienced in the art of war, as well as those who were with him, his capture appeared a certainty. Coligny consoled himself with the prospect of having him for a prisoner, when a courier arrived, and brought intelligence of the assassination of the Duke of Guise, and the consequent safety of Orleans.

CHAPTER XV.

Assassination of the Duke of Guise.

THE Admiral Coligny is charged by the Roman Catholics with having excited the murderer to this terrible act; and the enemies of the Reformation

* Note to the 2nd book of the *Henriade*.

† *Vielleville*, vol. v. p. 7.

‡ *Brantome*, vol. viii. p. 248. *Mem. de Condé*, vol. ii. p. 116.

§ *Mem. de Condé*, vol. ii. p. 128.

|| 5th Feb. 1563.

¶ *Vie de Coligny*, p. 281. *Davila*, liv. 3.

* *Vie de Coligny*, p. 282.

† *La Noue*, p. 503. *Vie de Coligny*, p. 282. Two letters written by the Duke of Guise to convey this intelligence are printed in *Mem. de Condé*, vol. iv. pp. 224—5.

‡ *Vie de Coligny* p. 284. *La Noue*, p. 603

attempt to fix a stigma on the Protestant religion when they allude to it: it demands, in consequence, a full and a candid inquiry. That such a charge should be encouraged by the house of Lorraine is not at all surprising: the members of that family knew the extent of the animosity which subsisted between the parties; they might also be privy to the projected attempt upon Coligny's life, and would suppose that the common feelings of revenge were sufficient to excite him to it. Neither is it to be wondered at, that the principal Catholic writers have perpetuated the accusation; for the baneful spirit of persecution, which afflicted so many countries at this period, would envenom the accounts, either written or verbal, which were given of every occurrence. Still less can we be astonished, that such calumnies should be readily adopted and promulgated among a multitude devoid of instruction, imbued with fanaticism, and inflamed with bigotry; they would never doubt an accusation against men whom they were taught, not only to hate, but to abominate. But the truth cannot be entirely concealed, and among the numerous writers who lived at this time, there are several who, by their great minuteness, have contributed to render justice to Coligny's memory. Brantome is the most remarkable among them, and his evidence is of great importance: he was a great friend of Guise's; he was an Abbé, and consequently his interests would never incline him to be favourable to the Huguenots; and he was present on the occasion.

It appears that, very soon after the battle of Dreux, a gentleman of Angoulême, named John Poltrot de Meré, arrived at the head-quarters of the Huguenot army, with a letter of introduction from Soubise, who commanded for that party in Lyons. Finding, on his arrival, that the Prince of Condé was a prisoner, he addressed himself to the admiral, on whom the command had devolved. Coligny made several inquiries of him respecting the state of affairs in the Lyonnais; when Poltrot shook his head, saying, "That things did not go on very well there; and, fearing lest the religion should be endangered, he was resolved to sacrifice himself for it: that the Duke of Guise was its most dangerous enemy; that he believed him to be brave, because everybody said so, but that after all, he was not more so than others; and that, if he were so fortunate as to serve in an army engaged with him, he would find him out, if he were in the midst of fifty thousand men, and try his own courage against him." There was a considerable degree of temerity in this declaration, but as it did not ill become a young man of five and twenty to exhibit an ardent disposition, the admiral gave him encouragement; he permitted him to stay in his army, and made him a present of one hundred crowns, purposing to put his courage to the proof on the first opportunity.*

When Coligny suddenly quitted the neighbourhood of Orleans to hasten the arrival of some English troops, there appeared no chance of an opportunity for signaling himself, and Poltrot proposed to pass into the duke's camp as a spy. His enthusiasm had become a gloomy fanaticism: he burned with a desire of displaying his zeal for the faith which he again professed, after several changes; and no service which he could render it appeared equal to that of killing the most terrible

enemy of the Protestants. A resolution to assassinate was very different from his first intention, which proceeded from a courageous principle; but the wretched man's mind was so bent upon it, that the enormity of the crime was lost sight of, in the benefits which he contemplated it would effect. He again pretended an abjuration of the religion he wished to serve, and presented himself to Guise, telling him, "That, being convinced of the errors of the Huguenots, he had entirely renounced them; and now wished to live in the good religion, and serve God and the king."*

Changes of religion were so common at this period, that the duke had no suspicion of Poltrot's veracity; and, as he was a man of family, and possessed a good exterior, Guise received him with great kindness, ordered him an apartment, and invited him to dine with him.† But such affability was unable to subdue the terrible design which occupied exclusively his gloomy imagination; and an opportunity was all he now wanted for executing his purpose.

An occasion soon presented itself:‡ Guise, accompanied by a few persons, was passing from the trenches to his head-quarters; Poltrot, steady to his purpose, perceived his opportunity, and hastened forward. Somebody asked him where he was going, to which he answered, that he wished to announce the duke's arrival to the duchess—an excuse which seemed plausible, as Guise had previously intended sleeping in a tent, that he might better superintend some works.§ A hedge offered a suitable place for his murderous purpose, and he waited behind it, ready to fire on Guise as he passed. The dusk of the evening would have prevented his taking a good aim, but a white plume in the duke's hat served as a mark; the pistol was loaded with three balls, which struck him on the left shoulder. The blow made him stagger, and he is reported to have said, "That was to be expected; but I think it will be nothing."|| Those persons who were with him paid little attention to the assassin, in their earnestness to help the duke. They carried him to his quarters, where the best surgical aid was summoned, for the preservation of a life so valuable to his cause. The balls were declared to have been steeped in poison, and Guise prepared to quit this world.

On his death-bed he displayed considerable regret at many of the circumstances of his violent, ambitious, and warlike life. His late repentance served only to inflict upon him the sharp pangs of remorse. The massacre of Vassy tormented his conscience, which could not be soothed by the praises of the priests, nor the admiration of the Parisians, who styled him the French Moses, and the modern Jehu. He accused himself of being the cause of the bloodshed which had accompanied the civil war, but repeatedly declared that the massacre of Vassy was entirely accidental.¶ He

* Brantome, vol. viii. p. 123.

† Ibid.

‡ 16th Feb. 1563.

§ Vie de Coligny, p. 287.

|| Brantome.—The duke's expression is reported differently by almost every writer, as to the words, but they all agree in the signification.

¶ The Bishop of Riez wrote an account of all that was uttered by Guise after he was wounded. According to the bishop he said to those around him, "Je vous prie croire que l'inconvenient advenu à ceux de Vassy, est advenu contre ma volonté . . . J'ai été défendeur, non agresseur."—*Mem. de Condé*, vol. iv. p. 258.

* Vie de Coligny, p. 286.

is said to have alluded to Coligny, when speaking of the assassination: "And you, too, I forgive, who are the author of it."* His wishes, which all through his life had prompted him to the extermination of every heretic, had now changed; and his dying advice to the queen was in favour of mild and tolerant measures.† After going strictly through all the duties prescribed by his religion, he heaved his last sigh, on the eighth day from the assassination.‡ The genius of civil war seemed to make a halt before his bier; the animated attacks upon Orleans entirely ceased; and the animosity between the contending parties gave way to the renewal of negotiations for a general reconciliation.

In the mean time the assassin was arrested. Directly he had fired on the duke, he called out, "Take him! take him!" and began running, as if in pursuit of some one;§ but terror having seized upon his mind, he was unable to act with sufficient promptitude to make his escape. He wandered about all night, and when he thought himself ten leagues from the camp, the return of day showed him that he was still in the neighbourhood. When seized, he declared that he had committed the act solely by divine inspiration, and that he was so far from repenting of it, that he would do the same thing over again.|| But violent tortures were inflicted upon him, to draw out a confession of the names of those who were supposed to have excited him to such a crime. He accused Coligny, La Rochefoucault, Soubise, and the Viscount Aubeterre, of being his accomplices; some accounts include Beza in the charge. When particulars were demanded, he stated that he had received a present from the admiral for the promises he had made. The criminal was examined in the presence of the court, and made to sign a long confession implicating Coligny; but it must be remembered, that Catherine was very anxious to fix the stigma upon him for several reasons:¶ she thought it would weaken the Huguenot cause, by diminishing their confidence in, and esteem for, their leader; she anticipated a greater compliance with her views on Coligny's part, if he had such a charge hanging over him; and she feared that otherwise she might be suspected herself; for, since the King of Navarre's death, she had been quite a slave to the ambition of Guise, and her complaints on the loss of her authority were generally known.** Poltrot's confession was printed and widely circulated; and orders were given to lose no time in executing the sentence of the parliament.

When Coligny heard of what had occurred, and that the assassin accused him of complicity, he wrote to the queen, demanding a safe-conduct in order to be confronted with him.†† Such a request proves much, especially as his avowed enemies refused to grant it. If the court expected that

Poltrot's confessions could have been substantiated, they would not have hurried his condemnation and execution, which was not only precipitate, but barbarous: his breasts were torn with hot pincers, and his body was torn asunder by four horses: to add to the cruelty of his sentence, he was compelled to undergo an examination after suffering the first part of it.*

While he remained in prison, he had always varied in his confessions. Brantome says,† "He confessed everything, and I spoke to him myself: he always admitted that Soubise and Aubeterre had excited and persuaded him to it, but, as to the admiral, he varied and contradicted himself very much in his examinations, when tortured, and at his death." It is certain that he retracted before the chief president de Thou, and acknowledged having made use of this means to retard his condemnation, and contrive eventual chances of escape: nor is this affected by his renewal of the charge on going to execution; for the hope of postponing the moment of such a dreadful punishment might still make him utter a calumny.

Upon what, then, is the charge against Coligny founded? On the accusations of a wretch who had yielded to the impulses of fanaticism, without partaking of the strength which that execrable feeling usually imparts; who had arranged everything for his escape, and, failing in that, would hesitate at nothing calculated to procure a delay, or a commutation of his punishment. Poltrot alone is Coligny's accuser, and it has therefore been justly declared, that history should not hesitate to acquit him.‡

But the absence of proofs of guilt (especially in an affair which from its nature would be shrouded in secrecy), although it may protect the accused before the laws, must be accompanied with a conviction that the charge was unfounded, or posterity will arraign the reputation of the individual. Here, then, the legal axiom is reversed, and it is our task to show that Coligny was innocent of this terrible crime.

The principal points for and against him shall therefore be placed in array; by which means, if the admiral's innocence be not entirely proved, at least the improbability of his guilt will be made to appear. The arguments in support of the charge are as follows:—

1. The great interest which Coligny had in the death of Guise at that particular time. His brother, whom he tenderly loved, and Orleans, the stronghold of his cause, were both on the eve of falling into his power. There seemed no other chance of relief for the Protestants; and it was very difficult to persuade the nation, that an event so much to his advantage had occurred without his preparing it.

2. The probability that Coligny would wish to revenge some attempts on his own life, particularly that which was projected during the siege of Bourges. There is reason to suppose that Guise himself thought so, for, when he received the wound, he observed "That it was to have been expected." §

* Relation de la blessure, &c.—*Mem. de Conde*, vol. iv. p. 240.

† Vol. viii. p. 127.

‡ Lacroix, *Hist. des Guerres de Religion*, vol. ii. p. 133.

§ It is related by Varillas and others, that an attempt was made on the duke's life during the siege of Rouen, and the assassin is said to have acknowledged "That he wished to

* Brantome, vol. viii. p. 120.

† D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 180. *Hist. du Concile de Trente*, p. 661.

‡ Francis of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, died 24th Feb. 1563, aged 44 years.

§ Brantome, vol. viii. p. 124.

|| Vie de Coligny, p. 293.

¶ Ibid. p. 288.

** The queen subsequently said to Tavannes, "Ceux de Guise se vouloient faire Rois; je les en ay bien gardé de venir Orleans."—*Mem. de Tavannes*, p. 274. In another part, (p. 276.) he says the queen was said to have consented to the employment of Poltrot.

†† Vie de Coligny, p. 288.

3. The present which Coligny made to Poltrot : this is admitted to be a fact by almost every one, except Brantome, who gives a particular account of the purchase of a horse by Poltrot. He adds, "It was said, that the admiral had given him this money, but he was too wary to do such a thing : besides, Poltrot made no such avowal." * It must also be borne in mind, that, in this age, when a gentleman was obliged to serve without any remuneration, there was nothing extraordinary in a commander's helping to equip him.

4. The admissions of writers favourable to the Huguenots, particularly that of John de Serres, in his Commentaries, † which has been laid hold of by the Abbé Anquetil, who makes thereon the following remarks : ‡—"It appears from the narrative of Serres, that the admiral was acquainted with Poltrot's design against the Duke of Guise. He says, that Poltrot went to the admiral, charged with letters of recommendation from Soubise, and that he offered to join Guise's army as a spy, and even to kill the duke ; that the admiral approved of the former proposal, and ridiculed the latter ; that he gave him at first twenty golden crowns, and afterwards a hundred, to purchase a horse. This manner of receiving the proposal of an assassination as if it were a joke, and afterwards giving money, without being informed of the way in which it was to be employed, does not tend to clear the admiral."

This extract alone is sufficient to show what inconsistencies may be written by the supporters of a false accusation. The Abbé states that the present was for the purchase of a horse, and afterwards assumes that it was given without inquiring to what use it was destined.

D'Aubigné also admits, that Poltrot had publicly declared his intention of killing Guise, but that little attention was paid to him, for he was considered a madman. § But, whether he was believed or not in these declarations, it is scarcely possible that such a thing could be publicly talked of without reaching the ears of some of Guise's friends. Besides, Poltrot's proposal to become a spy is a reason for supposing that such persons were often employed at this period ; and if Coligny had entertained any thought of such an attempt, he was too prudent to suffer its becoming the gossip of his camp.

5. An expression, which it is said the admiral would frequently repeat, declaring, "That he had nothing to do with it, nor would he have been its author on any account, but that his death had delivered the Protestant religion from a dangerous enemy." Brantome observes thereon, || "that many were surprised that he, who was usually so cool and sparing of his words, should continually allude to an event so long gone by." But Coligny could not forget that such a charge had not only

deliver his religion from its worst enemy." The following reply has been attributed to Guise : "If your religion teaches you to kill one who has never injured you, mine, conformable to the gospel, orders me to pardon you." Such an expression is ridiculous in the mouth of so notorious a persecutor, the very champion of bigotry ; and Mr. Bayle has blended a little sarcasm with his remarks upon it in his dictionary.—*Art. Francis Duke of Guise.*

* Brantome, vol. viii. p. 123.

† Commentariorum de statu religionis et reipublice in regno Gallie, libri tres.

‡ Preface to *Esprit de la Ligue*, p. 67.

§ Hist. Univ. vol. i. p. 176.

|| Vol. viii. p. 120.

been made, but was continually renewed ; for the queen constantly excited the family to demand justice against him. His frequent allusion to the subject therefore amounts to nothing.

6. An insinuation of Brantome's must also be added to the preceding articles. "The admiral," says he, "was too keen to give Poltrot instructions or advice about it ; but he acted like the shepherd in the fable, who refused to tell the huntsmen where the stag had taken refuge, and at the same time pointed with his finger to the spot." * But it must be allowed that this observation is completely at variance with his remarks in general.

Except the foregoing, I cannot find any argument for maintaining the accusation : let the witnesses for the defence be now examined.

1. Coligny's voyage to Normandy, and his attack upon Caen, are reasons for supposing he had no expectation of Guise's death. He would have remained in the neighbourhood of Orleans, to take advantage of the event, and not have been contented with the mere removal of a rival. Before he could with prudence approach, the treaty of peace was decided upon, very much against his wish. "This treaty," said he, "ruins more churches than the enemy's force could have destroyed in ten years." † Besides, if he had been nigh at hand, the murderer might have been sheltered from arrest ; the confessions would never have been extorted from him ; and it must be admitted that, in the absence of Poltrot's confession, the affair would assume a different aspect.

2. His letter to the queen bears great testimony in his favour. It was written from Caen, ‡ and stated, that he feared nothing so much as the execution of Poltrot before the truth was ascertained. After reminding the queen of circumstances which would indicate the improbability of his projecting such a crime, it expressed his anxiety lest the parliament should hasten the condemnation and execution of this prisoner, in order to fix a stigma upon him. He adds, "Do not think, however, that I feel any regret for Guise's death ; for I consider it the best thing which could have happened to this kingdom, and to the church of God ; and particularly to me and my family." A sentiment which no one would be very forward in avowing, who was conscious that the death in question had been effected by his contrivance or subornation.

3. The demand of a safe-conduct, in order to be confronted with the prisoner, has already been mentioned : the refusal is a decided proof of the queen's doubts respecting the truth of the accusation ; while the haste of the parliament in executing the sentence of the law, betrays a fear lest the assassin should make known the means resorted to for modelling his confession. § His death prevented all corroboration ; the thing to be desired above all others, where justice is the aim, and truth the object of a judicial inquiry.

4. Among the different means made use of to repel the charge arising from this assassination, "it was *verified*," says Brantome, || "that the

* Vol. viii. p. 122.

† Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 674. Davila, liv. 3, p. 306. ‡ 12 March, 1563. It is to be found in the Memoirs of Conde.

§ It was considered generally, at the time, that Poltrot had been promised a pardon, if his instigator could be brought to justice.—*Vie de Coligny*, p. 293.

|| Vol. viii. p. 120.

admiral had sent word to Guise some days before, to take care of himself, for there was a man hired to murder him." I rather doubt of this information having been sent, as it is completely at variance with every received account, and is moreover improbable, as no measures of precaution were adopted. Coligny, it is true, might have sent such intelligence, and the letter miss its destination. But whether Brantome's account be true or false, the bare mention of such a circumstance, by one so devoted to the House of Lorraine, and in a great measure dependent on that family, is a proof that he had not the least idea of the admiral's guilt.

5. In the narrative which precedes, notice has been taken of Brantome's account of the contradictory nature of Poltrot's confessions; the same writer gives positive testimony in favour of the admiral in another place.* "The admiral who was suspected of it (the death of Guise) was not so guilty as was thought. Others were far more criminal, who never suffered anything on that account; but this great captain was obliged to pay the reckoning for all the others, and the young duke used to say, that he alone was worthy of his hatred and his vengeance."

6. The general tenor of Coligny's life may be fairly brought forward to show the improbability of his becoming the employer of an assassin: a recent work on this subject contains the following remark:—"If the previous life of Coligny be an answer to this terrible accusation, what he did afterwards, in two other civil wars, repels the charge still better. How could a man capable of such a crime have so constantly abstained from the fury of vengeance, and reprisals, which appeared lawful?"

7. An accusation, the malice of which it is impossible entirely to conceal, must be received with caution. What other motive could have induced the enemies of the Protestants to insert Beza's name in Poltrot's confessions? Catholic writers refer to the document, and exultingly asperse that eminent divine; but Brantome, who was on the spot, makes no mention whatever of his name.

8. There is in Poltrot's confession one point which bears the characteristic of a false origin: Poltrot states that when he arrived at the camp he was referred to the *Seigneur de Chatillon*, &c. whereas the persons who are said to have used that expression never called him otherwise than *Monsieur l'Amiral*. Coligny, in his reply, published at the time, alludes to this, to show that his enemies dictated the confession to the suffering wretch, who would say what he thought would be most agreeable to the persons around him.

What degree of importance is to be attached to these several arguments, for or against the accusation, is not here to be pronounced. The facts of history are approved or condemned, according to the light in which they are viewed by posterity. That is the only tribunal competent for such decisions; and the lapse of two centuries and a half leaves Coligny as much as ever exposed to censure if guilty; while, on the other hand, the long duration of a calumny, so far from imparting authenticity to its own existence, becomes an additional reason for carefully and impartially investigating the truth.

* Hist. de Charles IX. (vol. ix. p. 417.)

† Laetzel, *Hist. des Guerres de Religion*, vol. ii. p. 133.

CHAPTER XVI.

Edict of Amboise—Havre taken—Charles IX. declared of age—Coligny accused of the murder of Guise—Pius IV. excommunicates the Queen of Navarre and some Bishops—Encroachments on the liberty of the Protestants.

GUISE's death put an end to the Triumvirate, and the queen-mother again possessed the supreme authority. A general reconciliation became the wish of all parties. The English had established themselves in Normandy. The land, being uncultivated, provided no means of alleviating the scarcity which afflicted the country; and the labourers, taken from their usual occupations to swell the ranks of the contending parties, now lived by robbery. Never was peace more requisite for any kingdom. Catherine, moreover, was desirous of concluding some treaty, for the Huguenots would very soon have been able to dictate their own terms, as there was no one to be found capable of taking the command of the royal army: the queen had offered that post to the Duke of Wirtemberg, but he refused it.* Her fears were excited by the known inflexibility of Coligny, who would be sure to insist upon the full establishment of the Protestant religion, as the basis of the treaty; it was therefore her interest to come to some conclusion while he was at a distance.†

To win over the Prince of Condé she was exceedingly lavish of her caresses; she tenderly embraced the princess, and entreated her assistance in turning the obstinacy, not only of her husband, but of her uncle Coligny. An interview between the prince and Montmorency was soon arranged, and the bases of a treaty were then discussed.‡

Condé demanded the full execution of the edict of January, and Montmorency protested that he would never subscribe to a measure so prejudicial to the Catholic religion. Each was persuaded to relax by repeated solicitations, and the result of the conference produced the edict of Amboise.§ By it the Protestants were permitted the exercise of their religion, in all the towns which were in their possession on the 7th of March; the general permission to preach in the country places, which the edict of January allowed, was considerably restrained in the present. In order to heal animosities, the edict made no mention of amnesty, as that implied previous rebellion: but it carried complete oblivion of the past; declared the prince and his partisans faithful subjects of the king; and acknowledged that they had taken arms with pure intentions, and for promoting the good of his cause.|| An additional article stipulated, that both parties should concur in driving the English out of the kingdom. Some church-lands were sold to defray the expenses of the war: the pacification in consequence contained the seeds of future troubles,¶ and

* Beza's History (Book 6) contains the negotiation at length. One of the Duke's reasons for declining the offer is, "that as the Prince of Condé and his party demanded only the observance of the edict of January, and as the troubles and cruelties proceeded from the difference of religion alone, he could not join in anything which might be prejudicial to those of the same faith as himself, some trifling difference excepted."

† Letter from the Spanish ambassador, dated 20th March. *Mém. de Condé*, vol. ii. p. 145.

‡ *Mém. de Condé*, vol. iv. p. 275.

§ Dated 19th March, 1563-3.

|| De Thou, liv. 34.

¶ Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 108.

has been considered as both insulting to the king, and pernicious to religion.*

This edict, however, rendered it necessary to abandon many of their churches, which lowered Condé in the estimation of the Protestants. Coligny no sooner heard of it than he hastened to the prince, and remonstrated with him on the fault he had committed, in contenting himself with such trifling concessions, when his circumstances placed him in such a commanding position.† He saw clearly that there was no chance of such another opportunity, and had great fears that the present edict would be of very little protection to them when their forces were disbanded. But his observations had no effect upon the prince, who was weary of the war: considerations of humanity and the general interest were urged, to allay the vexation and doubts of the admiral; and it appears that, if Condé had not felt himself bound to preserve appearances, he would have been contented with still less favourable terms.‡

Calvin, Beza, and other ministers, also reproached the prince with having sacrificed their cause: they all told him he would not be long before he repented of it: but the affair was concluded, and there was no revising it. The prisoners were set at liberty, the towns restored, and the troops disbanded. The registration of the edict, however, met with great opposition in all the parliaments.§

The admiral, before he dismissed his companions in arms, paid them great attentions, that he might be able to calculate upon their assistance in case of need. The queen was displeased at this precaution, and complained of it to the Prince of Condé, whom she tried to separate from him by various methods.

Condé told her in reply, that this conduct of Coligny ought to be attributed solely to a grateful desire of acquitting his obligations to the nobility; and that it was the least he could do for those who had quitted their homes and families to serve him. Catherine did not expect such an answer from the prince, whom she had endeavoured to impress with the belief, that the confidence of the Protestants in Coligny was to his prejudice; but Condé was aware of her motives, and was cautious of taking the bait.||

The cessation of intestine commotions enabled the French to unite in expelling their common enemy; negotiations were at first entered into, but without success;¶ arms were then resorted to, and the English were soon dispossessed of Havre. That town had been delivered to Queen Elizabeth, as a security for money she had lent the Prince of Condé. Nothing can justify this conduct of the prince; to give up an important town to another government, and thus facilitate the entry of an enemy into the heart of a kingdom, is a measure which will be reprobated by every one possessing the least spark of patriotism. The circumstances of this case still admit of some palliation, as it was apparently the only means of saving the Huguenots from extermination; but Condé was so anxious to efface the blot, that he offered his services to retake the town.

Havre was defended by the Earl of Warwick, with a garrison of four thousand men. In addition to the brisk attacks of the French, he was assailed internally by a pestilence, which rapidly destroyed his men. He also felt astonished at the fury with which the Huguenots repaid his country, for the assistance which had been sent them;* while they fought the more earnestly, in order to clear their character from the reproach of having introduced foreigners into France. The town capitulated on the twenty-seventh of July, and the next morning the governor had the mortification of seeing an English fleet arrive with reinforcements. When the ships came in sight, the French commander sent Lignerolles in a small vessel to acquaint the English admiral "That the town was in the possession of the King of France; and that if he wished to land for refreshments, the queen (Catherine) would receive him in a friendly manner; for as the most Christian King had recovered what belonged to him, he did not pretend to continue at war with the Queen of England."†

Elizabeth was very indignant when she heard of the loss of this town, which she hoped would have compensated for Calais. She is reported to have said, that if the admiral again required her assistance, she should know how to act; but when her anger had subsided, she observed, that the King of France was happy in having such faithful subjects.‡

As the king's minority had afforded pretexts for all the attempts against the government, Catherine was desirous that he should be declared of full age: that measure would not affect her influence over her son, while it would protect her from the intrusions of the princes of the blood, and the great personages of the state. Charles IX. entered his fourteenth year during the siege of Havre, and she wished the parliament to make the declaration without delay, according to the law of Charles the Wise, which fixed the majority of the king at fourteen years. The Chancellor L'Hôpital, who also wished for the measure, considered that the parliament of Paris would not readily consent to it; and he recommended the queen to apply to that of Rouen in preference. A bed of justice was held there the seventeenth of August, and the king was declared of full age, the parliament agreeing with the chancellor, that the year being entered on was deemed complete. All the other parliaments registered the edict, except that of Paris, which made strong remonstrances. As that was the representative of the states-general, and the first court in the kingdom, it was deemed very derogatory to its dignity, that such an edict should be presented to the other parliaments before it had received the approbation of that body. The chief president and two counsellors were deputed to convey these sentiments to the king, who assumed as much severity as he was able, telling them to obey, and not meddle with public affairs which depended upon his will; and dismiss the idle notion, that they were the guardians of the king, the defenders of the kingdom, and the protectors of the city of Paris.§

The king delayed returning to Paris till after the

* Pallavicini, lib. 20, p. 407.

† Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 674.

‡ Vie de Coligny, p. 291.

§ Davila, liv. 3, p. 308.

¶ Vie de Coligny, p. 291.

|| Mem. de Condé, vol. ii. p. 163.

* Discours au vray de la réduction du Havre-de-Grace, &c.—*Mem. de Condé*, vol. iv.

† Letter of Spanish ambassador.—*Mem. de Condé*, vol. ii. p. 171.

‡ Vie de Coligny, p. 297.

§ Davila, liv. 3, p. 318. Journal de Brulart, in loc.

parliament had become comformable: a further delay was occasioned by the queen's illness. Instead of proceeding direct to the capital he made a stay at Meulan, to which place the mother, the widow, and the children of Guise, with a numerous train of relatives and friends, all clothed in deep mourning, went in a body, and on their knees presented a request demanding justice on his murderer.* This step was at the queen's instigation; and in order to blind the public, as to the part she had taken in urging the family to such a proceeding, she told them that she could not conceive why they should complain, for Poltrot had been punished as rigorously as they could possibly wish. This gave them an opportunity of better explaining themselves, and they stated, that as Coligny had been charged by the confessions and declarations of Poltrot, it was proper that he should justify himself from the accusation, or suffer the punishment due to such a crime.† The king promised them his support, and the parliament commenced an inquiry. Many of the counsellors thought the duchess ought not to be allowed to risk another civil war by pursuing the affair; but the queen gave them to understand her wishes, and the parliament commenced proceedings against the admiral. Catherine was in hopes of thus compelling Coligny to yield to her authority and influence, but it only strengthened the union between him and Condé, who reproached the queen with having excited this odious accusation. A memorial was also presented to the king, representing that, as the government had refused to delay Poltrot's execution, it was not right to argue from his deposition; and that, as oblivion was promised for all that occurred during the war, if the duchess were permitted to accuse the admiral, he ought to be allowed to institute proceedings against the duke's memory and character, in order to condemn him for the massacre of Vassy, which was the cause of the civil war.‡ It was evident that the duchess only acted from the queen's suggestions, and the proceeding was looked upon as a persecution. Marshal Montmorency, eldest son of the constable, warmly espoused Coligny's cause, and the queen became fearful of the consequences of her conduct.§ The admiral's party appeared still more important when he entered Paris to join the king, accompanied by a greater train of nobles and gentlemen than had been seen for many years.|| The Guises were astonished, and immediately placed their hotel in a state of defence. But they persisted in accusing Coligny, and at last the king issued a decree suspending all inquiry for three years, which put an end to the public discussion of the affair.¶

In the mean time, the insufficiency of the edict of Amboise for securing the peace became very evident. Wherever the Protestants were most numerous, they extended the liberty of the edict; and when they were the weaker party, they were

unable to enjoy its benefit. The Catholics in general were angry at the concessions made to the Protestants, and loudly manifested their discontent. No one was more displeased about it than the constable, notwithstanding the treaty was principally his own work. These murmurs were repeated by a number of discontented persons, who made his house their rendezvous. Montmorency argued that the Huguenots would necessarily increase in numbers and influence if the peace continued, and that therefore a war was the only remedy for the evil. A plan was formed for raising a disturbance in the capital, and about three hundred of the principal protestants were marked out for destruction: this violent measure it was supposed would cause another war. Everything was arranged for execution: persons were posted to stir up the populace, and engage them to fall on the Calvinists, murder them, and plunder their houses. The constable himself gave orders for carrying the plan into effect; but the queen received timely information, and the plot was frustrated. Montmorency retired in confusion to Chantilly, and some of the most furious of his accomplices were hanged at their own windows, without any form of trial: the others were allowed to escape.*

This attempt was not confined to the capital. Damville, Tavannes, and other governors attempted similar measures. Like most persecutions, it received great encouragement from the clergy, whose zeal could not remain inactive when the Pope had hurled his thunders, and the council its anathemas, against the victims; added to which, several foreign princes solicited severe measures against them, and sent embassies to convey their threats if such were not adopted.†

Pius IV., who at this time directed the politics of the Vatican, readily perceived that the temporal authority of his see would be undermined if the Protestants could enjoy liberty in France: his object was therefore to make them hateful to the government. To prevent the clergy from giving them countenance, he determined on punishing those French prelates who had adopted the new doctrines, or had been guilty of tolerance. He excommunicated the Cardinal of Chatillon; St. Romain, Archbishop of Aix; Montluc, Bishop of Valence; Carraccioli of Troyes; Barbançon, of Pamiers; and Guillard of Chartres: they were all summoned to appear before him, and give an account of their conduct.‡

The audacity of the pontiff was the means of saving those prelates from his wrath, by rendering it necessary for the king of France to interfere. The pope cited the queen of Navarre to give an account of her faith;§ and if within the space of six months she did not appear before the sovereign pontiff, he declared her proscribed, convicted of heresy, fallen from royalty, and deprived of her estates and dignities, which were given to the first occupant.|| Such an attack upon a crowned head, and a near relative of the king of France, caused a strong representation from the French

* Mem. de Condé, vol. v. p. 24. The request was dated 26th Sept. 1563.

† Vie de Coligny, p. 292. Davila, liv. 3, p. 321.

‡ Vie de Coligny, p. 293.

§ Letter of the Spanish ambassador.—*Mem. de Condé*, vol. ii. p. 181.

|| Brief discours de tout ce que a esté negotié pour la querelle qui est entre les maisons de Guise et de Chatillon, &c.—*Mem. de Condé*, vol. v.

¶ The decree is dated 5th January, 1563-4.

* Vieilleville, liv. 9, ch. 32 and 35.

† D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 197. De Thou, liv. 35.

‡ Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 769.

§ The bull is dated 28th Sept. 1563; it is to be found in the fourth vol. of *Mem. de Condé*.

|| D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 201. Maimbourg, *Hist. de Calvinisme*, liv. 4.

ambassador; and the pope in consequence withdrew his bull.*

A new edict was published about the same time: it was called a declaration, and was avowedly to explain the doubtful part of that of Amboise, but in reality to curtail the liberty of the Protestants.† Several of the clergy had performed divine service in their churches, according to the new rite, and many had permitted it in their dependencies. By the new edict, all lands and buildings belonging to the church were excepted from the liberty of worship: similar means were resorted to for curtailing their liberty of preaching in general; and as many persons had quitted the monastic life, and had married, they were enjoined to return to their convents, and renounce their illegal marriages, or quit the kingdom.

Such an encroachment on the edict of Amboise could not be submitted to, without an attempt on the part of the Protestants to defend their rights. They inundated the kingdom with apologies, complaints, and remonstrances to the king, the queen, and particularly the Prince of Condé, as he was in some degree answerable for the fulfilment of the treaty, having prevented the admiral from securing better terms. But Catherine had artfully surrounded him with every charm and variety of pleasure, and he was too much engaged to bestir himself on their account. His amorous disposition made him an easy prey to the intrigues set on foot by the queen. She amused him with the hope of being lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and encouraged him to pursue his brother's claims to Sardinia: she projected at the same time a marriage between him and Mary Queen of Scots, as his princess had lately died. Condé's wit and vivacity, added to his reputation for courage and skill, made him a great favourite at court, and the widow of Marshal St. André and Isabella de la Tour de Turenne disputed for his hand: the prince resigned himself to luxury, and for a time the queen's object was effected.‡

Coligny had great difficulty in dissuading the prince from marrying the widow, who was so deeply enamoured, that she gave him the chateau of Vallery;§ nor was this the only proof of her tenderness, according to the memoirs of the admiral.

The noblesse were ensnared in a similar manner. Catherine's maids of honour, young and beautiful girls, were the syrens employed to captivate the Huguenot leaders. The queen hoped to lull them into security, in order more completely to have them in her power. Treachery was the leading feature of her conduct: her aim being bad, she would not be scrupulous about the means, and the morals of her court would be exposed to but little scrutiny. Those who were most successful received the greatest honour; and debauchery and perfidy entered very early into the habits of Charles IX.

* Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 796. Mem. de Condé, vol. iv. p. 680.

† Dated 14th December, 1563

‡ De Thou, liv. 35.

§ Brantome, vol. ix. p. 3.

CHAPTER XVII.

Conclusion of the Council of Trent—Secret arrangements made for the destruction of heresy—Arrest of Charles du Moulin—Journey to Bayonne—Interviews between Catherine and the Duke of Alva—Plot for seizing the Queen of Navarre and her son.

THE month of December, 1563, was rendered remarkable by the conclusion of the Council of Trent. Pius IV. had renewed the sessions, with a determination to come to some decision; he was convinced that unless some fixed principles were adopted, some boundary established for the church, the most sincere Catholics might be seduced into heresy, by the arguments of those who claimed the right of interpreting the Holy Scriptures for themselves. The different discussions during the twenty-five sessions of this council embraced the whole range of subjects which affected the power, the wealth, and the supremacy of the court of Rome. The decrees were prefaced with the following style, "The holy Œcumenic Council, legitimately assembled under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the apostolical legates presiding"* But as the pope had the council under his control, nothing was discussed beyond what the legates proposed; and instead of deliberating upon the spiritual interests of Christendom, for effecting a complete abolition of the corruptions and superstitions, which were the grounds of Luther's attack, there were only proposed some slight modifications of the most glaring abuses, while additional authority was conferred upon almost every point, in which the councils and traditions appeared at variance with the Scriptures; and what was intended to reform the church, thus served only to confirm its errors. It could hardly be otherwise, for the council was chiefly composed of men devoted to the pope, and whose number he could increase at his pleasure; while the most learned divines of the different nations were never invited to attend, and if any one ventured to express an opinion contrary to the papal interests, he was soon put to silence. It was observed at the time, that the Holy Spirit was sent from Rome in a portmanteau.†

The concluding act of the council, was to establish the dogma of the pope's infallibility. The council declared that the authority of the holy see remained inviolate, and the decision of any difficulties, without exception, which might arise out of the decrees, was referred to the pope, as sovereign pastor of the church.‡

The Cardinal of Lorraine appeared at the council with great splendour; and the occasion for discussing some general plan for the annihilation of heresy was not lost. He conferred with the emperor, and conversed with the pope; and the embassy to France soon after, on the part of the pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy, was generally attributed to that conversation.§ The proposition was kept very secret; and both the court and the deputies carefully concealed what was discussed. But Coligny, who had good active spies abroad, penetrated the nature of the embassy, and roused the Prince of Condé to exert

* Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 124.

† Turretin, *Hist. Eccles.*

‡ Maimbourg. *Hist. du Luthéranisme.* Fra Paolo, *Hist. du Concile de Trente.*

§ Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 108.

himself: the queen feared a renewal of the war, and acted accordingly.*

When the ambassadors arrived at Fontainebleau, where the king then was, they could only obtain vague answers. They demanded, among other things, that the Council of Trent should be received in France; that the heretics should be punished without mercy; and that the authors of the death of Guise should be condemned as guilty of high treason. Charles assured them that he would live in the religion of his fathers, that he was disposed to render justice to all his subjects, and that for the rest he would write to their masters.†

But so much did the ultramontane interest predominate in the decrees of the Council of Trent, that the Catholics of France were very averse to their reception. A celebrated lawyer, named Charles du Moulin, published a memoir, showing that this council was null and vicious in all its parts, contrary to former decrees, and prejudicial to the dignity of the crown, and the liberties of the Gallican church.‡ He was arrested for this publication, while going up the steps of the Palace of Justice, and that circumstance nearly caused a tumult; for the other lawyers felt indignant at such treatment of a man who was an honour to their profession, and they excited their clerks to attempt a rescue. The Conciergerie, however, being close at hand, the archers very soon secured their prisoner, and, by a prompt flight, escaped the vengeance of their pursuers. No sooner did this affair reach the ears of Coligny, than he made the case his own (for he had encouraged Du Moulin to publish the memoir): he went to the queen, and by a full representation of the affair, and its probable results, obtained an order for Du Moulin to be set at liberty.§

Catherine had for some time entertained a great wish to travel through the kingdom, and show the young monarch to his people. The communications from the ambassadors had created an additional motive, for it became necessary to ascertain the strength of the Huguenots in the provinces. She was attended by all the lords of the court, and the whole royal family, with the exception of the Duke of Alençon and the Prince of Condé. The population crowded on the passage of this brilliant escort, and saluted the king with their acclamations. The young monarch's presence dissipated everywhere that gloomy distrust which had lately showed itself; and every one thanked him for the peace he had bestowed on France. These testimonials of affection should have engaged Charles IX. to merit them by a paternal administration of the public affairs: but the queen would not quit her son a single moment; she beheld the enthusiasm of the people with indifference, and the rising feelings of gratitude were stifled in the king's breast. Catherine also took especial care to revive the expiring sparks of fanaticism, by encouraging shouts of *Vive le Roi, La Reine, et La Messe!* Skilful agents controlled the multitude, who mingled abuse of the Protestants with expressions of loyalty to the king; but that did not

prevent the Huguenots from making their complaints.*

The queen did not long conceal her perfidious intentions. The king's steps were at first directed to Lorraine, to visit the duke, who had married his sister. A number of fêtes were given in honour of this visit, and the court was occupied with pleasure: but Catherine availed herself of the opportunity to negotiate with the neighbouring German princes, and prevent their subjects from coming to France to assist the Protestants: she offered to pay them for this civility. The Duke of Wirtemberg, the count palatine, and the Duke of Deux Ponts, contended for the right of assisting their friends; the Marquis of Baden, and one or two others, accepted her proposal, and engaged besides to send troops to her assistance: she had thus gained a great point towards the accomplishment of her project.†

From Lorraine, Charles IX. went towards the southern parts of France. The Duke of Savoy approached the king, to offer his respects, as the court passed by that frontier. To some this act appeared only a courtesy on the part of the duke; but many expressed their suspicions of the secret interviews which he had with the queen. At Avignon the honours of the place were rendered by the vice-legate, but the pope had sent, at the queen's desire, a Florentine, his confident: he discussed the secret affairs, while the public functionaries attended to pageantry and pleasure. Catherine could there declare sentiments, which she had feared to impart to ordinary legates.‡

As if her policy required no mask, Catherine gave orders for destroying the fortifications of the places where the Protestants were numerous; and citadels were built to keep the great towns in check. Every day witnessed some encroachment on the edict of Amboise. Several other edicts had been passed, injurious to the Protestants, by restraining their liberty: the edict of Roussillon§ declared that the liberty of public worship on their estates, which had been given to the gentry, was only intended for their servants and vassals: it forbade the collection of any money for the minister's support; and repeated the injunction to the priests, monks, and nuns, who had contracted marriages, to resume their former conditions, or to quit the kingdom. The Prince of Condé addressed a remonstrance to the king, which was probably the cause of two royal proclamations, which were issued soon after, enjoining all governors, &c., to observe the edict of pacification.||

The court arrived at Bayonne, the 10th of June, 1565, when the king was met by his sister, the Queen of Spain, who had been sent by her husband, Philip II., an unconscious instrument of his dark policy. She was accompanied by a numerous and brilliant suite, and her principal attendant was the ferocious Duke of Alva; an envoy quite equal to the commission confided to him, by his talents and his sanguinary, bigoted disposition.

At this time, when all the luxury and pomp of

* Mem. de Coudé, vol. ii. p. 194.

† Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 309. Davila, liv. 3. p. 329.

‡ Davila, liv. 3. Maimbourg adds, that the legate was *merveilleusement satisfait* with this conference. *Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 5.

§ Dated 4th Aug. 1564.

|| Proclamations, dated Marseilles, 8th and 9th Nov. 1564; they are given at length in the first vol. of *Mém. de Condé*; the prince's remonstrance is in vol. v. p. 201.

* Vie de Coligny, p. 302.

† D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 203. Mem. de Condé, vol. v. p. 46.

‡ Mem. de Condé, vol. v. pp. 81 et seq.

§ Vie de Coligny, p. 304, and Journal de Brulart, 7th June, 1564. Yet, within a short time, Du Moulin drew up a most violent accusation against the Protestants, entitled *Faits et Informations*, &c.; inserted in Villeroi, vol. vii.

the court of France was employed in fêtes and pageantry, when the French and Spanish courts endeavoured to outvie each other's splendour, the queen-mother wished it to be thought that her stay at Bayonne was only to divert her daughter. Her attention, however, was directed to another object; for, under pretence of going to see her, by a gallery which she had ordered to be constructed to connect their apartments, she conversed every night with the Duke of Alva.* Subsequent events have shown that these conferences were about a secret alliance between the two kings, for the entire extirpation of heresy in France.† Catherine was discussing the best means of effecting that object, when the Duke of Alva observed, that "Ten thousand frogs were not worth the head of a salmon."‡ These words were overheard by the young Prince of Bearn, whose penetration was far beyond his years: he considered them as applicable to Condé and Coligny, and immediately informed his mother, the Queen of Navarre, of what he had heard.

This prince, who will hereafter occupy a very considerable share of our attention, was born at Pau in Bearn, the 13th of December, 1553. He was the son of Anthony of Bourbon and the Queen of Navarre. Henry d'Albret, King of Navarre, had a presentiment that his grandson would one day avenge the injuries he had received from the King of Spain; and, while he lived, he superintended those who had the care of him.§ His education was unlike that of princes, for he was exercised like a young Spartan, and nourished with food of the coarsest kind. His first years were passed amidst the rocks of Bearn, and the children of the peasants were his companions. This hard apprenticeship prepared him for his heroic destinies. His mother, in the mean time, provided him an excellent tutor, named La Gaucherie, one of the most learned men of the day; and his death occurring soon after, a Protestant, named Florent Chretien, was charged with his tuition. When he was presented at the court of France, the blunt frankness of the little mountaineer prince caused some amusement to the courtiers; but his wit and gracefulness gained him the kindness of Catherine, who liked to have him constantly with her.|| There was also a great interest excited in his favour while at Bayonne, on account of a conspiracy against him, which had recently failed. The object was to seize and carry off the Queen of Navarre and her son, and deliver them into the hands of the King of Spain. What their fate would have been can only be conjectured, but there was everything to be feared on their account from such a sanguinary prince, who found in re-

ligion a pretext for every crime, and who had authority from the pope to possess her kingdom. Elizabeth, Queen of Spain, heard of the plot, and trembled for the life of her relative: she sent immediate information to the Queen of Navarre and the queen-mother, and the project failed in consequence. It is uncertain whether this plot was of French or Spanish origin; but memoirs of the time mention that Montluc and several Catholic generals knew of it. Catherine thought it sufficient to have prevented the effect of the conspiracy, and refrained from inquiring into the guilt of any one concerned in it: the rank and number of the criminals rendered that policy necessary.*

The fêtes at Bayonne being concluded, the Queen of Spain returned to her husband, and the French court set out for Nerac in Gascony, the residence of the Queen of Navarre. Charles restored the Catholic worship in those parts, and attempted, but in vain, to bring back the queen to that faith. She joined the retinue of the court, and the king loaded her with civilities and attentions. Catherine, determined on keeping alive her son's hatred of heresy, pointed out to his notice the ruined monasteries, the overthrown crosses, and the mutilated images of saints, which were often in view. Her words were deeply impressed on the young king's mind, and created a distrust of the Protestants which nothing could remove. He frequently repeated the remark made by the Duke of Alva, and from that time adapted his policy to that object.†

The court arrived at Blois at the close of the year; and an assembly of all the great personages was convoked to meet at Moulins, in the month of January, 1566: at that assembly an edict was passed which confirmed that of Roussillon, and others, which had been made during the king's journey; but whatever new dispositions were made, were of a civil nature, and had no reference to the Protestants.‡ Catherine did not find events favourable to her views, or she would on this occasion have adopted the suggestions of the Duke of Alva: at least such was the general opinion among the Protestants, and all confidence in the queen was from that time destroyed.§

CHAPTER XVIII.

Affair between Marshal Montmorency and the Cardinal of Lorraine—Attempts to assassinate Coligny—Perfidious conduct of Charles IX.

THE king had been absent from Paris nearly two years. During that time a disturbance occurred, which warmly interested the whole court. An edict had prohibited all persons from carrying fire-arms, as the irritated state of the nation made it dangerous for either party to have weapons at hand: the prohibition extended to all ranks; but the Cardinal of Lorraine, fearing a fate similar to his brother's, had obtained permission under the

* De Thou, liv. 37.

† The following testimony is above suspicion, "Les Roynes de France et d'Espagne à Bayonne, assistées du Duc d'Albe, resoulent la ruine des heretiques en France et Flandres."—*Mem. de Taverannes*, p. 282. Strada's history also mentions it.

‡ Mathieu, in his History of France, admits a consultation for crushing the Protestants, by previously removing their leaders, but rejects the idea of the St. Bartholomew being then in contemplation. The words used on this occasion are given in a different form by almost every writer, but the *anims* is the same in all. According to Brantome, it was a favourite phrase with the Duke of Alva, who made use of it when he entrapped the Counts Egmont and Horn to be massacred. See his Life of the Prince of Orange.

§ Henry d'Albret was born at Sanguesa, in Navarre, in 1503; he died 1555. Charles V. considered him one of the most accomplished men of his age.

|| Cayet, vol. i. p. 236, *et seq.*

* Recit. d'une entreprise faite en l'an 1565 contre la royne de Navarre, &c., inserted in Villeroy, vol. ii.

† Davila, liv. 3.

‡ Thanks to the energy of the chancellor, whose firmness in opposing the projects of the Cardinal of Lorraine obtained for him some insulting remarks in the assembly. The scene is detailed in the *Mem. de L'Estoile*, vol. i. p. 12. Edit. Cologne, 1719.

§ Vie de Coligny, p. 314. Davila, liv. 3. De Thou, liv. 37.

great seal to be attended by guards well accoutred. On his return from the Council of Trent, in January, 1565, he invited all his friends to join him and swell his escort, that he might make a sort of triumphal entry into Paris.

Marshal Montmorency was at that time governor of Paris, and was desirous of mortifying the cardinal's vanity: he well knew that certain persons were privileged in spite of the edicts, and that the cardinal was among the number; but to put a good appearance on his conduct, he went to the parliament, and said that he had information that somebody proposed coming to Paris with armed followers, which, if it occurred, he would resist with open force.

The cardinal was informed of the marshal's design, but paid no attention to it, and entered boldly into the city. Montmorency soon arrived, and ordered him and his followers to put away their pistols. He had sent a messenger to make the same communication before the cardinal had entered; but that person was not well received, and the marshal immediately set out at the head of a body of horsemen. A skirmish ensued; the cardinal jumped from his horse, and ran into a shop, from whence he gained his own hotel in the night.

The cardinal felt the affront too much to overlook it. All the partisans of the Guises were summoned, and an explanation was demanded. The cardinal urged the permission he had to go armed: the marshal contended he ought to have exhibited that authority. Montmorency, far from yielding to the cardinal, paraded before his house with armed men; and, having written to his different friends, he received a great reinforcement. Coligny brought with him twelve hundred gentlemen;* Andelot also brought some with him; and the Prince of Condé, and the Cardinal of Chatillon supported him by their presence. The marshal expressed his determination to compel the cardinal to obey him; while he, fearing his hotel should be forced in the night, consulted some counsellors of the parliament, who offered to convince Montmorency of his authority to carry arms. The admiral also joined in accommodating the business, as he feared otherwise another civil war might be kindled. The cardinal was induced to send a copy of the king's permission to carry arms, but Montmorency demanded the original. Upon this, Coligny persuaded the marshal that he ought to be satisfied with the deference which had been shown him; and that the cardinal was severely punished, in undergoing such a mortification, in sight of a great city, where he had expected to be received with acclamations.

The Duke of Aumale, brother of the cardinal, was determined to resent the affront put upon his family. He collected a number of gentlemen, and appeared before Paris. Montmorency wished to go out and settle the affair in the field, but was dissuaded from it by Coligny, who knew that a renewal of the war would inevitably take place if they came to blows: still the marshal was about to give way to his feelings, when orders arrived from the king for both parties to lay down their arms. †

* According to De Thou, he arrived in Paris, 22nd Jan., 1565.

† De Thou, liv. 37. Vie de Coligny, p. 213. Davila, liv. 3, p. 341. Brantome, *Discours sur les Duels*, and Felibien, *Hist. de Paris*, vol. ii. p. 1092.

The whole noblesse was divided into two parties about this affair: one contended that the marshal was right; the other blamed his conduct. The Prince of Condé observed respecting it,—“If not a joke, it is too little; if it be one, it is too much.”* The Duke of Montpensier, receiving his account from the cardinal, was led to take up the affair warmly: he wrote a severe letter to the marshal, giving him to understand that all the princes of the blood were affected by his behaviour to the cardinal. The marshal in his reply explained the difference there was between princes of the blood and foreigners: he thus gave the affair a different appearance, and appeased the queen-mother. †

Coligny quitted Paris when he found that his cousin had no further occasion for his assistance. He had not been long at home, before he received clear evidence that the queen-mother had been busy in forming a league with the pope and the Spaniards for the extermination of the Protestant religion. At first he was inclined to doubt the intelligence; but the same news being confirmed, and repeated in different quarters, he felt it his duty to adopt some measures of precaution: he consulted with Condé, and they agreed to take arms at the first spark which might appear. When the king, soon afterwards, held the assembly at Moulins, before mentioned, Coligny and the prince went well accompanied: by that means Catherine's aim was frustrated, and she feared to attempt the very thing for which the meeting had been appointed. ‡

The charge brought against Coligny by the Guises had been renewed at the assembly, and the queen-mother, in order to allay any suspicions in the admiral's mind, exerted herself to effect a complete reconciliation. The widow and the cardinal were at length persuaded to say, that, after the oath Coligny had taken, they believed him innocent. They embraced each other, and promised to banish all resentment. The form agreed upon was scarcely finished when the son of the deceased Guise observed that he had nothing to do with the ceremony. Aumale challenged Coligny to a single combat, and the admiral complied to the queen of the Guises wishing to assassinate him. §

There were in fact two attempts to assassinate the admiral. One of them was discovered by his intercepting some letters from one of his gentlemen, named Hambervilliers. The purport was, that the persons whom he addressed need take no trouble, and that before long he would settle the admiral's business for him. Every precaution had been used in disguising the writing, and concealing the name of the party to whom it was sent, as that would have shown plainly who had promoted the attempt.

Coligny was loth to entertain suspicions of such a man, but was resolved on inquiring more into it. He sent for Hambervilliers, and desired him to explain what it meant. He, surprised at such an accusation, denied having written it. “I am glad of it,” said Coligny; “but as it is important

* De Thou, liv. 37, vol. v. p. 11.

† Brantome, vol. vii. p. 169.

‡ Vie de Coligny, p. 314.

§ Journal de Brulart, 29th Jan., 1566. Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 110. Vie de Coligny, p. 315. Davila, liv. 3. De Thou, liv. 39.

that I should be assured, I beg you will take a pen, that I may compare the writing, and be convinced of the truth of what you say." Hamber-villiers, unable to refuse such a test, attempted to write as differently as possible; but he was so alarmed at his position, that writing a very few words sufficed to show that he was the author of the letter. Coligny plainly told him his opinion, when Hamber-villiers threw himself at his feet to implore his mercy. The admiral took no other revenge than expelling him from his service, and telling him to inform those who had employed him that there were other methods, and more honourable than that, for getting rid of a man whom they wished to injure. Coligny did not even press him for information, but told him that he forgave him as he was from Lorraine, and might therefore consider himself bound to serve the house of Guise. He gave orders, however, to his steward that he should carefully inspect whatever was intended for his table.*

The other attempt to murder the admiral was the following. He was hunting, and was accosted by a man who had formerly been in his service, but who at that time kept an inn at Chatillon. This man, named Demay, told him that the animal he was pursuing had gone in a certain direction, and offered to take him by a short route, so that he could arrive before the dogs.

The admiral thanked him, and requested he would walk on and show the way. This was not what the other wished, as he intended to make his blow from behind; added to which, a gentleman overtook Coligny, and kept close to him. This so disconcerted the man, that they both suspected something. They soon found that the road they were in could not lead to where the hunt was, for Demay had conducted them into the depths of the forest. Coligny then drew his sword, and laid hold of the man, saying, "Tell me this moment, you scoundrel, where you are conducting me, and what is your design!" The gentleman laying hold of him at the same time, he was unable to resist, or do anything in desperation. As he would give no explanation, they searched him, and a pistol being found upon him, was a proof of some bad intention. He persisted in keeping silence; so Coligny and his companion bound him, and delivered him into the hands of justice. The fellow was well known to the magistrates, and had escaped the punishment due to a multitude of crimes, solely because it was thought the admiral would protect his old servant. This affair, however, disabused them upon that point, and he was tried and condemned to be hanged. To prolong his life, and create a possibility of escape, he appealed to the parliament, stating that this was a false accusation,—a persecution on account of his having refused to assist in poisoning the queen. But the counsellors saw through his motives, and confirmed his sentence of death, changing the punishment from hanging, to be broken on the wheel. Before he died, he acknowledged that his intention was to murder the admiral, at the request of the Duke of Aumale, who had given him a hundred crowns, with a great many promises, if he succeeded.†

* Vie de Coligny, p. 315.

† Vie de Coligny, p. 321. De Thon, liv. 39, gives an imperfect account of this affair, but what he does state corroborates the text.

To lull Coligny into supineness, Charles and his mother pursued a new line of conduct. He became in great favour at court, and received innumerable kindnesses from the perfidious king, whose secret aim was to destroy him. Coligny even felt ashamed of having lent an ear to the advice which had been sent him from Bayonne; and had not continued complaints been addressed to him from the provinces, wary as he was, he would have fallen into the snare. But in spite of the edicts in their favour, the Protestants could not have the enjoyment of their liberty; and bigots derived encouragement from the impunity with which they pursued their persecutions, for justice was deaf to the appeals of the Huguenots. Catherine, grieved that such events should thwart her design, was eager to convince the admiral, that, whatever might take place in the provinces, she and her son were favourable to his cause. She went beyond all precedent in paying him attentions. The king was to be god-father to the Prince of Condé's child, and chose Coligny to represent him at the font. He afterwards dined at the same table with the king, and was waited upon by the officers of the household, in the same style in which a sovereign prince would have been received. Coligny was fearful of exciting the envy of the courtiers, and attempted to decline the honour, but in vain: his prudence, however, did not forsake him in the blaze of splendour which surrounded him, and nothing could prevent his retiring to his own house in the evening. Charles tried every method to induce his guest to remain in the palace, "in hopes," says the admiral's biographer, "that a favourable opportunity for seizing him would present itself." But Coligny was firm, and retired in safety.*

During the conferences at Bayonne the Duke of Alva had obtained the king's permission to traverse part of France, with an army intended to crush the rebellion in Flanders. Coligny, who never lost any opportunity of serving the Protestant cause, entertained hopes of persuading the king to assist the Flemings, by showing the great advantages which would arise from such a measure. But the plan agreed upon at Bayonne was directly at variance with this suggestion: the most advantageous treaty with Flanders, even its annexation to his crown, could not compensate this infuriated and cruel king for the opportunity of suppressing heresy in France; and that opportunity he expected to derive from the co-operation of the Spaniards in Flanders.

When Coligny found that the king could not be brought to prevent the Spanish army from traversing the kingdom, he resolved to take some measures for protecting the French Protestants from dangers, which the arrival of so ferocious a commander rendered imminent. He addressed the queen on that subject: she was willing enough to adopt a proposal, which she could afterwards turn against the Huguenots; and nothing could have suited her views better, for she wished to have an armed force at hand, but had delayed taking any measures for it, lest she should thereby excite suspicions in Coligny's mind: an order was issued without delay for the levy of six thousand Swiss.†

It was the Prince of the Roche-sur-Yonne who

* Vie de Coligny, p. 318.

† Davila, liv. 4.

represented to the admiral, what an error he had committed, in thus preparing means for his own oppression; the Swiss, he showed him, would not be dismissed when the occasion for calling them was past, and Catherine would thus possess additional force for destroying the Huguenot party. Indeed it required very little penetration to discover that it would be so employed; for every day beheld an increase of the persecutions which the Protestants had to undergo.

The letters of the nuncio, Prosper de St. Croix, to Cardinal Borromeo prove that during 1564 and 1565 measures were secretly taken for overthrowing the Protestant religion. "In a short time," says he, "we shall have no more Huguenots in France; and every one acknowledges how much we are indebted for that to the good counsels of your eminence."*

Such treatment naturally produced a great number of petitions and remonstrances. Coligny was constantly employed in urging their claims with the king and queen. Charles found it difficult to conceal his sentiments, for though he had been well instructed in dissimulation, he was inexperienced; and impatience drew from him remarks, indicative of his latent hatred. The admiral one day entreated his attention to the prayer of a petition, which made him say, "It is not long since you were satisfied with toleration from the Catholics; now you demand to be their equals; shortly you will wish to drive us from the kingdom." Coligny retired; and Charles went in a rage to his mother, and said, in the hearing of the chancellor, "The Duke of Alva is right; such lofty heads are dangerous for a state; address serves to no purpose, we must use force." The queen had difficulty in pacifying him; and she could only do so, by showing him the danger of discovering himself too much.†

An embassy arrived about the same time from some Protestant princes of Germany, who solicited justice and protection for the Huguenots. Charles was enraged at their demands—one of which was that liberty of conscience in its fullest sense should be granted: for some time he could hardly speak; he then told them, that he would remain friendly with their masters, if they would interfere with his kingdom no more than he did with their governments; adding, scornfully, "I am very much inclined to request them also to allow the mass, and Catholic preachers in their towns."‡ His argument was unanswerable; but the worst consequences were argued from his sentiments, which then became known; and the result has proved that those fears were too well founded.

CHAPTER XIX.

Project for suppressing the Protestant religion—Attempt to seize the King at Meaux—Battle of St. Denis—Death of the Constable.

AMONG the different promises, with which the queen had won over the Prince of Condé to consent to a peace, one was that he should be made lieutenant-general of the kingdom: the Duke of

Alva's passage through France gave him an opportunity for demanding its fulfilment. The constable alone had a right to oppose it, but Condé had obtained his consent for filling that office. Catherine, however, had not the least intention of keeping her word, and her fertile mind readily provided an occasion for breaking it. She raised up a powerful competitor in the person of the Duke of Anjou, the king's next brother.* Her artful insinuations were almost generally irresistible, and she had therefore no difficulty in kindling a proper feeling in the mind of her son. She represented that a prince like him ought to cherish the ambition of being a great captain; that he would have good opportunities of earning that reputation, if he were at the head of the forces, with the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom; but that if the Prince of Condé obtained that post, he, born on the throne, and brother of the reigning prince, would be necessarily idle, or compelled to submit to a general born to obey and to respect him.

The Duke of Anjou's ambition was kindled by his mother's remarks, and he felt great indignation that Condé should have dared to demand a charge, to which, as the king's brother, he alone was entitled. It soon after happened that he met the prince at a supper given by the queen: he immediately took hold of his arm, and led him apart into the recess of a window, where he talked very roughly, and upbraided him for his boldness in daring to seek an appointment to which he had so incontestable a right; then, putting his hand to his sword, he threatened that, if the prince persisted in his application, he would make him as little as he wished to be great.†

The Duke of Alva, in the mean time, was marching quietly through France, and the Swiss, under Colonel Pfeiffer, advanced into the interior. The Protestants in general entertained great fears that the rumoured plans were immediately to be put into execution. The liberty which had been granted them by different edicts was infringed upon continually, so that it was reduced almost to nothing: they were attacked and massacred everywhere with impunity, and they could not obtain justice either of the parliaments or the king's council. It had become the general wish to take arms immediately; but Condé and Coligny persuaded them to remain quiet, and suffer anything rather than do so: for a second war would make them the horror of all France; and so violent a hatred would be kindled against them in the king's mind, that nothing could ever efface it.‡

It is probable that the Protestants would have abstained from taking arms, had not the prince of the Roche-sur-Yonne informed Coligny that a secret council had been held, in which it was resolved to arrest the Prince of Condé and himself; to imprison the prince for life, and bring him to a scaffold; to place garrisons of two thousand Swiss in Paris, Orleans, and Poitiers; to increase the garrison of suspected places with the armies then on service; and to revoke the edict of pacification, and forbid everywhere the exercise of the new religion.§

* Letter, dated Chalons, 24th April, 1564. This correspondence, in Italian and French, is given in *Les Synodes des Eglises réformées en France*, La Haye, 1710.

† Davila, liv. 4.

‡ Davila, liv. 4.

* Davila, liv. 4.

† Brantome, vol. viii. p. 240.

‡ Mezeray, *Abregé Chron.*

§ La Noue, p. 606. Davila, liv. 4, p. 378. De Thou, liv. 42. Discours de la vie de Catherine, p. 380.

The king gave orders to Tavannes to enrol his good subjects of the ancient and Catholic faith, that he could depend upon in case the Protestants should make any attempt against his authority and edicts. A species of league was formed in consequence, called the *Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit*: in addition to the oath of obedience to the chief, and of friendship to each other, the members swore to make no mention of the association to any person whatever.* This discovery, connected with the information given to Coligny, was enough to drive the Protestants to arms.

When the Protestant generals met at Chatillon, to consider what was to be done in such an emergency, neither Condé nor Coligny were willing to commence another war; but Andelot was less scrupulous than his brother, and less immersed in pleasures than the prince: he showed them, that unless they came at once to some resolution, it would soon be out of their power to do anything; and he brought them to join in anticipating the movements of their enemies.†

The court was then at Monceaux, a pleasant summer residence, but quite destitute of defence. The queen lived with as little precaution as if she had never thought of a measure, which, by creating desperate feelings on an accidental discovery, might urge the Protestants to the most hazardous undertaking. In the midst of this feeling of security, rumours were spread, in the beginning of September, 1567, of movements in some of the provinces. Couriers, who arrived from different parts, declared that they had never seen so many persons on the different roads. But little or no attention was paid to these reports, and the diversions of the court were continued.

In the middle of the same month, Castelnau arrived at Monceaux: he was a man of great judgment, and had been to Flanders on a mission from the king. He related, that several gentlemen of Picardy requested permission to join his suite, and that during their journey their conversation had reference to some sudden attack. The constable, unwilling to allow that he could be surprised, said, "If there were an army of Huguenots on foot, I should know of it."‡ The chancellor declared, "that it was a capital crime to bring to the sovereign false news, tending to make him distrust his subjects." "At least," represented Castelnau, "let me be permitted to send some one to observe the admiral's chateau." It was agreed to, and he sent his two brothers. The report of the first was to little purpose; that of the second induced the queen to retire at once to Meaux; while a nobleman, whom the king sent to Coligny upon some pretext, brought back word, that he found him dressed as a farmer, and looking after his vintage.§ This was the 26th of September; and two days afterwards all France was in a flame.

The rendezvous had been fixed at Rosoy, in Brie, for the 28th of September. Condé, Coligny, Andelot, and La Rochefoucault, easily possessed themselves of the town, with about four hundred gentlemen, who had arrived one by one. Their plan was to seize the whole court the following day,

when the king would be holding a chapter of the order of St. Michael. The queen having retired to Meaux, their attempt was foiled; and their next resolution was to march against the Swiss troops, which were scattered in some villages around Monceaux, and from whence they went by turns to guard the king's person. That force was his only protection, and if they had done this at once, they might easily have defeated the different detachments, and there would have remained nothing to prevent their getting possession of Meaux. The queen, suspecting their plan, or perceiving the danger of their thinking of it, sent Marshal Montmorency to amuse them, while the Swiss troops were collected in Meaux. Andelot was for rejecting all discussion, till after they had executed their resolution; but others, although they agreed with him, were reluctant to push things to extremity: they informed the marshal what they wanted, and he reported their demands to the king.*

The Swiss having entered Meaux the fears of the court subsided: but the Huguenot army was constantly increasing, and information arrived that they would soon be numerous enough to undertake anything: a council was held† in consequence, to consider if the king should not be conducted to Paris. The advice given by the constable was, that the king should not quit Meaux, because that could not be done without the risk of an engagement, the result of which was uncertain. The chancellor said the same thing; and added that, if once the sword were drawn, an accommodation could never be made: for the king would feel an eternal resentment against the Huguenots, while they would have a perpetual necessity for remaining armed, for fear of his vengeance. The Cardinal of Lorraine recommended the removal of the king; and it was the unfortunate destiny of France that his party should prevail in the council.‡ The king set out for Paris in the night: he was in the midst of the Swiss, who surrounded him, and eight hundred horsemen of his suite—a train more likely to embarrass than to protect him.

They had not proceeded many leagues, when the Prince of Condé appeared, and prepared to encounter them, with about five hundred horsemen. The Swiss were firm, and showed themselves ready to receive the charge. Charles was in a violent passion, and ordered them to attack the Huguenots; which would have been done, had not the constable prudently prevented it. He urged the king to quit the Swiss escort, and go on to Paris by another route, adding that it must be done promptly, for the prince to know nothing of it. Charles went away with two hundred men, while the confederates thinking him still with the main body hovered constantly about, with a view of attacking it if possible, and some skirmishes took place on the flanks and rear. The king arrived safe at Paris in the evening. Speaking of this affair he said, "Without the Duke of Nemours, and my good companions the Swiss, my life and my liberty were in great danger." True it is that, but for their firmness, Condé would have made the whole court prisoners.‡

* Mem. de Tavannes, p. 297.

† Vie de Coligny, p. 325. La Noue, p. 609. D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 209.

‡ Mem. de Castelnau, liv. 6, ch. 4.

§ Mem. de Tavannes, p. 299. Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 117. Mem. du Duc de Bouillon, p. 35 (vol. xxxv. of Petitot's collection).

* Vie de Coligny, p. 326 et seq. Davila, liv. 4. De Thou, liv. 42. Journal de Brulart. Mem. de Castelnau, liv. 6, ch. 5.

† De Thou says, that the cardinal considered the troubles of France highly suited to his views, as he wished to bring forward his nephews, liv. 42, vol. v. p. 352.

‡ La Noue, p. 614. Vie de Coligny, p. 328. Davila, liv. 3

The Protestants then seized upon the principal avenues leading to Paris; they occupied Montreuil, Poissy, and Argenteuil, and their headquarters were at St. Denis. Their troops were not sufficient to establish a blockade; but by destroying the mills around Paris, and preventing the usual arrivals from the country, they contrived to inflict great hardships and inconveniences on the capital; which, however, only increased the king's anger, and the hatred of the Parisians.*

One of the first acts of the king after his arrival in Paris, was to issue an edict, enjoining all the confederates to lay down their arms, promising amnesty for all who did so within twenty-four hours, and inviting all loyal persons to help him to subdue those who refused.† But the Protestants paid no attention to these menaces; and they persevered in their attempt to blockade the capital with a handful of men. They were able to seize all the bridges, and stop the communications in every direction. The queen had recourse, as usual, to negotiations: she proposed terms of accommodation, which were discussed for eight days. But the Protestants having made an attempt to win the multitude by demanding a diminution of the taxes, rendered excessive by the Italian collectors, the queen took offence, declared that they asked more than could or would be granted, and broke off all treaty.‡

Another method became necessary, for the chancellor and the constable were very earnest in their attempts to prevent the shedding of blood by another civil war. A herald was sent to St. Denis§ with an order from the king, signed by two secretaries of state, containing the alternative either to lay down their arms, or to declare that they confirmed their revolt; that then he might know how to act towards them. It was addressed by name to all the chiefs of the confederate army, and embarrassed them considerably, as it placed all the responsibility of the war upon them. When Condé saw the herald advance, he said to him angrily, "Take care about what you are going to do: if you bring hither anything contrary to my honour, I will have you hanged." The herald replied, "I come from your master and mine; and your threats will not prevent me from obeying his orders." So saying, he presented the message. The prince announced that he would give an answer in three days: "You must give it in twenty-four hours," answered the herald, who then withdrew.¶

The confederates resolved to address a new request to the king, drawn up with more moderation and less haughtiness than the former. The conferences were renewed by Condé and Montmorency, at La Chapelle, a village between Paris and St. Denis. Condé demanded as a *sine quâ non* the public exercise, general and irrevocable, of the reformed religion. Montmorency's powers did not go beyond the concessions of the last edict of Amboise: a short conversation ensued in which the constable stated, that, in granting the Huguenots their privileges, the king had never intended it for a permanency; but, on the contrary, his intention was to suffer but one religion in his dominions. Warm altercation ensued between the

parties, after which they separated, both resolving to decide the question in the field.*

The confederate army was every day increasing, and Condé's intention was to wait the arrival of some Reitres, before he attempted anything. Still the royal army in Paris was much more numerous, and the Parisians complained against the constable for suffering so small a force to insult the capital: they even said that he was in league with his nephew. Such imputations roused the bold veteran: he left Paris on the 10th of November, and attacked the confederates at St. Denis. As he went out with his troops, he said to the citizens that his fidelity would be proved on that occasion, and they would see him again either dead or victorious. The combat was most unequal, for the royal army consisted of sixteen thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry, while the confederates had only twelve hundred infantry and fifteen hundred horsemen, their force being so distributed in the occupation of the surrounding places. Montmorency thought that they would not dare to wait for him in the field, with such an insignificant force, and without artillery.†

The Protestants, however, burned with impatience to engage, and well sustained the attack of the numerous troops who advanced against them. The shock was terrible.‡ The field and the spoil remained to the Catholics, but the honour of the day belongs to the Huguenots, who fought so desperately that this victory was worse than many defeats.§ The Catholics lost many of their valuable officers; their general, the constable, was among the number. He had received several wounds through his cuirass, which was barely proof on account of the weight, but still continued fighting in the midst of the enemy's horse. He was recognised and attacked by Robert Stuart, a Protestant officer. Montmorency tendered him his sword, but, instead of receiving it, Stuart drew his pistol—"You do not know me, then?" said Montmorency. Stuart answered, "It is because I do know you that I give you that," and immediately fired. The ball struck the constable in the shoulder; he fell, and both parties contended for some time for the possession of this trophy.|| The numbers of the Catholics prevailed; their enemies were repulsed; and they conducted the expiring constable back to Paris, rather against his desire, for he wished to die on the field of battle.¶ He expired the next day, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

His character is a compound of bigotry, bravery, loyalty, and ambition. As a general, a negotiator, and a minister, he had on various occasions shown great ability and talents; but fortune was unfavourable to him, and the victory of St. Denis, the only one he gained in his long military career, cost him

* Davila, liv. 4. De Thou, liv. 42. Mem. de Castelnau, liv. 6, ch. 6.

† D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 214. La Noue, p. 614. Davila, liv. 4. De Thou, liv. 42. Le Laboureur,—*Additions*, &c. vol. ii. p. 458.

‡ The Cardinal de Chatillon was engaged: according to Brantôme, "*Il fit très bien, et combattit très vaillamment*, vol. vi. p. 420.

§ Tavannes, in his remarks upon this battle, says, "*Faut confesser que l'Amiral de Coligny, estoit Capitaine*."—*Mémoires*, p. 88.

|| Davila, liv. 4. But Pasquier (vol. ii. p. 122) states that, when called upon to surrender, the constable struck his antagonist on the mouth and broke two of his teeth, which made Stuart fire upon him. De Thou states the same, liv. 42.

¶ Brantôme, vol. vii. p. 124. Dulaure says that he died at his residence, Hotel de Mesmes, Rue St. Avoye.

* Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 118.

† Journal de Brulart.

‡ Mem. de Castelnau, liv. 6, ch. 5. De Thou, liv. 42.

§ 7 Oct. 1567.

|| Davila, liv. 4, p. 394. D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 212.

his life. His zeal for religion has been vaunted by some Catholic writers, but it was the zeal of a barbarian, and his religious ideas were entirely confined to formalities. Brantome's account of him is well known:—"He never failed in his devotions or his prayers, for every morning he would repeat his paternosters, whether he was in the house, or on horseback, or among the troops; which caused the saying, *Take care of the constable's paternosters*; for while he was repeating, and muttering them, as occasions presented themselves, he would say, 'Go hang up such a one; tie him up to a tree; run him through with the pikes this instant; shoot all those fellows before me; cut in pieces those vagabonds who wished to hold out that church against the king; burn me that village; set fire to the country for a quarter of a league around; and such like sentences of justice and of war he would utter according to the circumstance, without leaving off his paternosters until he had quite finished them, and thinking he should commit a great error if he had deferred saying them to another time; so conscientious was he.'"* The same writer adds, "That he fasted every Friday, and that, when he was at court, the queen placed a chair for him, and conversed while they were at supper, but that he would never eat anything." At the closing scene of his life, when such minute attention to trifles would lead us to expect something from his blind devotion, we are surprised by a display of stoicism quite inconsistent with his character. A Franciscan monk attended to confess him, and attempted to inspire proper sentiments, by long exhortations: "Leave me, father," said the constable, "leave me: do you think I have lived with honour near four-score years, and not learned to die for a quarter of an hour?"†

The news of the sad victory of Saint Denis was received at court with a sullen silence. "It is not your majesty who has gained the battle," said Marshal Vieilleville frankly to the king. "And who then?" Charles asked hastily. "The King of Spain," replied the marshal.‡ Philip was pleased to see France again involved in a war; and whether the news of Coligny's proposal had reached him or not, the chance of the Flemings receiving assistance was always probable if France remained quiet. Pius V. had written a letter exhorting him to assist the King of France against the rebellious heretics. "Your majesty," says the letter,§ "will do all in your power to help this king, both because it is religion which is concerned, and because you are allied to him." But Philip did not desire a speedy destruction of the Protestants of France: he wished the war to continue, that he might have that fine country at his mercy when it was exhausted. The aid he sent was confined to some companies of infantry, which the Duke of Alva despatched from his army.

The queen felt no regret at the loss of the constable, as she was thus freed from the remaining check upon her authority:|| neither would she suf-

fer the vacant office to be filled up. The king offered to confer the dignity on Vielleville; but he knew the wishes of the queen-mother, and declined the honour.* Catherine afterwards had the Duke of Anjou declared commander-general of the forces. That prince was only in his sixteenth year, and required men of experience to assist him in the office: his mother took care to place around him persons upon whom she could depend for securing to herself the real direction of affairs.

The commencement of this civil war appears to have had an extensive ramification. At the close of September, Jacques de Crussol, Seigneur d'Acier, arrived at Uzes, with instructions from Condé to prepare a general rising of the Protestants of Languedoc; and, within a very few days, a dreadful scene occurred at Nismes. A number of Catholics were inhumanly butchered; all, in fact, who were unable to conceal themselves or flee. This sad event is termed the *Michelade*, from its being intended to take place on Michaelmas-day. According to most Catholic writers the Protestants were the aggressors, and their crime is represented as altogether unprovoked. The odium is, on the other hand, almost generally admitted by the silence of Protestant writers; none of whom have attempted to extenuate the charge. Yet it is worthy of remark, that the accusation is in some degree modified by a historian, highly esteemed among the Catholics as a correct writer and diligent investigator. He observes: "They did no harm to the wives of the Catholics; their animosity being directed against priests, monks, and heads of families; and, among them, they selected as victims *those only* who had molested or declared against them." Four of the leaders in this butchery were condemned and executed at Toulouse in 1569.†

CHAPTER XX.

Protestants advance to meet the Reîtres—General contribution of the Army to pay their Allies—Capture of Orleans and Rochelle—Peace of Longjumeau—Settlement of the Protestants in America—Bold enterprise of Dominic de Gorges.

THE battle of Saint Denis was far from destroying the hopes or the strength of the Protestants. Andelot arrived with his division the day after the fight, and encouraged them to advance boldly upon Paris: they continued to destroy the mills and country-houses close to the walls. After employing a few days in this way, they set out to meet the troops expected from Germany, under Prince Casimir, son of the elector palatine. They were suffered to go away to some distance before the royal army made any attempt to pursue them; a circumstance which it is difficult to explain, as their ruin might have been completed without much risk, on account of the inequality of their forces. One reason which has been assigned is, that the queen feared her son would be master if he found he had no need of her counsel; but, on the other hand, it is said that she dismissed those commanders, who by their negligence had allowed the Protestants to escape.‡

The Catholic army at length went in pursuit of

* Brantome, vol. vii. p. 76.

† Davila, liv. 4. p. 404.

‡ Vieilleville, vol. v. p. 175.

§ Dated 13th October, 1567. The letters of Saint Pius V., which will be frequently referred to, were published at Antwerp, in 1640, by Francis Goubau, secretary to the Spanish embassy at Rome. Those which concern the history of France have recently been published in Paris, translated by M. de Potter.

|| Mem. de Tavannes, p. 306.

* Vieilleville, vol. v. p. 179 *et seq.*

† Menard, *Hist. de Nismes*, vol. v. pp. 22 and 45.

‡ Vie de Coligny, p. 333.

them: they were overtaken and their rear-guard defeated at Chalons; but, crossing the Meuse at St. Michael's in Bar, they were out of their enemies' reach. Here they waited the arrival of the Reîtres. After staying five days they had no more news of them, says La Noue, than when they were before Paris, which created murmurs among many even of the noblesse, who displayed very rude impatience to their leaders upon it.* Everything combined to make their attendance irksome, for the weather was extremely cold, the month of December being far advanced.

The delay in the arrival of their auxiliaries was caused by the queen's agency: she had sent ambassadors to the Protestant princes of Germany, to inform them, that this war was not at all on account of religion, for full liberty was granted to the Huguenots, but that the royal authority was openly attacked. This representation induced the Duke of Saxony and the Marquis of Brandenburg to forbid the levies in their dominions: the elector palatine was greatly inclined to do the same, and did detain those troops which his son had assembled; but hearing the real account from some one who had returned to France with the envoy, and who had seen the Prince of Condé, he exhorted his son to continue his march.†

But the joy which the Protestant leaders experienced on the arrival of the Reîtres soon gave place to the vexations of a most serious embarrassment. The Prince of Condé had agreed to give their auxiliaries a hundred thousand crowns directly they joined his army; but Elizabeth, Queen of England, on whom he relied for the money, feeling indignant at the way in which her last assistance had been requited, was not so forward in contributing to help the Huguenots; and the whole stock in the military chest did not exceed two thousand crowns. The case was very distressing for Condé; but his great popularity with his army enabled him to effect a thing unheard of with any other general: his own troops received no pay from him, and yet he ventured to propose that they should pay the sum required for the Reîtres.‡ An appeal was made to the zeal and devotedness of the Protestant army in their critical position, and every one answered the call; every one made a sacrifice of his money, and effects which would produce it, such as chains, rings, and jewels. There was a general emulation of disinterestedness and patriotism: "Only," says a contemporary, already quoted on several occasions, "when it was proposed to press the disciples of plunder, who have the faculty of knowing how to take so boldly, and to give so basely, there was the struggle. For all that, they acquitted themselves in it much better than was thought for: to the very boys, every one gave; and the emulation was so great, that at last they thought it a dishonour to have given so little."§

This reinforcement of the Reîtres, added to others brought from the provinces by noblemen of the Protestant party, increased their army to above twenty thousand men: they re-entered France in the beginning of January.

Hitherto we have only noticed the proceedings of the principal body of Protestants: the operations of their partisans in different parts have also a

claim upon our attention. The rendezvous at Rosoy for seizing upon the whole court was naturally to be supported by movements in other parts. La Rochefoucault, Mouy, and La Noue collected numerous troops in Poitou, the Angoumois, and Saintonge; indeed they were joined by more than they had the means of supporting: but the most eminent of their services was obtaining possession of Rochelle, which was for many years the refuge of Protestantism in France.*

The reform had been early introduced there; and, in 1534, a girl named Mary Belandelle was burned for her religious opinions. The obscurity of her condition did not deter her from challenging a Franciscan to controversy: her dauntless conduct ensured a capital condemnation; but she beheld the fatal pile without emotion, and died with constancy. In 1546, several nuns cancelled their vows, and were married; and in 1552, three Protestants were condemned to be burned before the church door; but only two suffered, the third being flogged and banished. This severity did not suppress the rising sect. In 1558, when the King and Queen of Navarre made Rochelle their residence, a priest, named David, preached without a surplice in the church of St. Bartholomew, and expounded the new doctrines, which he had openly embraced. From that time, the reform took deep root in Rochelle.†

Orleans was likewise attached to the Protestant cause; and the queen, feeling doubts about that place, had placed there a governor entirely devoted to her. The inhabitants entertained a great dislike to this governor, who conducted himself in a haughty and distrustful manner; and they wrote to the admiral, begging him to send some one to enable them to throw off the yoke. Coligny was very willing to do so, on account of relieving them, as well as to have in his hands a city of such importance. La Noue was intrusted with the undertaking, and he, following carefully the good instructions of Coligny, and being seconded by the inhabitants, became master of the town in a short time, to the great mortification of the Catholic party.‡ The Protestants, in addition, had possession of many towns in the southern parts of the kingdom.

Such was the position of affairs, when the army of the confederates entered France, in the beginning of 1568. It was no longer a wandering troop, retreating before a victorious enemy; but a numerous and disciplined body, capable of effecting the designs of its leaders, and calculated to alarm the court and capital on its approach. The Protestants traversed Burgundy; laid siege to Chartres, which was obstinately defended by Anthony de Lignières, who had a numerous garrison; and promised themselves that, after taking this town, they would again attack Paris. The besiegers, after some delay, diverted from its channel the river which turned the mills: had they done so at the beginning of the siege, the inhabitants would soon have felt the want of bread; but Catherine had not waited till this time to set negotiations on foot, and a treaty was concluded time enough to save the town.§

Even a few days after the battle of St. Denis the

* La Noue, *Discours politiques*, &c. p. 624.

† D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 218.

‡ Davila, liv. 4.

§ La Noue, p. 626.

* D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 218.

† Arèrè, *Hist. de Rochelle*, vol. i. pp. 328 and 333.

‡ Vie de Coligny, p. 334. Brantôme, vol. ix. p. 323.

Davila, liv. 4. Amiraute, *Vie de La Noue*, p. 14.

§ La Noue, p. 633. Davila, liv. 4. De Thou, liv. 42.

queen had attempted to draw the Prince of Condé into the snare, and made overtures to prevent his going to join Prince Casimir. But he having suddenly set out for the frontier, nothing more was done till the month of January, when the queen had a conference at Chalons with the Cardinal of Chatillon, who was invested with due powers by the confederates. Not being able to come to an agreement, Catherine appointed another meeting at Vincennes; and that conference was equally unsuccessful.* At last, perceiving that there was no medium—that she must consent to a prompt peace, or have a battle in the heart of France—she appointed a final meeting at Longjumeau. The plenipotentiaries on one side were Gontaut de Biron, and Henry de Mesmes, Lord of Malassise, master of the court of requests; on the other, were the Cardinal of Chatillon and his counsel: several ambassadors were present as mediators.†

The instructions given by the queen to her delegates were not very ample: they were to make peace on any terms, provided the Prince of Condé was to take no part in the government of the country. In fact, the prince's intention was to that purpose, but Coligny counteracted him as much as possible, for two reasons: first, if Condé should obtain his demands, he feared that he would no longer trouble himself about the Protestants; secondly, it might cause slanders, for the Catholics would say, that it was solely for that object he had taken arms. The Cardinal of Chatillon understood his brother's views, and at the first meeting he declared, that the only thing to be agreed upon was the exercise of the reformed religion. Biron and Mesmes, seeing him inflexible on that point, signed the treaty, by which the king bound himself to execute the last treaty of pacification, revoking and annulling all edicts subsequently passed, which were contrary to it, and particularly the edict of Roussillon.‡

It was stipulated in this treaty, that the Protestants should restore all the towns, strong places, and castles which they had taken; that both parties should disband their foreign troops; and that the king should advance the funds for paying the Reitres. It was signed on the 20th of March, and verified and published the 23d of the same month: it was called the treaty of Longjumeau.§

In consequence of the peace, the siege of Chartres was raised, and the Protestants gave up most of the towns they held; but Rochelle refused to submit to the king, and the example was followed by some other towns. The queen called upon Condé to send away Prince Casimir and the Germans; without, however, intending to dismiss the Swiss, Spanish, and Italian troops, which had come to her support. A large sum was due to the Reitres, and Catherine wished to pay them with her valuable promises; but they were not satisfied with such a proposal, and threatened to attack Paris if they were not paid. It was considered necessary to treat with them, and Castelnau was charged with

the commission. He paid them some money, and gave them reason to expect more when on their march; they set out, confiding in that promise, but they found that the farther they went from Paris, the less chance there was of their being paid, and they resolved on carrying off Castelnau himself as a hostage. The affair was at length terminated, and they left the kingdom, loaded with plunder, and gave Castelnau his liberty.*

The perfidious Catherine, in order to prevent the Huguenots from again receiving such help from Germany, wrote to Tavannes, who commanded in Burgundy, to attack and destroy them, in spite of the safe-conduct given by the king. Tavannes prudently refused to obey, knowing that the order would be disavowed by the queen; he would then be blamed for an infraction of the peace, and the princes of the blood would become his enemies.†

Coligny was well aware that Catherine had made the peace with no other view than to be better able to choose her own time for effecting the ruin of the Protestants: he knew that so violent was her hatred to Condé and himself, that she would never rest so long as either of them lived. He did not consider it sufficient that Rochelle was well fortified, and that several other towns were in the hands of his party; he wished to establish some colonies of Protestants in the New World, whither he and his friends could retire, if their affairs should ever render it necessary for them to leave France.‡ An expedition had been sent to Brazil in 1555, which completely failed; but he was not deterred from making another experiment.

A settlement was also commenced in Florida, at the first peace in 1563, but disease and scarcity of provisions prevented the colonists from making any progress. Ships were occasionally sent to join them; many, however, never reached their destination, for the Spaniards, having appropriated all that part of the world to themselves, treated the French settlers as pirates, and seized their ships whenever they could. Coligny made great exertions to send substantial assistance to the colonists, but that expedition was also unfortunate.§

A squadron was sent from the Havannah to destroy the infant colony, which, but for this cruel attack, might have afforded a retreat for many families, who were compelled to stay in France, having no place to flee to. The massacres, under Charles IX. and Louis XIV., might then have been rendered unnecessary to the bigoted policy of those monarchs, as the kingdom would probably have been freed from a great number of those who so sturdily adhered to the reformation, in spite of their persecutions: like the ancient Israelites, they would willingly have quitted polished society for a wilderness, if, when there, they could have been sure of enjoying the free exercise of their religion.

The Spanish squadron appeared off Fort Charles very soon after the arrival of John Ribaud, who had been sent over by Coligny to help the colony: he had brought with him seven ships, and directly he saw the enemy approach he stood out to sea to attack them. Unfortunately a hurricane arose, which drove several of his ships against the rocks of that coast. Those of the crews who reached the shore fell into the hands of the Spaniards

* D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 227.

† Davila, liv. 4. p. 428.

‡ Davila, liv. 4. Vie de Coligny, p. 341.

§ The Protestants in general were not satisfied with the treaty, and called it *La paix boiteuse et malassise*; in allusion to Biron's lameness and the seigniorial appellation of his colleague: it is also known as *La petite paix*.

* Mem. de Castelnau, liv. 6, ch. 11.

† Mem. de Tavannes, p. 314.

‡ Vie de Coligny, p. 345.

§ De Thou, liv. 44.

they took the fort, and put all their prisoners to death in the most barbarous manner which can be conceived. Pedro Melandez, the Spanish commander, announced that they were treated, *not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans and heretics.*

The news of this affair produced no effect upon the court of France, which might be considered half Spanish in its interests, and entirely so in its views. No attempt being made to demand justice for the massacre, an individual named Dominic de Gournes, a native of Mont-Marsan in Gascony, undertook to avenge this insult on his country. By selling his own property, and borrowing money of his brother, he equipped a few ships and sailed to Florida, with a hundred sailors and two hundred soldiers. On landing he entered into friendship with some tribes of natives, who had suffered greatly from the Spaniards; he then attacked the fort, of which he got possession, with two others they had built in the neighbourhood. The garrison consisted of eight hundred men: those who escaped into the woods were killed by the natives; such as were made prisoners were hanged, with this inscription over them, *Not as Spaniards, but as perfidious murderers.**

On his return to France, Dominic de Gournes' life was in great danger: the Spanish ambassador demanded his head, and the court was quite willing to give it; but Coligny and his friends enabled him to escape from his perilous situation.† This would however have been scarcely possible, had not the Huguenots refused to receive the king's garrisons in several towns, viz. Rochelle, Sancerre, and Montauban. It was a great point gained for their protection; but, at the same time, it compelled the court to think of more severe measures against them: besides which, Rochelle became the cause of complaints from the King of Spain, who accused the Huguenots of fitting out a considerable number of ships at that port, for the assistance of the Prince of Orange in the Low Countries.‡

CHAPTER XXI.

Plan for seizing the Protestant leaders—Flight of Condé and Coligny from Noyers—Renewal of the war.

THE short duration of the peace of Longjumeau excited no astonishment, for the interval between the cessation and the renewal of hostilities had exhibited no signs of reconciliation. The contending parties seemed vexed that they must desist from assailing each other, and the treaty became a mere truce, to make preparations for soon entering on another campaign: the king kept his forces together, and placed bodies of men at all the important posts.§ Short however as it was, the peace was imbrued with the blood of the Protestants. In the large towns, the populace, excited by furious preachers, gave themselves up to the greatest excesses against the Protestants; and the representations of their chiefs were unavailing with the government, which scarcely deigned to apologise for the impunity which was allowed the persecutors. Indeed, the system of the court appeared

completely changed. Hitherto the Protestants had met with promises of protection, and had hopes of redress held out to them: the promises cost nothing, for they were never realised, and the hopes had invariably led to disappointment; but at this time their complaints were not even attended to. The pulpits resounded with the horrid maxims, that faith need not be kept with heretics, and that to massacre them was just, pious, and useful for salvation.* Such discourses produced tumults and assassinations, which were never brought to justice; and the dagger, poison, and the dungeon, awaited not only the Huguenots, but those also who were connected with them.

The Protestants had neither peace, nor liberty of conscience, and were in greater perils than during the war. In three months' time there were murdered above two thousand of them. At Ligny in Bar, a Huguenot, having refused to ornament his house, on occasion of the *Fête-Dieu* in June 1568, was dragged from his home by the populace, in the presence of the magistrates: he was burned alive without any form of trial, and with wood actually taken from his own store.† Some Protestants, who were desirous of concluding the peace, are reported to have said, "We have committed a folly; do not let us therefore think it strange that we must drink of its effects; at any rate, it seems the draught will be bitter."‡

The different chiefs having retired to their chateaux, the queen beheld their departure with satisfaction, as she was glad to be freed from their surveillance and importunity; but she soon experienced alarm about them, and not without some reason. Coligny and Condé were visited in their retirement by all the Protestant nobility, who foresaw the approaching and unavoidable rupture. Condé was at his castle of Noyers in Burgundy; Coligny at his estate at Chatillon. "Their retreat," says the admiral's historian, "would have been extremely satisfactory to this princess, if she had not seen that one-half of the kingdom paid their court to them; and, in fact, so great was the confluence at Chatillon and Noyers, that the Louvre was a desert in comparison. All the noblesse of their party went in crowds to see them, and when ten gentlemen went out by one door, twenty went in at another. This obliged the admiral to incur great expense; and, if he had not been a careful man in everything else, it would have been enough to ruin him. However, he was so much beloved, that a thousand presents were constantly brought to him; and although he forbade his attendants taking them, that did not prevent the same thing from being done every day. The different churches collected and sent a hundred thousand crowns to prevent the prince and him from entirely bearing such a charge.§

As money is the nerve of war, the queen resolved to deprive the Prince of Condé of every financial resource. Payment was demanded of a hundred thousand crowns, advanced on his account, to get the Reîtres out of the country; fearful, however, lest the levying of this sum should afford him a pretext for collecting more, the king announced that he did not claim that money from the Protestants generally, but only from the chiefs who

* D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 355. De Thou, liv. 44.

† De Thou states that he arrived in France, 13th June, 1568.

‡ Mem. de Castelnau, liv. 7, ch. 1.

§ Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 125.

* De Thou, liv. 44. Vie de Coligny, p. 350.

† De Thou, liv. 44.

‡ La Noue, p. 638.

§ Vie de Coligny, p. 346.

had guaranteed the payment to the foreigners. The object of the demand was evident to all: to ward off such a blow, Teligny, a young man of great merit, was sent to court; and the Duchess of Savoy was applied to, that she should use her influence with Catherine, and conjure her not to drive them into a state of desperation.*

The siege of Rochelle was already resolved on; but the queen considered that it would be almost impracticable while the prince and the admiral were at large, and able to relieve the place: it became necessary therefore to seize upon their persons. With this object in view, she sent an engineer to Noyers, to see in what manner the castle was built, what people were there, and if it would be possible to get possession of it. He entered the place without difficulty, under pretence of coming from a rich farmer in the neighbourhood: some fowls served him as a passport. He was well received, but when he began to talk, it was suspected that he was something more than he pretended: he was then watched by some of the prince's people. He was followed after he quitted the castle, and at night was detected sounding the moat. This discovery induced the prince to inform Coligny of the circumstance, that he might be on his guard; they then wrote to their friends, to inform them that, as they might soon require their help, they should all be ready for the first call.† Catherine was more than ever resolved on freeing herself and the kingdom from the obnoxious Huguenot faction; and it became clear that she could never succeed in abolishing the different edicts in their favour, unless she previously removed the Prince of Condé and the admiral. Such being her aim, she fortified and encouraged the fanaticism of the different governors of provinces by bestowing fresh favours upon them; and at the same time she removed to a distance from her councils every advocate of moderation. The virtuous Michael de L'Hopital was a great barrier to the queen's wishes: his advice had long since been unheeded and despised, but his presence troubled the bigoted party: in the midst of perfidy and corruption, he persisted in raising his voice in behalf of the oppressed; sentiments of truth and justice, accompanied with unanswerable arguments, were delivered by him in the council, with such perseverance, that Catherine found it impossible to bring her son to a maturity of guilt, so long as he was awed by the presence of this respected chancellor.

The party in the immediate interests of the pope had long endeavoured to decry his character; and insinuations of his being a heretic were very general. Had such a charge been capable of verification, he would probably have been arraigned upon it; for the Cardinal d'Este in his correspondence states, "There is no way of accusing him of heresy, because he is known to go regularly to mass and confession, and to communicate." A proverb however became very common, "Deliver us from the chancellor's mass.‡"

In August, 1568, a bull was sent from Rome, permitting the king to alienate church property, to the value of one hundred thousand crowns, on condition that he should make war against the heretics, and utterly destroy, or bring them back

to the church. The chancellor opposed the reception of the bull, and, addressing the queen, he entreated her to avoid a measure which would again deluge the kingdom with blood. His influence delayed the reception of the bull; and application was made for another in lieu of it, which should authorise the use of the money to be applied to the public service, but without making war upon the Protestants.* This opposition excited the Romish agents to make fresh efforts. The Cardinal of Lorraine used all his influence with the king and queen, being urged by a desire to avenge his brother's death on the Huguenots in general: backed by the whole body of the clergy, he at last succeeded in effecting the chancellor's dismissal, by representing him to have warned the Prince of Condé to escape from Noyers; a circumstance by no means improbable, as he was present when the queen proposed her cruel measure.†

Catherine's plan was decided upon: the secret attempt to seize upon the castle of Noyers had been discovered, and she was determined to compensate by force for the failure of her stratagem. The troops which had been destined for the siege of Rochelle were ordered into Burgundy; and Tavannes, who commanded in that province, had instructions to arrest the prince and his friends. On this occasion the queen's character thwarted her own design: Tavannes, like every experienced courtier of that day, was well aware that, if any trouble arose in the kingdom on this account, the government would readily sacrifice him, as a means of allaying the storm. He would neither take upon himself this odious commission, nor suffer another to do it in his government. He therefore sent couriers with letters to the court, containing the intelligence that everything was ready: these couriers were ordered to pass in the direction of Noyers, and, as Tavannes intended, were taken by Condé's people, as well as some others who were sent to sound the moat.‡ The answers which they gave, on being questioned, convinced the prince that any loss of time would be an imprudence. The admiral had feared some measure of the kind, ever since he heard of the engineer being discovered in disguise. He had taken his family to Noyers: they quitted the castle without delay, and had they been three days later their escape would have been impossible; for the province was filling with soldiers, the bridges and fords were guarded, and a number of troops were concealed in the environs.

They quitted Noyers on the 25th of August, as secretly as it could be done with the embarrassing train which accompanied them. They took, partly on horseback and partly in litters, the princess and her children; Andelot's wife, and a child at the breast; Coligny's young family (his wife had died recently), with nurses and female attendants: their escort was about one hundred and fifty men. It was a painful sight to see so many women and children exposed to the fatigues of such a journey, and the dangers of being assailed on the road; but what man could leave any part of his family in the power of a king who had sworn his ruin?

The better to conceal their flight, the prince

* Villemain, *Vie de l'Hopital*.

† Davila, liv. 4.

‡ Mem. de Tavannes, p. 314. But Brantome, vol. ix. p. 109, states that the letters were intercepted contrary to the wish of Tavannes.

* Davila, liv. 4, p. 439.

† Vie de Coligny, p. 347. La Noue, p. 638.

‡ Brantome, vol. vii. p. 103.

wrote the king a letter of complaint and remonstrance, and gave out that he should wait for an answer: but his time was too precious to lose a moment: a gentleman of that country, who by frequent hunting was perfectly acquainted with the fords and by-paths, conducted him to the banks of the Loire, opposite Sancerre. They crossed the river with the water scarcely above their horse's knees: a heavy storm of rain fell for two hours after they were on the other side, which swelled the river so much that it completely screened them from pursuit. While they were reposing on an eminence, they could distinctly see a body of horsemen waiting on the opposite bank, not daring to venture across the river to follow them. Coligny felt very grateful on the occasion, and impressed his companions with corresponding sentiments for so great a deliverance.*

The remainder of their journey was full of dangers, the Catholic forces and themselves being directed towards the same point; but they arrived in safety on the 18th of September, when the people of Rochelle received them with acclamations.†

Similar measures had been planned for entrapping the other leading Protestants, but they all failed in the execution. The Cardinal of Chatillon, who was at his see (Beauvais), escaped into Normandy, took the disguise of a sailor, and crossed over to England in a small vessel: he was of great service to the cause by his negotiations.‡ The Queen of Navarre, warned in time by the admiral's letter, hastened to Rochelle with her son and daughter, some money, and four thousand soldiers. The chiefs in general assumed the defensive, and immediately raised levies in their different provinces. The guerillas, maintained by these persons, kept the Catholic army in full employment, and preserved Rochelle from an attack, till proper measures had been taken for its defence. This general movement of the Huguenots convinced the queen-mother that her project had been betrayed: the accusation against the chancellor could no longer be doubted, and his dismissal took place accordingly.§

Coligny's letters to his friends, in consequence of his early suspicions of treachery on the part of the court, had given the Protestants such an advantage, that they were in a few days assembled in great force in different parts of France. The queen, on the other hand, was astonished at the vigour of their measures; and, hoping to cajole them, published an edict, declaring the willingness of the government to protect them in future, as well as to render them justice for the past. The edict was so completely at variance with her conduct for some time previous, that it produced no effect on the minds of the Protestants. Catherine then gave the command of the army to the Duke of Anjou, and published several other edicts against the Protestants. Her behaviour on this occasion shows much spite and little management. She revoked every edict which had been given in their favour: she forbade, under pain of death, the exercise of any religion besides the Roman,

and she ordered all who professed the new faith to quit their employments.* Her manner of conducting affairs at this period was not of the sort usually adopted by her, and her crafty policy seems to have been dormant. The sudden revocation of the edicts was a public declaration that it was a war for religion. The Queen of England was more easily persuaded to help the confederates, and the numbers of men who flocked to the Protestant standard excited general surprise. The perfidious manner in which the Huguenots had been treated drove them to great excesses immediately they had the power of avenging themselves. Everything therefore which was identified with the Romish worship experienced their fury: churches and monasteries were pulled down, priests and monks were murdered, and it is said that many nuns suffered excesses of the most brutal kind, and which did not even save them from the sword. Oppression naturally creates resistance, and long irritation excites a thirst for revenge. When a people once gain the upper hand of their oppressors, they can set no bounds to their resentments, for their passions are uncurbed. We cannot wonder, therefore, that the popular wrath on this occasion fell upon the ecclesiastics, as the priests had uniformly been the approvers and even instigators of their sufferings, and the authority of the church had been always invoked to sanction the burning and murdering of their relatives and friends: nothing done in retaliation, therefore, appeared excessive in the eyes of the enraged Huguenots, who sullied their cause by such deplorable excesses.

CHAPTER XXII.

Battle of Jarnac—Death of the Prince of Condé.

DURING the month of October, 1568, the Protestants obtained possession of a considerable extent of territory beyond the Loire, and took all the towns in that part of the country, with the exception of Poitiers. Everything seemed favourable to their cause. To check their progress, the Duke of Anjou set out to join the Catholic army, of which he had already been nominated generalissimo. Condé, who was aware of the young duke's passion for glory, felt assured that he would lose no time before he gave battle; he therefore sent orders to hasten the arrival of some troops which were coming from Languedoc to join him: he even set out to meet them. A misunderstanding unfortunately arose between Dacier and Mouvens, who commanded them, and the royal forces, under Brissac, completely routed them without difficulty.†

The misconduct of the officers having caused this reinforcement to be greatly reduced in number, the Prince of Condé was of opinion that they should be tried for it by a court-martial; but Coligny prudently remonstrated, and showed him, that, although it was quite reasonable that discipline should be strictly enforced, there were occasions when it became necessary to relax its rigour; those who had committed this fault were persons

* Davila, liv. 4. Journal de Brulart. Castelnau, liv. 7, ch. 2.

† Vie de Coligny, p. 332. La Noue, p. 646. Davila, liv. 4.

* An advocate, in an inflated speech, compared the event to the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea. Arcere, vol. i. p. 369.

† D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 262. Vie de Coligny, p. 346. Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 127. Davila, liv. 4, p. 443.

‡ Davila, liv. 4, p. 447. Castelnau, liv. 7, ch. 1.

§ 7th Oct. 1568. Journal de Brulart, and Davila, liv. 4.

of credit and authority, and therefore it would be more prudent to use persuasion than menaces: the latter would do very well in the royal armies, where the king's name had a prodigious effect, but as they had taken arms against him on account of their religion, they had many things to manage with caution.*

Condé was persuaded to adopt the milder course, and set out to attack the Duke of Montpensier, who commanded the royal army during the absence of the Duke of Anjou: he was coming on by short journeys to assume his post, but, hearing of the prince's movements, he hastened forward, and summoned a council of war directly he arrived: his proposal was to attack the confederates immediately, but some old captains persuaded him to defer such a measure, as the enemy's force would certainly be diminished by a delay; the gentlemen, they said, would be tired of waiting, in a state of inaction, at their own expence, and would soon insist upon returning to their homes; the army weakened in that manner would be an easier prey.†

The king's army at this time consisted of twenty-four thousand infantry and four thousand horsemen; that of the confederates was less by a fourth, but was composed of very determined men, who had staked their all upon the success of their arms. Condé, relying upon their valour, sought every occasion for a battle; Anjou as carefully avoided it, but could not honourably retire to winter-quarters. In the mean time it was disadvantageous to both parties that the affair should be thus spun out, and a battle delayed: the Protestant chiefs had fears, lest the gentlemen in their army should wish to go home; and the king had difficulty in finding the means for keeping his army on foot, notwithstanding the exertions made in his behalf by the pope, Pius V.‡

The severity of the winter inflicted great hardships on both armies: the confederates, however, suffered less than their enemies, as they were chiefly quartered in villages, and in the suburbs of towns. At length they were compelled to seek for refuge from the inclemency of the season, which carried off, in the two armies, more than eight thousand men.§

During the remainder of the winter, both parties were busy in strengthening themselves by every kind of reinforcement. Elizabeth, Queen of England, at the solicitation of the Cardinal of Châtillon, sent the Protestants a quantity of money, provisions, and ammunition.|| But the most fruitful source from whence they drew their supplies arose from the circumstance of Coligny being at the head of the French marine. In his quality of admiral, he commissioned a fleet of nine ships, and some frigates, and sent them to cruise off the coast, from Brittany to Flanders. These enterprises were very successful: they were sure of shelter in the English ports; and they captured a great number of Spanish and Flemish vessels; and a tenth of the value of those prizes was the legal property of the Admiral.¶

* Vie de Coligny, p. 353.

† Ibid., p. 354.

‡ The pope sent Charles IX. 10,000 pieces of gold towards defraying the expenses of the war. See the letters of Pius V. to different personages during this year.

§ Davila, liv. 4, p. 470. La Noue, p. 659. Castelnau, liv. 7, ch. 2.

¶ D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 283. Castelnau, liv. 7, ch. 2.

|| La Noue, p. 695. Davila, liv. 4, p. 452.

Both parties had sent into Germany for levies: the Catholics were joined by a considerable body, under the Margrave of Baden, and other captains. The Duke of Deux-Ponts at the same time conducted a reinforcement for the Protestants: the Dukes of Aumale and Nemours, with six thousand men, were posted in Lorraine, to prevent his passing to the interior.

Had the introduction of foreign armies into France been the only result of these applications for assistance from abroad, the page of history would have been spared the details of the most dreadful transaction ever recorded. The German, Spanish, and Italian troops arrived; fought for their respective friends; and on the conclusion of a peace retired. But the chances of war were too uncertain for the calculations of the Vatican; the sacred college was too anxious for victory over heresy to wait the result of policy and craft: a bold measure was requisite to bring about the extinction of the evil, and that measure ended in the massacre of the St. Bartholemew.

Pius V. was so zealous in the cause of the Roman hierarchy, that he has been canonised for his holy intentions, as a compensation for his not having lived to see the fruit of his exertions.* He had written pressing letters to different princes, in order to obtain help for the most Christian king: at last he unbosomed himself to the Cardinals of Bourbon and Lorraine; both letters were written on the same day.†

After informing the Cardinal of Bourbon, that he was ready to face death in the cause of religion, his holiness added, "That gives us the right of earnestly exhorting you by our letters, and of exciting you to make every effort to employ all your influence for procuring a definitive and serious adoption of the measure, most proper for bringing about the destruction of the implacable enemies of God and the king; a measure, without which it will be always impossible to pursue warmly the operations of the war, and to conduct it to a happy issue." The letter then enlarges on the necessity of depriving the heretics of the time for collecting their scattered forces, and thus secure the advantage of a victory. "Expedition and ceaseless activity are moreover necessary, because the treasury is becoming more exhausted every day. The importance of the interests which we discuss, and the dangers of the kingdom, reduced to the last extremity, would possibly require fuller development; but your known love for the Catholic religion, and the zeal which animates you for the divine honour, render it unnecessary to dwell further upon these things with you."

To the Cardinal of Lorraine, St. Pius writes: "We not only demand that you display the greatest zeal in doing what we desire, but we beg you also to inflame the spirits of the king, the queen, and all whom they employ in this war; and to excite them to execute with activity what has been neglected till now, as well as to prepare diligently, and without delay, whatever may contribute to put an end to this disastrous war, by conquering and sub-

* Michael Ghislieri was born A.D. 1504, at Boschi, in Piedmont. His family was poor, and he joined the Dominicans. By his severity to all heretics, he obtained the rank of cardinal, and the office of grand inquisitor. Elected pope in 1566, he took the style of Pius V.; and, until his death in May, 1572, he was unceasingly employed in fomenting persecutions for religion.

† 17th January, 1569.

duing the enemy." This letter contains remarks very similar to the other, urging a speedy termination of the war, by attacking the heretics at once, and following up the blow till they were all destroyed.

These letters were followed soon after by another to Charles,* informing him that he had sent Sforza, Count of Santafiore, with some troops to help him: "We pray Almighty God, who is the Lord of Hosts, the King of kings, and who directs and governs everything by his wisdom, mercifully to grant your majesty the victory over our common enemies. When God, as we trust, shall have given us the victory, it will be for you to punish, with the utmost rigour, the heretics and their leaders, because they are the enemies of God; and you must avenge upon them, not only your own injuries, but also those of Almighty God."

Directly the season would permit, the contending parties renewed their operations. Tavannes was nominally under the orders of the Duke of Anjou, but in reality possessed the chief command of the royal army. He was anxious to confine the confederates within their present limits, while Condé wished to gain the centre of France, that he might be more ready to join the Germans who were coming to his aid. Each party was constantly on the watch for an opportunity of surprising their enemy. At length a battle was fought at Jarnac, a small town in the Angoumois, on the borders of the river Charente.†

The Duke of Anjou had decided on attacking the confederates, but it was necessary to pass the river: in his first attempt he was repulsed by the admiral, with the loss of three hundred men. On the night preceding the battle, Tavannes effected the passage by making a false march, and suddenly returning to Chateaufort, one of the outposts of the Protestants. The officer who commanded there was struck with such a panic that he made no defence: had he merely cut some ropes, which held together a bridge of boats at that part, there would have remained no means of crossing the river. Coligny flew to the spot the moment he heard of the affair, but, before he could arrive, the detachment had crossed.

Condé, thus surprised, was in a dilemma: he had not time to collect all his troops: if he gave battle, it would be to a great disadvantage; if he retreated, the consequences might be still worse. The prince's misfortune was increased by an inexcusable delay on the part of some gentlemen in his army, by which the Catholics were enabled to strengthen themselves still more in taking the post of Bassac: instead of taking horse at dawn, they laid in bed till half-past eight o'clock.

The courage of the Prince of Condé during this battle was very remarkable. He had been wounded in the arm two days previous, and, while preparing for action on this occasion, he received a kick from the horse of his friend La Rochefoucault. Without complaining of the pain, he made an animated appeal to the nobles around him, and desired them to bear in mind the condition in which Louis of Bourbon went into action, on behalf of his religion and his country. His bravery, however, was not attended with the success it merited. From the

first onset, fortune declared for the Duke of Anjou: he charged upon La Noue, who was at the head of the Protestant rear-guard; he was thrown into complete confusion, and would have been overwhelmed, had not Andelot arrived to his assistance, and enabled him to rally his men. A second charge left him a prisoner in the hands of the Catholics, who obtained that advantage by his horse being killed under him. When he heard that La Noue was a prisoner, the Admiral observed, that he could better have spared any ten others.

The struggle continued for some time, and the admiral firmly sustained the repeated shocks of the royal army: but his force was unequal to the task, and it became evident that, unless he was assisted, he must soon yield. The Prince of Condé in consequence hastened to help him: he charged upon the main body of the enemy's cavalry, and, crippled as he was, he fought among them till his horse fell under him. To be dismounted on such an occasion rendered his capture inevitable; and he surrendered himself to two gentlemen, named Dargence and St. John, who conducted him out of the fray, and seated him under a hedge. Montesquieu, captain of the Duke of Anjou's guards, unfortunately chanced to pass at the time: he inquired who the prisoner was, and, on being informed, drew his pistol, and shot the prince through the head. Satisfied with the death of the Protestant general, the Catholics did not take the full advantage of their victory: they scarcely pursued the Protestants, who retired in good order under the command of Coligny.*

It was generally thought, that orders had been given to spare no Huguenot of distinction who might be taken in this battle. Brantome states, † "that it had been strongly recommended to several of the Duke of Anjou's favourites." Robert Stuart, among others, being made a prisoner, was taken before the duke by the Marquis of Villars, who entreated permission to put him to death, for having killed the Constable Montmorency at the battle of St. Denis. Anjou refused his consent; but, being strongly pressed by Villars, he turned his head away, and said, "Well, be it so!" Stuart was then led to a short distance, and killed.‡ La Noue was brought before the severe Duke of Montpensier, who thus addressed him: "My friend, your process is finished; yours, and that of all your companions: look to your conscience!" § An old comrade of La Noue's, named Martigues, saved him from death, and afterwards effected his exchange for Sessac, lieutenant of Guise's men-at-arms. ||

The Duke of Anjou slept at Jarnac, in the same house where the Prince of Condé had lodged the preceding night. He had the cruelty to behold the body of the unfortunate prince borne by an ass through the Catholic army. Condé's body became an object of derision with many who before had trembled at his name alone. It was afterwards sent to the Prince of Bearn, who caused it to be interred at Vendôme in the sepulchre of his ancestors.¶

Such was the end of Louis of Bourbon, Prince

* Davila, d'Aubigné, De Thou, and Castellan.

† Vol. viii. p. 244. (*Vie de Condé.*)

‡ Brantome. (*Vie de Montmorency.*)

§ Ibid. (*Vie de Montpensier.*)

|| Amiraault. (*Vie de la Noue*, p. 31.)

¶ Davila, liv. 4, p. 484.

* Dated 6th March, 1569.

† 13th March, 1569. It is sometimes called the battle of Bassac, from its vicinity to that town. Jarnac is 3 leagues from Cognac

of Condé; a man distinguished for his bravery, skill, and wit, at a court where such qualities, to be distinguished, must have been possessed in a very great degree. His principal failing, an extreme susceptibility of tenderness for the fair sex, exposed him to many snares, by which he was impeded in his proper channel of advancement; but his character as a good, unflinching friend, a sincere and affable man, was free from the least imputation; and his good qualities made him regretted, even by the party opposed to him. He has been accused of ambitiously aspiring to the throne: certainly he was ambitious, for, in his day, that passion was cherished as a virtue by every person of distinction. He bore arms against his sovereign, but was driven to do so by the first instinct of nature—self-preservation.

These who accuse the Prince of Condé of having aimed at the crown, found their accusation principally on his coining money bearing his effigy, and the inscription, *Louis XIII., King of France*. Some particulars respecting this coinage have been preserved, and may not be misplaced here.*

Brantome, after minutely describing the coining of this money, as the effect of the prince's vainglory, mentions, "that the constable presented it to the council at the Louvre, in the year 1567, the seventh day of October, in the afternoon."† It must, therefore, have been prepared before the attempt upon Meaux was arranged. But, in the notes to the *Henriade*, it is described as an artifice of the court made use of to ruin the prince. Some pieces were contrived to fall into Montmorency's hands: he, being fully satisfied that they had been coined by the prince's order, went in a rage to the king, and showed them to him.‡

When the coin first appeared, many of the prince's sincere, though inexperienced friends, were highly pleased at it; but those who, from their condition, were able to form a proper estimate of the business, saw at once that it was an attempt to make his party odious. The admiral convinced the Prince of Condé how necessary it was to counteract this machination, and a severe punishment was threatened against any who should circulate the coin: the proclamation was repeated, that no one might plead ignorance. An unlucky sutler, however, offered some of these pieces in change to his customers in the camp, and was hanged on the spot. This severity silenced many of the slanders in which the Catholics indulged against the prince; and they were compelled to adopt some other plan for persuading the world that ambition, and not liberty of conscience, was the cause of the war.§

Brantome mentions another circumstance, which shows that all who were in habits of intimacy with the prince were satisfied it was a manœuvre, for his approval of the coinage could not have been concealed from them. Briquemaut, a very worthy

man, who fought solely on account of his religion,* was wounded in the leg a few days before the battle of Jarnac. Condé and the admiral visited him in his bed; and in conversation the word *reigning* escaped the prince. "Sir," said Briquemaut, "it appears from your remarks that ambition excites you more than religion: if that be your aim, I quit you. Let us join for the service of God, otherwise I shall retire." If so slight an allusion to power, probably misunderstood, made Briquemaut threaten to quit the prince, would he have stayed in his army after such a step as qualifying himself King of France upon the coin?

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Prince of Bearn proclaimed chief of the Protestant party—Arrival of reinforcements from Germany—Attack on Laroche-Abeille—Letters of Pius V.

COLIGNY, being informed of the prince's death, directed his attention to preserving the remains of the army. He ordered the infantry to retire to Cognac, and destroyed the bridge by which they crossed the river: he protected their retreat at the head of the cavalry, and kept up a running fight till the dusk of the evening, when the enemy desisted. St. Jean d'Angely being more exposed to an attack from the Duke of Anjou than any other town in his power, the admiral went thither to strengthen and encourage the garrison. He visited Xaintes, and then went to Cognac, which was the general rendezvous of the party.†

When the Prince of Condé was captured at the battle of Dreux, the command was immediately and unanimously conferred upon Coligny; and no one could doubt that he was entitled to succeed him at his death. But there was a strong party against him among the Huguenot nobility, who, esteeming themselves equal to him in every respect, were unwilling to be under his orders. Some pretext was, however, necessary to cover their refusal to serve under Coligny, and therefore he was blamed for having suffered the army to be surprised, and for quitting the field too soon, instead of making some effort to retrieve the misfortune of the day. The way in which these complaints were urged, and their general sentiments, which he had the means of ascertaining, convinced the admiral that, unless his party had the name and authority of a prince of the blood, its strength and credit would soon fail. He therefore wrote to the Queen of Navarre, that the time was come when she ought to think of raising her son to the dignity which was his due.‡

The Queen of Navarre immediately set out from Rochelle for Cognac. On her arrival she advanced in front of the army, and presented her son Henry, Prince of Bearn, then in his sixteenth year, and Henry, son of the deceased Condé, who was rather younger. She addressed the soldiers, recommending to them the two youths, and so animated and touching was her speech, that it produced great effect upon the army. "The good cause," said she, "has not perished with Condé; and his misfortune ought not to cause despair among men at-

* The subject was discussed in 1741 by M. Secousse, in an essay, entitled "*Dissertation où l'on examine s'il est vrai qu'il ait été frappé pendant la vie de Louis I., Prince de Condé, une monnaie sur laquelle on lui ait donné le titre de Roi de France*." Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tome xvii. p. 607.

† Brantome, vol. viii. p. 239. But notwithstanding this minuteness, the Abbé Anquetil insinuates that Condé coined the money at Rochelle in 1568, when the Protestant affairs were so very successful.

‡ It was at the same time reported in Paris that Condé had been crowned at St. Denis. Secousse, *Dissertation*, &c.

§ Vie de Coligny, p. 349.

* Il étoit un fort homme-de-bien, et qui ne combattoit que pour sa religion. Brantome, *Vie de Condé*.

† Vie de Coligny, p. 358.

‡ Davila, liv. 4. p. 488.

tached to their religion. God watches over his own people. During his life he gave the prince companions able to assist him, and he has left us brave captains, capable of repairing the loss caused by his death. I offer you my son, and I confide to you the son of the prince who excites our regrets : heaven grant that they may both show themselves worthy inheritors of the bravery of their ancestors, and that the sight of these tender pledges may excite you constantly to remain united for the support of the cause which you defend." * The admiral and La Rochefoucault publicly swore fidelity to the Prince of Bearn; the other nobles did the same; and afterwards the whole army, amidst shouts of joy and approbation, which continued till the Prince of Bearn advanced with a firm step, and swore to defend their religion, and constantly to persevere in the common cause, until death or victory gave them the full liberty which they desired.† The Prince of Condé gave his assent more by gesture than by words.

As the two princes were too young to take the direction of affairs, the management was left to the admiral: all the objections which had been made against his having the command now vanished, as the point of honour was saved by their having a prince for their commander in chief, and Coligny's orders were executed without hesitation. The principal charge being disposed of, there was no difficulty in arranging some other appointments which had become vacant, to the regret of the protestants; the trusty and courageous Andelot, who was always on the alert to second his brother's operations, and whom Coligny repeatedly called his right hand, fell ill of a fever and died in a few days.‡ Catholics bear testimony to his good character: "He was true and sincere, and, of the Calvinist chiefs, one of the most persuaded of his religion; naturally frank, candid, and generous, he attracted as much friendship as his brother, more severe and reserved, conciliated esteem."§ D'Acier was appointed to the command of the infantry, which was Andelot's last employ: Jacques Bouchard, a warm friend of Coligny's, died about the same time, and left vacant the command of the artillery; Genlis succeeded him.|| A council was then held for deciding on the plan of their future operations: several proposed that the Protestant forces should be concentrated in Rochelle and the strong posts in that neighbourhood; they argued that there the Duke of Anjou could not attack them with any possibility of success, on account of the marshy nature of the country. But this plan was represented by Coligny as timid and unworthy of their cause. The most esteemed captains were of the same opinion, and it was finally resolved that the army should be divided; that troops should be placed in the principal towns situated on rivers to protect them from siege, and delay the progress of the royal army, until they had positive intelligence of the force which the Duke of Deux-Ponts was bringing from Germany; that when they heard of the approach of those troops, they should collect their forces and make an effort to join them,

wherever they might be: if the junction could be effected, they would equal the Catholic army; otherwise they must separate, and by returning into different provinces, they would oblige the king to divide his army, and thus be in a condition to fight with better chances of success.* These plans being agreed to, the Queen of Navarre went back to Rochelle; the princes and the admiral retired into St. Jean d'Angely; the other captains went into different towns, which were well fortified, by the country around them being intersected by several deep rivers: military science had likewise contributed to the defence of those places.

While the Protestants appeared to acquire additional force from their reverses, and to be stimulated by their defeat to make greater exertions, the ardour of the Catholics very soon subsided. The Duke of Anjou, in his eighteenth year, had displayed great bravery in the recent battle: he charged several times at the head of his cavalry, fought amidst the ranks of the enemy, and had a horse killed under him; but after the victory his fire seemed to be exhausted, and those alternations of activity and listlessness were then remarked, which afterwards rendered his reign so stormy. Although the duke had only the name of chief commander of the Catholic army, his character had some influence on its operations. He persuaded himself that his work was accomplished, and that his enemies were crushed. Flattery on the part of some chiefs, and interested motives on the part of others, prevented his being exhorted to a proper line of conduct. Repeated delays took place, and the siege of Cognac was not attempted till after the Protestants had had sufficient time to strengthen and supply the place. The Catholics were obliged to relinquish that siege, and for some time confined their operations to taking a few unimportant towns; among others, Mucidan, in Perigord, in attacking which place the Count de Brissac was killed.†

In the mean time, Wolfgang, Duke of Deux-Ponts, was advancing to join the Protestants with a strong reinforcement. He quitted Saverne at the end of February, and took his march through Alsace and Lorraine; he had seven thousand five hundred Reitres, and six thousand Lansquenets. William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and Louis his brother, who were driven out of Flanders by the Duke of Alva, joined him with some companies of cavalry; and about twenty French captains from Dauphiny, who had assembled near Strasburg a force of fourteen hundred men.‡

The court sent the Dukes of Aumale and Nemours to oppose his passage, but, although their forces were superior, the Duke of Deux-Ponts effected his object. When they approached too near he attacked the royal army, and as Aumale contented himself with hovering about the Germans, they passed the Saône without hindrance at Montier. Aumale then hastened on to wait for them at the Loire, where he hoped to be joined by some detachments from the Duke of Anjou's army. As a means of stopping their progress the Catholics had destroyed the bridge at La Charité. This would have been a serious impediment had not Wolfgang been informed of a ford at Pouilly, where his army crossed, each horseman taking a foot

* *Esprit de la Ligue*, vol. i. p. 292. D'Aubigné alludes to this speech, but does not give it at length, in his *Hist. Universelle*.

† Davila, liv. 4, p. 489.

‡ 27th May, 1569. He was buried with great pomp at Rochelle.

§ *Esprit de la Ligue*, vol. i. p. 298.

|| D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 283.

* Davila, liv. 4, p. 491.

† Davila, liv. 4. D'Aubigné.

‡ D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 285.

soldier behind him.* He continued his march towards the river Vienne, and, at the moment when his task was on the eve of being completed by the junction of the two armies, he fell a victim to a quartan ague at Nessac, a town three leagues distant from Limoges.† Finding himself dying, he summoned his principal officers, and in their presence appointed Count Mansfield his successor; he exhorted them to obey him, and assured them, that, if any division arose among them, it would be the means of preventing their ever returning home. They continued their march; and, although the Duke of Anjou guarded every ford of the Vienne, they succeeded in joining the admiral four days after the death of Wolfgang.‡

Very great surprise was expressed that the Dukes of Nemours and Aumale, with a number of experienced officers in their army, should suffer an enemy of inferior force to traverse France and cross the Loire before their eyes, without offering any obstacle. It was attributed to a disagreement which arose between them, and which, to use the words of a contemporary, "made them miss some fine enterprises."§ In fact, there was at the time a great misunderstanding at court, and the intrigues and rivalries, which were there agitated, contributed essentially to strengthen the Protestant party. The king became jealous of the reputation which his brother had obtained at Jarnac: in this feeling he was stimulated by the crafty Cardinal of Lorraine, who wished to have the command intrusted to one of his family. He did not blame the queen's choice, but represented how much better it would be to owe such successes to some French captain, or even a foreigner like the Duke of Alva, than to have such a rival as the Duke of Anjou. The queen perceived the cardinal's intention, and took secret measures with Tavannes to prevent any success on the part of the Dukes of Aumale and Nemours, which might add to the influence of that family. At the same time to remove him from the king's person, she made a journey to the camp, and took the cardinal with her. His meddling disposition made him interfere in every profession, and he gave his opinion freely upon the movements of the army. On one occasion the Huguenots had feigned a retreat in order to draw their opponents into an ambuscade, when the cardinal commanded a pursuit. Tavannes prudently opposed his orders; and when it was afterwards known that a large body of cavalry were behind a hill, the queen could not resist telling the cardinal that his plan, if followed, would have been their ruin: Tavannes also observed, "That each should keep to his trade, for it was impossible to be both a clever priest and a good soldier."||

The two armies were within a quarter of a league of each other: the Protestant force consisted of above twenty-five thousand men; that of the Catholics might be more numerous, for the Duke of

Alva, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the pope had sent large bodies to reinforce the royal army: still the Protestants, everything being considered, were the stronger party, which induced the Duke of Anjou to take a secure position at Laroché-Abeille. The admiral, having well observed the duke's position, and duly considered the difficulties he should experience in finding supplies for his army in a woody and mountainous district, resolved on immediately attacking the right flank, where Strozzy* was posted with some Italian troops: if the attempt proved successful, he would deprive the royal army of the convenience of an extensive meadow, in which their cavalry found some pasture. The attack commenced with the dawn,† by a body of arquebusiers charging upon the Catholics: they were supported by a division of four thousand men. A sanguinary conflict ensued, the Catholics having the advantage of position, their assailants that of numbers. The Huguenots aimed at driving their enemies from their post, and fresh troops continually advanced to their assistance; all their efforts, however, would have been in vain, had Strozzy been satisfied with defending himself; but many of his French officers making allusion to their late commander Brissac, and expressive of their disdain of serving under an Italian, he called upon them to follow him, and charged furiously upon the Huguenots. They were thrown into great disorder, and Strozzy pursued his advantage till he had proceeded a considerable distance into the plain. Coligny then advanced, and completely surrounded him and his men. Strozzy and his followers fought very bravely, and after many had fallen the rest were made prisoners. The admiral pursued his advantage, and charged the other divisions of the Catholic army; but being nearer their post they were safe from the charges of the cavalry, and the Huguenot infantry were too much exhausted to renew the assault very vigorously. This circumstance, added to the arrival of some light cavalry who came up to assist them, enabled the Catholics to recover their position. While the admiral attacked Strozzy on the right, another division was similarly employed on the left, where Count Santa Flore commanded: he repelled the attack without making any sortie; and, though the conflict lasted nearly an hour longer than that on the right, the number of slain was only twenty-six. The loss of the Catholics altogether was about four hundred men; Strozzy was a prisoner, and St. Leu and Roquelaure, his lieutenants, were left upon the field with twenty-two captains. The Prince of Beam was in the action, and made his first essay in arms.‡

A council was held immediately afterwards in the royal camp, to consider what measures ought to be adopted, as many of their officers wished to return home.§ The queen and the Cardinals of Bourbon and Lorraine were present at the meeting. Some persons were strongly in favour of a general engagement, and argued that the Huguenot infantry, being hastily levied, could not resist the veterans of the royal army; while the Catholic cavalry, composed of the principal nobility of France, would easily overcome the squadrons of

* 20th May, 1569. There is some difference in the accounts of this passage of the Loire: according to d'Aubigné, the Germans crossed the ford at Pouilly before they took La Charité; Davila states, that by taking the town they opened a convenient passage; while in the Life of Coligny it is said that the bridge was destroyed before the town surrendered, and that, to avoid a loss of time in constructing another bridge, the Germans availed themselves of the ford at Rouilly.

† 18th June, 1569.

‡ Davila, liv. 4. Mem. de Tavannes. Vie de Coligny.

§ La Noue, p. 673.

|| Mem. de Tavannes, p. 338.

* Philip Strozzy, son of the marshal: he was named colonel-general of the infantry on the death of Andelot.

† 25th June, 1569.

‡ Davila, liv. 4, p. 505.

§ Vie de Coligny, p. 364.

Reitres, from whom, if the captains and a few gentlemen were taken away, there would remain nothing but a parcel of grooms and valets unfit for the exercise of arms: it was therefore evident that France might in that way be freed from a number of ills produced by the war, and the obstinacy of the Huguenots be subdued in a short time: while, on the other hand, long consultations tended only to consume the nation, destroy the nobility, and desolate the kingdom; their enemies would take advantage of the delay, and forward their enterprises; and it was very much to be feared that more troops would arrive from Germany, which might end in the subjugation of the kingdom by foreigners. Others contended that it was very imprudent to risk the state on the uncertain event of a battle, and against an enemy who had nothing to lose; that a more safe plan was, by prolonging the campaign, to give the Germans leisure to dwindle away, as was their custom; for, being in a climate so different from their own, the heat of the summer, and the abundance of fruit in which they would certainly indulge, would be sure to produce diseases among them, which must reduce their army very materially. The queen approved of the latter counsel, and the forces were distributed in the principal towns in the neighbourhood of those occupied by the Huguenots. The rest of the army was allowed to separate with an understanding that they should assemble again at a fixed period.*

The admiral, instead of taking full advantage of the dispersion of the royal army to extend his operations, and carry the war into other provinces, sent to the Duke of Anjou, entreating him to allow a free passage to some deputies, whom he proposed sending to the queen, with a view of obtaining a peace. Anjou, who felt more happy in the camp than when subjected to his brother at court, refused the request. Coligny, however, succeeded in forwarding a letter to Catherine, in which he informed her majesty, "That it was a strange thing that, to please some enemies that he had near her, she should wish to complete the ruin of all France; that he had fourteen thousand foreigners in his army, and the Duke of Anjou had no less in his, and that all those people must be maintained at the expense of this fine country, and who might notwithstanding be all dismissed in a quarter of an hour; that if he aimed at the crown, or wished to participate in the government of the state, he should not be surprised that she risked so much, but that it only related to permitting the Protestants to enjoy liberty of conscience, a privilege which had been granted them by several edicts, and which was conformable to the divine laws; besides, if the mere stay of foreigners produced such mischief to the state, what might not happen if they should wish to become the masters?—for, should they be disposed to unite, the country would be embarrassed in resisting them: he concluded by earnestly imploring peace, which was the only means of preventing such disorders, and protested that it was more for her interests than his own."†

The queen paid no attention to his letter: her obligations to the papal influence were too great to allow her to slight advice coming from that quarter. The news of the battle of Jarnac had been forwarded to Rome, and some standards

which had been taken were sent to Pius V., who wrote a congratulatory letter to the King of France,* in which, after expressing the gratitude he had felt and testified, for the success over the enemies of God and the church, the Christian pontiff adds: "But the more the Lord has treated you and me with kindness, the more you ought with care and diligence to take advantage of the opportunity which this victory offers you for pursuing and destroying all the enemies which still remain; for tearing up entirely all the roots, and even the smallest fibres of roots, of so terrible and so confirmed an evil. For unless they are radically extirpated, they will be found to shoot out again, and as it has already happened several times, the mischief will reappear when your majesty least expects it. . . . You will bring this about, if no consideration for persons or worldly things induces you to spare the enemies of God,† who have never spared God, who have never spared yourself. For you will not succeed in turning away the wrath of God, except by avenging him rigorously on the wretches who have offended him: by inflicting on them the punishment they deserve. Let your majesty take for example, and never lose sight of what happened to king Saul: he had received the orders of God, by the mouth of the prophet Samuel, to fight and exterminate the infidel Amalekites, in such a way that he should not spare one in any case or under any pretext. But he did not obey the will and the voice of God; he pardoned the king of the Amalekites himself, and reserved his most valuable effects; therefore a short time afterwards, severely reprimanded by the same prophet who had anointed him king, he was deprived of his throne and his life. By this example, God has wished to teach all kings, that to neglect the vengeance of outrages done to him, is to provoke his wrath and indignation against themselves. If your majesty continues, as you have hitherto done, in the rectitude of your intentions and the simplicity of your heart, to act openly and frankly, for the honour of God, and the interests of the Catholic religion, you may be assured that the aid of God will never fail you until all his enemies are scattered, and the ancient worship of the Catholic religion is restored in this kingdom, for the glory of God and the salvation of souls."

The pope at the same time addressed a similar letter to Catherine; the purport is the same, and in a great measure the same words are used: his holiness assures her majesty, that the assistance of God will not be wanting, if she pursues the enemies of the Catholic religion "until they are all massacred, for it is only by the entire extermination of the heretics, that the Catholic worship can be restored."

Pius V. appears to have duly appreciated Catherine's influence in the government, for his letters are frequently addressed to her. Very soon after the last, he sent her another exhortation,‡ in which he informs her that "divine grace can be obtained only by avenging the injuries done to Almighty God, in punishing the rebels with severity." "We are," he adds, "so much the more anxious to recommend the affair seriously to your majesty, as we have heard it stated, that some persons exert

* Dated 28th March, 1569.

† Hoc autem facies, si nullarum personarum rerumque humanarum respectus, te in eam mentem adducere poterit, ut Dei hostibus pareas.—*Edit. Goubau.*

‡ Dated 13th April, 1569.

* Davila, liv. 4, p. 510.

† Vie de Coligny, p. 365.

themselves to save a small number of the prisoners, and to obtain their liberation. Be careful that such a thing do not take place; and neglect no means, no efforts, that these abominable men may suffer the punishment they deserve."* The example of Saul is again produced, to determine the suppression of any feelings of humanity which might arise in the breasts of the King or the Queen of France.

Charles IX., the Duke of Anjou, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, had each a letter addressed to them on the same day. The same sanguinary zeal pervades them all: Pius compliments the Duke of Anjou upon his victory, and enjoins him to reject every intercession in favour of the heretics: "It is your duty," says he, "to show yourself justly inexorable to all." The cardinal was exhorted to spare no efforts that the Catholic religion *alone* should be observed by everybody, as well publicly as in the interior of the conscience. He afterwards desires him to convince the king of the notorious truth, that he could never satisfy the Redeemer, nor obey his laws, but in showing himself inexorable to all who should dare to intercede for those abominable men. To the king himself he repeats the argument of his former letters; he assures him that if he neglects from any motive to pursue and punish God's enemies, it will end in wearying his patience and provoking his wrath; and he cautions him against listening to any entreaties, or yielding to friendship or blood.

It would fatigue the reader to produce every letter which proceeded from the pope at the time now under discussion. The conferences at Bayonne have been very generally considered the origin of the plan for the extirpation of the Protestants. There is, however, reason to believe that at that time (1565), the pope, the King of Spain, and Catherine de Medicis, considered it sufficient to destroy the leaders; the multitude might then be scattered without difficulty, and their congregations and public existence would no longer be an eyesore to the government; but when the Prince of Condé's place was immediately supplied by a chief of equal rank, and the vacancies in the Huguenot army were filled up without any delay, Catherine perceived the fallacy of her expectations. To assassinate the admiral would serve no other purpose than to irritate his party; and to seize and put to death any number of Huguenot captains would aggravate their followers without materially weakening their cause. The pope's advice was calculated to effect his object ultimately, but a civil war was fraught with every evil. She resolved on making another effort in the field before she concluded a peace; but policy and her own experience showed her that the result could be attained much easier, much quicker, and far more effectually by secret operations, which, striking the whole body at once, would prevent any organised resistance, and leave the entire party at her mercy. Another victory she hoped might enable her to dictate her own terms for a cessation of hostilities, and the war was continued with vigour; not so much with a view of subduing the Huguenots by force of arms, as with the steady purpose of gaining some ascendancy, suited for the development of her ulterior policy.

* Quod ne fiat, atque homines sceleratissimi justis suppliciis afficiantur, curare te omni studio atque industriâ oportet.
—*Edit. Goubau*, liv. 3, p. 156.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Siege of Poitiers—Defeat of the Protestants at Montcontour.

COLIGNY waited impatiently for an answer to the letter which he had sent the queen-mother: he perceived at last that there was no probability of his receiving any reply, and resolved to employ his troops without wasting further time. How they should be employed was discussed in a council of war: some proposed to seize upon Saumur, obtain a passage across the Loire, and thence proceed direct to Paris. Those who were in favour of this measure contended that there was no other method of compelling the queen to consent to reasonable terms; that when she perceived the heart of the kingdom ruined and Paris in danger, she would be so fearful of an intelligence with the inhabitants, that she would grant all their demands, rather than risk a battle which would then be her only alternative. In opposing the proposition it was argued that, by leaving Poitiers behind them in the hands of the Catholics, there was danger for all the towns they held beyond the Loire; but by taking that place they would so materially strengthen their position in those provinces, that it would be impossible to drive them out; that, though it was not desirable to carry on war in their own quarters, it was necessary for them, since in case of misfortune they required a secure retreat, the benefits of which they had experienced after the loss of the last battle, by reassembling and refitting so soon, that they scarcely felt the loss they had sustained; but that it would be quite different if they ventured into the midst of an enemy's country without money, ammunition, artillery, or provisions, unable to take any with them; and, what is most important of all, without any town or fortress in which to take refuge should they require a place of retreat. Their prospect of success was also doubtful, with respect to the forces opposed to them; for the royal army, although separated, was not disbanded, and could easily be collected together. They would therefore be exposed to great danger, without a corresponding chance of success.*

The latter advice prevailed, and the admiral despatched Taligny to master some places in the neighbourhood of Poitiers. Châtelleraut was taken without difficulty: some persons in the town were in league with the confederates; they created a tumult, and, in the confusion which followed, obtained possession of one of the gates, by which the Huguenot soldiers entered. The governor made no further attempt to defend the place, but escaped to Poitiers. Several inconsiderable towns, and the rich monastery of Branthôme, were plundered by the German troops, who required such incitements to keep them in obedience.

Lusignan was the next object of attack: it was considered one of the strongest towns in France, and had formerly withstood some long sieges, and violent assaults. But the valour of the garrison was very short of that of their predecessors, and they made scarcely any opposition. Some heavy pieces of ordnance taken in this town contributed to strengthen the confederates for the siege of Poitiers, which was commenced very soon after, the admiral stopping only to take possession of Mirebeau and St. Maixant, two small places in his way.†

† Vie de Coligny, p. 365. Davila, liv. 5, p. 515.

† Davila, liv. 5, p. 516. D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 291.

The Duke of Anjou had anticipated such a measure, from the regular way in which the surrounding towns had been taken, and had sent strong reinforcements to Poitiers. That town was at this period the second in France in size and importance; and if the Protestants could have taken it, the influence which it must have given them would have been very considerable. The Duke of Guise, accompanied by his brother Mayenne and a numerous body of noblesse, retired into the town. In addition to the usual garrison, the Count de Lude had entered with six thousand soldiers, and a number of peasants had been hired from the neighbourhood to work at the fortifications, and make every preparation which could be devised for defending the place. The young Duke of Guise was already in great esteem among the Catholics, who anticipated the benefits which he would one day confer on their cause: he was anxious to avenge his father's death, and no less desirous of equalling his renown. The defence of Metz had procured unfading laurels for one, and that of Poitiers offered the other a fair chance of obtaining a brilliant reputation. The Count de Lude was governor of the province, and the command of the town by right devolved on him; but he waived his pretensions to that honour in favour of the young hero.

The siege commenced on the 25th of July, when the admiral attacked the faubourg St. Lazare, which was unprovided with fortifications, and defended by only four hundred men. After three hours' fighting, the admiral obtained possession of the place. Guise counteracted this by making a sortie, and destroying every house, to deprive the assailants of shelter; he also made many other sorties and was always foremost in them, heedless of the number of men he lost, provided he destroyed some of the besiegers. Coligny was as assiduous in repeating his assaults, and the siege was productive of excessive bloodshed.

The admiral considered at length that the better way to reduce the town would be to turn the siege into a blockade. The number of the troops which constituted its strength would also hasten a scarcity of provisions. The plan was good, but the acuteness of the Duke of Guise suggested to him the same idea, and measures were immediately taken for husbanding the provisions in the town: he retrenched the supply of his own table, and everybody followed his example; by this measure the scarcity was not so soon felt in the place.

The cannon of the besiegers had effected a great breach in the walls of Poitiers, and by the 10th of August it was considered sufficient to warrant an assault. A bridge constructed upon casks fastened together with ropes was thrown across the river: the admiral had reconnoitred the breach, and would have ordered the assault at once, although he was aware of the besieged having thrown up some strong redoubts inside the wall to protect the breach; but on examining the bridge, he found that it would not with safety allow the troops to march across it in sufficient numbers: he ordered another to be constructed, and with more strength, so that even cavalry might cross, if they once gained a footing in the town. The plan however was rendered abortive by a bold feat of one Capijuchy, a Roman gentleman, who took with him two good swimmers, and, diving under the bridge, cut the cords in different parts: the current of the

river soon carried the whole away, and, while the Protestants were making another bridge, the besieged had time to repair the breach. Guise joined in the work, and helped to carry the baskets full of earth, which kindled such an emulation, that there was no want of assistance.*

In a short time the besiegers had constructed three new bridges, much stronger than the former, and had added to the strength of their batteries. The besieged at the same time succeeded in restoring their rampart. A fresh assault was made upon the town, and after some hard fighting the Protestants were able to effect a lodgement: but a fire was opened on them, from some small pieces of artillery placed in a convent, which soon compelled them to abandon their post. Several persons of note were killed, and La Noue was wounded on this occasion. This check did not destroy the ardour of the Huguenots, and they made such progress with their batteries in destroying the wall, that the town could not long have been defended on that side. As a last resource, the inhabitants contrived to dam up the river, which caused an inundation, and thus prevented the assailants from approaching the breach. Coligny then directed his efforts against another part of the town, and succeeded in destroying the wall to the extent of sixty feet. An assault was attempted, and a sanguinary conflict ensued, in which the leaders on both sides fought like private soldiers. The Protestants persisted in their attacks on the town, and the loss they sustained had no effect upon them; but a dysentery broke out among the troops, and the two princes and the leading officers retired from the army, leaving the admiral almost alone to conduct the siege. Although attacked with the disease himself, he would not slacken his efforts; and, though he regretted that the siege had been undertaken, he could not think of abandoning the attempt. But he had soon an opportunity of retiring without disgrace; for Tavannes suggested to the Duke of Anjou, that he might well fill up his time in taking some place, while the Huguenots were so fully employed. The royal army was then ordered to Châtellerault, and Coligny immediately quitted Poitiers,† to prevent any misfortune occurring to the two young princes, who had retired to that town. Coligny threw some reinforcements into the place, and was in hopes of taking the royal army by surprise; but a deserter informed the Duke of Anjou of his intention, and the attempt on Châtellerault was immediately abandoned.‡

La Charité was the only town upon the Loire which was in the hands of the Huguenots: Sansac was sent by the Duke of Anjou to take it, that the confederates might abandon all thoughts of being able to extend their operations beyond that river. He made this attempt while the admiral was besieging Poitiers. The garrison made a desperate resistance, and Sansac was obliged to retire after losing several gentlemen and a considerable number of soldiers.§

After such serious losses as the Protestant army had suffered by the dysentery and the sword, Coligny was desirous of refreshing his troops and raising new levies. He took up his quarters in the faubourgs of Châtellerault. The Duke of Anjou

* Davila, liv. 5. Vie de Coligny, liv. 6.

† 7th September, 1569.

‡ La Noue, p. 632. Davila, liv. 5. Vie de Coligny, p. 367.

§ Davila, liv. 5, p. 512.

was advised to avoid an engagement; to retire for a short time; and in the interval to send for all those of his army who had not yet returned to the camp. The king and queen were at Tours, and the Dukes of Anjou and Guise went there to meet them. A council was held, and the result of their deliberations produced a decree of the parliament of Paris,* which condemned Coligny as a rebel and a felon; and promised a reward of fifty thousand golden crowns to any one who should seize him, dead or alive. The Vidame of Chartres and Montgomery were condemned to death about the same time; and all three were executed in effigy at the Grève.†

An attempt was made to poison Coligny very soon after this proclamation was issued. The criminal was his own valet: he was condemned to be broken on the wheel, but the admiral interceded, and the punishment was commuted into being hanged. Before he died he confessed his crime, and stated that he had been instigated by La Riviere, the captain of the Duke of Anjou's guards; a circumstance which made many suspect the duke himself.‡

When the Protestants were refreshed, and ready for action, the admiral regretted very much the absence of the Duke of Anjou. Many things made him wish for a battle; but in a short time the royal army was considerably increased by the arrival of gentlemen and their followers from different parts; and he was then as anxious to avoid an engagement, as before he had been to seek it: he wished above all things to wait till he could be joined by the army under Montgomery, who had been employed for several months in recovering Guyenne and Bearn, which had been seized by the Catholics, under the direction of Montluc and Terride, sometime previous.§

Directly the admiral had ascertained that he could depend upon the arrival of the Germans in June, he sent Montgomery to oppose the progress of the Catholics in those provinces. By that person's exertions the Queen of Navarre's authority was restored; he forced Terride to raise the siege of Navarrins and took possession of Orthez.|| At the latter place he is accused of breaking the articles of capitulation, by cruelly murdering four barons who were in the town. An act so barbarous cannot be defended; but the historian¶ who makes the charge also says, "That he had more regard for the orders of the Queen Jane, who had commanded him to treat them as traitors, than to his own honour and faith." The success of Montgomery's expedition may be attributed to a disagreement between Montluc and Terride, and the ill-will borne to them both by Damville, governor of Languedoc.

The Duke of Anjou joined the royal army at the close of September, and, by the advice of Tavannes, he marched upon the quarters of the Huguenots, resolved to force them to an engagement. The admiral on his side was quite averse to engaging at this time, although he was tormented by his officers, and the German auxiliaries, who were weary of such a long campaign: he purposed to quit Poitou, and gain Guyenne, by crossing the rivers that lay in

that direction; at the same time to encourage his men, he circulated among them a report that Montgomery was on his road to join them. If by this stratagem he could keep his forces quiet for some time, he knew that the royal army would suffer from a scarcity of provisions, should the Duke of Anjou make any attempt to follow him. But Anjou perceived his intention, and came up with him at Montcontour, on the 30th of September, to the great surprise of the admiral, who thought him at a considerable distance. The two armies were drawn out ready for action, within musket-shot of each other; a small river separated them; the Catholics would not venture to pass it in presence of their enemies, and, night coming on, the battle was avoided for that time.*

Coligny was advised by several officers to give battle at once, as it could not be long avoided; he had therefore more choice of position at that time, than if the royal army were to overtake him in his flight to Guyenne. Besides, by availing himself of the eagerness to fight which his men exhibited, he would have more chance of success than when they had become fatigued and dispirited: these reasons made the admiral consent to wait for the enemy in the plain of Montcontour. The army was divided into three parts: he led the van; the princes, with Count Louis of Nassau, the main body; Count Wolrand and Mouy the rear.†

We are informed by La Noue that the same discontent pervaded the royal army, and that, the evening before this battle, two Catholic gentlemen meeting some Protestants conversed with them: "We have," said the Catholics, "the appearance of enemies, but we in no way hate you or your party. Tell the admiral to avoid giving battle, for our army is wonderfully strong, from the reinforcements which have arrived. But let him temporise for one month only; for all the nobility have sworn and told the Duke of Anjou, that they will not stay longer; yet, if he will employ them within that time, they will do their duty. And if they do not have a victory very soon, several reasons will constrain them to wish for peace, and you will have advantageous terms." Although this information came from an enemy, and was liable to suspicion, the admiral wished to follow the advice. It was agreed that nothing should be precipitated, and at any rate they should seek a better position than that of Montcontour. But unfortunately the Germans became mutinous when they received orders to decamp; a considerable time was lost in appeasing them, and, before order was restored, the royal army appeared, and it was impossible to avoid a battle.‡

The Duke of Anjou had made a circuitous march during the night of the 2nd of October, and crossed the river at a spot, where it was so shallow, that the passage was effected without the order of march being broken. The armies were in presence in the morning, and the eagerness of the Huguenots to engage gave reason to expect an obstinate fight. The action commenced, on both sides, by a violent cannonading at about nine in the morning. The Huguenots then rushed on their enemies with a blind fury: the Catholic battalions received the shock with great firmness, and charging in turn threw their opponents into great confusion. In spite of the exertions of the Protestant captains,

* Dated 13th September, 1569.

† Journal de Brulart, and de Thou, liv. 45, at the end.

‡ Vie de Coligny, p. 372. De Thou, liv. 45.

§ Mirasson, *Hist. des Troubles de Beurn.* p. 218.

¶ D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 293.

¶ Mezeray.—*Abregé Chron.*

* Davila, liv. 5, p. 542.

† Ibid. p. 547.

‡ La Noue, p. 686.

the rout was complete. The Catholics gave no quarter: they called out to each other to spare no one, in revenge for their companions who were killed at Laroche-Abeille.* Most of the Protestants who fell into their hands were put to the sword, and entire regiments were coolly murdered, after they had thrown away their arms and surrendered. Out of an army of twenty-five thousand men, scarcely six thousand assembled with Coligny and the princes at Parthenay.

The Duke of Anjou had exposed himself in the hottest of the fight: the Margrave of Baden was killed at his side. The admiral had received two wounds in the beginning of the action, but so long as he could sit on horseback nothing was able to keep him from his post. The Count Rhingrave, at the head of some cavalry, recognised and charged upon him: the count discharged a pistol, which struck the admiral on the lower jaw, and broke four of his teeth; he at the same time fired on the count and killed him.†

Coligny was fearful of exposing the persons of the young princes, and had posted them on a hill in the rear, with four thousand men under Louis of Nassau. The Prince of Bearn was eager to join the battle, but was prevented. At one time the Protestants had broken the ranks of their enemies, and the arrival of the reserve at that moment must have secured the victory, but Louis of Nassau would not swerve from the admiral's instructions: the Prince of Bearn then exclaimed, "We lose our advantage, and the battle in consequence.‡"

The admiral, covered with the blood which poured from his wounds, continued the fight till he saw it was impossible to prevent an entire defeat. He then tried to make the best possible retreat, which was effected in better order than could have been expected. His life was in the greatest danger on this occasion, and the devotedness of his followers alone preserved him. A blow he received in the fight broke the buckle of his cuirass, which fell down: while thus exposed his enemies pressed round him, and some of his men encircled him while he adjusted it. In the retreat he was pursued by two gentlemen who were close upon him; and, as he was so exhausted, he could not have escaped them, had not some one opposed the pursuers, killed one and fought the other, and thus allowed the admiral time to escape. This brave follower received a severe wound, but which happily did not prove mortal, and, while Coligny lived, he gave him a pension.§

The battle lasted a very short time, but the overthrow of the Protestants was complete. All their artillery, baggage, and stores, fell into the hands of the Catholics. The numerous standards taken were sent to Rome, and solemnly dedicated as trophies in the church of St. John de Lateran. A few of the prisoners escaped slaughter; among others, Dacier, Blançon, and La Noue, whose singular fortune it was to fall into the enemies' hands in almost every engagement, and who would certainly have been put to death, if Anjou had not protected him. He was afterwards exchanged for Strozzy, who was destined by the Protestants to suffer exactly the same treatment as was shown to La Noue. The Cardinal of Lorraine opposed the

exchange; observing that there were many like Strozzy, but there was only one La Noue. Strozzy however had interest with the queen, and his safety purchased that of La Noue.*

This terrible check was sufficient to overwhelm the hopes of the Protestant party, which might have been completely destroyed, had the Catholics properly exerted themselves to follow up their victory. Those who escaped from the field of battle had time allowed them to consider what they should do; and, with such a leader as the admiral, they required no more to enable them once more to make head against misfortune: even his enemies allow that Coligny was never so great as when struggling with difficulties, and that dangers only served to confirm his courage and create fresh energies. On the evening after the battle he held a council of officers, and restored their drooping spirits. Many of them were cast down when they considered the loss they had just sustained, and reflected that they were destitute of almost everything, in a remote quarter of the kingdom, and exposed to the vengeance of an irritated king. Coligny, although from his wounded jaw he could hardly speak, addressed them in an animated style. He reminded them, that after other defeats they had always found themselves stronger and more formidable to their enemies; that the defeat of an army would not finish the war, provided they did not fail in courage and constancy; that they could always calculate upon Germany as a vast and inexhaustible nursery for soldiers; that the alliance with England continued, and that the news of their defeat would cause reinforcements to be sent without delay; that they had friends in many parts of the kingdom, who would create diversions in their favour; that they had a good army under Montgomery, who would soon join them; that if they submitted to any terms at present they must yield to the will of the conqueror, whereas, if they held out a short time, and collected their forces together, they could treat for peace on more equal terms. The admiral's sentiments were approved by all present; and the same night couriers were sent off to all the Protestant states, informing them of their defeat, and entreating further assistance.† Letters were also written to the different towns of France, to prevent any ill consequences arising from a report that Coligny was dead of his wounds.‡ The following day the confederates retired to Niort: their plan was to abandon the open country; to strengthen the garrisons of the principal towns, such as Rochelle, St. Jean d'Angely, and Angoulême; to retire with the remainder of their forces to the mountains of Auvergne and Gascony, and effect a junction with Montgomery. By these means they hoped to prolong the war till assistance could come to them from abroad.§

When Catherine heard of the defeat of the Huguenots at Montcontour, she considered Coligny as lost beyond recovery, and congratulated herself on being freed from the only man who was able to thwart her ambition. Hitherto the queen had endeavoured to persuade Coligny that her conduct towards him had been in spite of herself; and to preserve that appearance she had given orders that his private property should be respected: but now

* Brantome, vol. x. p. 280.

† Davila, liv. 5, p. 550.

‡ Prefixe.

§ Vie de Coligny, p. 373.

* Amiraute, p. 40.

† Davila, liv. 5, p. 554.

‡ Vie de Coligny, p. 374.

§ Davila, liv. 5, p. 558.

that she deemed his credit quite gone, and his resources entirely destroyed, she ceased to make any such profession. The reward of fifty thousand crowns was again offered to any one who would bring his head, in hopes that some mercenary would be tempted to murder him. His house at Chatillon was plundered, and everything belonging to himself, his brother, and his nephews, was taken away. Policy had joined in preventing such a measure before, for fear of restitution being required at the peace. His property was now confiscated, and his support depended exclusively on the contributions of the different Protestant churches: they sent him two thousand crowns every month, which he consented to accept during the remainder of the war.* The Protestant cause, though reduced, was far from being cast down; and the exertions which Catherine de Medicis made for the destruction of the Huguenots proved the means of enabling them to collect new forces, and to appear again in a condition to face their enemies. In executing her plans she invariably offended several powerful nobles, and thus raised fresh obstacles to be overcome.

CHAPTER XXV.

Sieges of Niort and St. Jean d'Angely—The Princes and Coligny retire into Bearn—Battle of Arnay-le-Duc—Peace of St. Germain-en-Laye.

THE excessive éclat which was thrown over the victory at Montcontour, and the praises which were lavished on the Duke of Anjou, aroused the jealousy of the veteran captains. The king determined to join the army; and by that measure he rather fomented the discord which was establishing itself among the leading officers: he could not conceal his real object, which was to share his brother's glory, instead of supporting his authority. Most of the old generals had for some time been tormented with vexation on beholding the command in the hands of a youth: they took no further interest in finishing the war, as the honour of it would be taken from them. The Guises had grown cool; for the fact of subduing the Huguenots was of no moment, in their estimation, unless they could have the glory of the work: they were, moreover, mortified at being classed among the secondary commanders—a result of the queen's jealous interference—she being fearful lest any success of theirs should make them still greater favourites with the Catholics. The Montmorencies were offended at the neglect with which they had been treated since the constable's death, and besides were favourably inclined towards Coligny, their kinsman.

The operation of these feelings displayed itself at the council held immediately after the battle. Tavannes insisted upon pursuing the fugitives with the greater part of the army, leaving just sufficient to mask the principal towns, which would soon fall without sieges. The Huguenots, he contended, should be harassed and pursued from place to place, till they either quitted the kingdom, or threw themselves into some town, which might be made their grave. No solid reason was opposed to this proposal; but, instead of its being adopted, it was resolved that their operations should be

directed to getting possession of the revolted towns. Tavannes in consequence gave up his command, and the Protestants were thus delivered from one very formidable enemy.*

Several towns were taken without resistance;† but Niort prepared for defence, and the Duke of Anjou commenced a regular siege. Mouy commanded there: he had retired to that town at the suggestion of the admiral, who considered such a measure necessary to cover the retreat of the young princes, and give him an opportunity of collecting some of the remains of his army: for had the conquerors been unemployed, it was to be feared that they would have overwhelmed him. On quitting Parthenay, the admiral and his companions silently took the direction of Niort, where Mouy was left with the remains of the infantry; Coligny then made the best of his way towards Rochelle, with a small body of horsemen.‡

Mouy's force was inconsiderable, and he endeavoured to supply the deficiency of his numerical strength by the most courageous exertions. He made a sortie, to stop the progress of the besiegers' works: he committed great havoc among them, and continued his attacks till the evening, when he purposed retiring into the town. Unfortunately, however, he was shot by one Maurevel, who had passed into the Huguenot camp for the purpose of killing Coligny, whose sudden departure for Rochelle preserved his life. The assassin, however, was determined to show himself worthy of his recompense, and with a pistol shot Mouy in the back: he then went immediately to the Duke of Anjou; and there has never been any doubt expressed as to that prince having hired him for the purpose. Mouy quitted the town and retired to Rochelle, where he died a few days afterwards; which event so dispirited the garrison, that they surrendered.§

The king arrived at the camp about the time that Niort was occupied by his forces, and was so pleased with the success which had attended the operations of his army, that he expected to take every town with the same facility, and that before long he should be master even of Rochelle; but the vigorous defence of St. Jean d'Angely made him change his opinion. That town was defended by Piles, a brave general, and it was not till the end of two months, and when he was at the greatest extremity, that he would surrender.

Biron summoned the town,|| and was answered, that the surrender must be preceded by a peace, which should be beneficial to all France. On the same day, to convince the besieging army that they were able to defend the place, the garrison made a sortie, and killed a great number of their enemies. This check enraged the Catholics, who opened such a cannonade upon the town, that a breach was soon made. The garrison repaired it in the night, and a second breach was necessary before an assault could be attempted.¶ Repeated assaults were given: the Catholics fought under the king's eye, and emulated each other's prowess; but the firmness of the Huguenots was unshaken, and their

* Mem. de Tavannes, p. 358.

† Parthenay, Lusignan, Châtelleraut, St. Maixent, and Fontenay.

‡ Davila, liv. 5, p. 560.

§ Davila, liv. 5. Vie de Coligny, p. 376. Brantome, *Vie de l'Admiral*. De Thou, liv. 46. Arcere, vol. i. p. 380.

|| 26th Oct. 1569.

¶ De Thou, liv. 46, vol. v. p. 657.

* Vie de Coligny, p. 375.

exertions unabated. At length, finding there was no prospect of receiving any assistance from without, Piles capitulated, and obtained very honourable terms, both for himself and his garrison.* The time occupied before St. Jean d'Angely gave the princes an opportunity to re-establish themselves. The Huguenots also took advantage of the delay to fortify Rochelle, whither the Queen of Navarre had retired.†

When the Catholics commenced the siege of St. Jean d'Angely, Coligny prepared to set out for Bearn. His friends had been summoned to join him at Saintes; and they set out from that place on the 18th of October. A supply of one hundred thousand crowns had been received from England, and with that help he expected to carry the war into Languedoc. At the same time he received promises of assistance from many princes, who had hitherto declined aiding him.‡

The king was informed of Coligny's design, and sent orders to destroy all the bridges, and stave the boats on the rivers, that he might not be able to make use of them; guards were placed at all the fords, and they were commanded to put to death all stragglers. But these precautions were unable to prevent his safely arriving in Bearn, where deputies from all the churches came to meet him. He crossed the Garonne without difficulty, although the Catholics were on its banks. The respect which was shown him on his road was of the most touching kind: in the midst of the joy which was expressed at his arrival, the greater number could not conceal their emotions, at the dangers he had encountered in their behalf. As he approached Montauban, the number of the company was very much increased, and if Coligny had permitted it, his entry into that town would have been a triumphal one; but, while at a few leagues distance, he told some who had come to inform him of the honour intended him, that if they had money to spare, they had better apply it to some useful purpose, and that he found it difficult to satisfy the German troops, who had not been paid for some time. When this was known in the town, the inhabitants soon raised enough to pay their auxiliaries.§

The people of Bearn testified great joy at the arrival of their prince: the dependents of the house of Albret immediately came forward, and a body of three thousand men was raised in a short time. They levied heavy contributions on the surrounding country, and continually added to their numbers.||

Montluc made great exertions to prevent Montgomery's army from joining the Admiral;¶ but a movement of the latter upon the small town of Aiguillon compelled the Catholic general to change his plan, and the two Protestant armies were able to unite. Coligny was thus once more at the head of a powerful army, and in the beginning of January, 1570, he marched into Languedoc, where he took possession of most of the towns without opposition; for so numerous were his partisans in those parts, that all the gates were opened to him. Toulouse alone refused to receive him: the Huguenots had vowed vengeance against the parliament of that

city, and the counsellors promoted the defence of the place.*

The parliament of Toulouse had always been active in persecuting the Protestants: every reputed Huguenot on being taken was immediately condemned and hanged. At the conclusion of the peace in March, 1568, they refused to register the edict; nor would they do it till they had been four times commanded by the king: they even murdered a Protestant gentleman, named Philibert Rapin, who was commissioned to deliver the edict; they renewed some old charge against him, on which he was summarily condemned.† Several persons besides had been burned alive, on the pretext that they were in correspondence with Coligny, who threatened to retaliate upon the first persons that fell into his hands.‡

The Protestant army laid waste the environs of Toulouse, and committed terrible devastations by way of revenge. The houses of the president and counsellors of the parliament were burned, and with the charcoal of the ruins the soldiery wrote upon the walls *Vengeance de Rapin*. The garrison consisted of eight thousand men, under the command of Joyeuse; but the fury of the Huguenots had caused such a terror, that none of them dared to stir from the town.§ The Huguenots' revenge was thought very severe; but they said that it would serve as a lesson to make the parliament more moderate for the future.|| Having recovered from the shock of their last defeat, and being again in a tolerable condition for maintaining themselves, it was considered by the Protestants a good opportunity for proposing a pacification. Beauvais and Teligny were sent with proposals; but the king would not listen to them, pretending that they ought to submit unconditionally. Still the conclusion of the war being desirable, Biron was sent back with them to ascertain if the princes would abate their demands,—a measure they were not prepared to adopt.

Nismes fell into the power of the Protestants in November, 1569, when the exercise of the reformed religion was restored; but the cause was tarnished by the commission of excesses, unhappily characteristic of the age.¶

During the remainder of the winter the Protestants were employed in attacking places held by the Catholics in the adjacent provinces. In the spring, Coligny traversed Languedoc and Dauphiny, and finding his army was very much increased, he considered the best thing he could do was to march direct upon Paris.** Several reasons induced him to do so: he knew that the Duke of Anjou had lost a great part of his forces before St. Jean d'Angely, and though he had gone into good quarters, he had not yet been able to reft his army: he also considered, that even if his plan upon Paris should not succeed, he could advantageously retire to Saintes and Poitou, where La Noue had greatly improved the face of affairs: he had made some excursions from Rochelle in which he was very successful, and recovered several towns.††

The Protestant army advanced towards the

* Vie de Coligny, p. 380. La Noue, p. 699.

† Brantome, vol. viii. p. 211.

‡ Vie de Coligny, p. 380.

§ D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 319.

|| La Noue, p. 699. Brantome, vol. viii. p. 211.

¶ Menard, *Hist. de Nismes*, vol. v. p. 50.

** La Noue, p. 700.

†† Davila, liv. 5, p. 572.

* 2nd Dec. 1569. Arcere, vol. i. p. 382.

† La Noue, p. 693.

‡ Vie de Coligny, p. 377.

§ Ibid., p. 378.

|| Davila, liv. 5, p. 567.

¶ Comm. de Montluc, liv. 7.

Loire; Coligny and the princes being satisfied that they would never obtain an advantageous peace until they carried the war to the gates of the capital. Their progress, however, was arrested by the admiral's falling seriously ill. He was reduced to the last extremity, and every hope of his recovery was abandoned. The greatest consternation pervaded all ranks; and, from the anxious concern which was manifested on his account, it would appear that the hopes of his party centred in him.* Indeed, what could two youths do without an experienced adviser? The princes were brave and zealous, but unable to manage the public affairs of the Protestants. Measures were already discussed by different captains for providing for their personal safety; and many thought the army had better separate, when the admiral's disorder took a favourable turn and restored hope to his friends.

Several attacks had been made upon La Charité, which the Protestants still held: it was considered a post of great importance for passing the Loire. The king finding the Huguenots again in the field, and perceiving the probability of their marching on Paris, sent Marshal Cossé with a strong force to get possession of that place. Coligny received this news at a time when his physicians had given him over; but the importance of the movement made him regardless of his own life, and he gave orders to march immediately, he being borne in a litter, and his followers expecting his death every moment. Being desirous of crossing the Loire, without descending so far as La Charité, he seized St. Reimbert, where there is a bridge; couriers were despatched for calling in parties that were at any distance, and the Protestant army marched into Burgundy.†

The princes commanded the army during the admiral's illness, but his advice regulated all their movements. They were posted before Arnay-le-Duc,‡ intending to take possession of it, when Marshal Cossé arrived suddenly: his army consisted of fourteen thousand men and some artillery, while the Protestants had not half that number. The Marshal, on being informed that the main body of the Protestants had passed the Loire, changed his plan, and, instead of attacking La Charité, he decided on bringing the princes to an engagement—a measure which offered every chance of success, on account of Coligny's illness.§

Whether the marshal had any feeling in favour of the reformed religion, or acted only in compliance with the suggestions of Anjou, who, being detained at St. Germain by illness, did not wish the war to be concluded at that time, is uncertain; but it is clear that if he had attacked the Protestants directly he came up with them, they must have been hard pushed. He gave them time, however, to take so favourable a position, that after an engagement, which lasted the whole day, he abandoned all idea of forcing the Huguenot camp, and withdrew his forces to La Charité.||

Henry IV., subsequently speaking of this battle to the historian Mathieu, gave the following account of it: "I had no place of retreat but what was more than forty leagues off, and I should have

been at the discretion of the peasantry. In this fighting I ran the risk of being taken or killed, because I had no cannon and the king's troops had: at ten paces from me a gentleman was killed by a cannon-ball; but recommending the event to God, he rendered it happy and favourable.*"

Wherever the Protestant army had passed, contributions had been levied to defray the expenses of the war; the country was therefore very generally exhausted. The advantage which they obtained at Arnay-le-Duc put them in a condition to march upon Paris, and the government was thrown into great alarm:† this consternation was increased on hearing that some fresh levies had come from Germany to join the Huguenots: the conduct of Cossé and Damville also gave the queen great uneasiness. The king, the queen, the Duke of Anjou, and the cardinal of Lorraine, held a consultation, and were unanimous in their views: they resolved to conclude a peace with the Huguenots, as the only means of ridding the kingdom of foreign troops, and wait for a favourable opportunity for effecting their great object, the overthrow of the Protestant religion.‡

The Protestant chiefs were equally desirous of a peace: the princes were tired of the inconveniences which are inseparable from warfare; the different nobles were weary of the expense, and wished to return home; and the admiral was anxious to put an end to the desolation which afflicted his country; but he would consent to nothing short of a firm and irrevocable establishment of liberty to the followers of the reformed religion. This the queen knew, and that she might not lose the confidence of the Catholics, by consenting to terms which would compromise their exclusive ascendancy, she made an effort to win Coligny over to relax in his demands. The deputies, who went from the court to discuss the projected treaty, made the admiral an offer of two hundred thousand crowns, on condition that he should abate some of the demands, which he invariably put forward as essential articles of any treaty he might make. At the same time, to remove all appearance of a bribe, Coligny was informed that it was to remunerate him for the spoliation of his house at Châtillon. The moment Coligny heard of the proposal, he sent instructions to his deputies to reject every overture for the restoration of his property, and to declare that, provided the reformed churches could be satisfied, he wished nothing for himself. This step on Coligny's part frustrated the queen's plan, and the negotiations were broken off.§

Marshal Cossé in the mean time had placed himself between the Protestants and Paris, and a battle was almost inevitable. Catherine was more than ever embarrassed: to risk a battle so near the capital was to place everything at stake, and a peace was the only alternative. She sent instructions to her deputies to come to a conclusion at whatever terms they could. In vain did the Spanish ambassador make offers of assistance from his court, provided she would continue the war: Catherine saw through the dark policy of Philip; and, feeling conscious of the false pretexts which she had repeatedly advanced in the name of religion, she paid no attention to his entreaties on

* De Thou, liv. 47, vol. vi. p. 36.

† Vie de Coligny, p. 381. D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 322.

‡ Or René-le-Duc, a small town in Burgundy, situate on the river Arroux.

§ Vie de Coligny, p. 382.

|| 25th of June, 1570. Davila, liv. 5, p. 574. La Noue, p. 701.

* Mathieu, vol. i. p. 327.

† Mem. de Tavannes, p. 95.

‡ Davila, liv. 5, p. 576.

§ Vie de Coligny, p. 383.

that ground. The pope also made great efforts to prevent any accommodation: the cause of God was his argument, but a zeal for the establishment of the pontifical power was evidently the main-spring of his conduct. Immediately after the battle of Montcontour, in the letter of congratulation* which he wrote to the King of France, Pius had urged him to follow up his success, and stifle every sentiment of clemency as sinful and rebellious against the Almighty. After holding out once more the fate of Saul as a warning, his holiness adds, "What else would it be, in short, but to render vain the kindness of God in this victory over the heretics? The fruits which it ought to produce are, the extermination of the infamous heretics, our common enemies, on account of the deserved hatred which they inspire, and the restoration of the ancient tranquillity and peace of the kingdom. Do not suffer any one to deceive you with vain sentiments of pity, and seek not the false glory of a pretended clemency in pardoning injuries done to God himself; for nothing is more cruel than mercy towards wretches who have merited the worst punishments. If your majesty wishes to restore the ancient splendour, power, and dignity of France, you must strive above all things to make all persons who are subject to your dominions profess the Catholic faith *alone*; that which from the first origin of Christianity has remained uncontaminated till this day." The letter concludes with recommending the execution of all who have borne arms against the government; and that inquisitors should be established in every town throughout the kingdom.

Pius was unwearied in his exhortations, and letters arrived from him without intermission. The same strain pervades most of them; but as the probability of a peace became increased, he resorted to more powerful arguments. The following is a part of one of these letters:†—"We assure you that such a reconciliation, far from enabling you to enjoy peace, would become on the contrary the source of the greatest evils for France. If there are men who think otherwise, and who try to draw your majesty away with their sentiments, believe either that they deceive themselves, or, corrupted by the spirit of flattery, they deceive your majesty. Although they put forward the false pretext of general utility, they forget the Catholic religion and the glory of your majesty: they revere neither your majesty nor God. They ought to consider that in concluding a peace your majesty permits your most incensed enemies to pass from their haunts of robbery into your own palace; that there must of necessity arise a thousand dangers and snares of every kind; and that if the heretics should want the will to prepare you a snare, God himself, by a just judgment of his divine providence, will inspire them with the idea, in order that by this means he may punish you for having neglected religion with an eye to your private interest. And although we failed of every other proof to establish the truth of what we have advanced, we have sufficient in the example of Greece at this time; because she despised the Catholic religion, she has lost the splendour of her ancient nobleness, and is now reduced to the most cruel slavery under infidels."

Other letters followed this; but France was

weary of the horrors of civil war, which had produced cruelties and reprisals of the worst character; and after numerous interruptions a peace was concluded at St. Germain on the fifteenth of August, 1570. The bases of this treaty were a general amnesty; the free exercise of the reformed religion in the suburbs of two towns in each province; the restoration of confiscated property; admissibility to most offices in the state; and the right of challenging six judges, presidents as well as counsellors, in the different parts of the kingdom. In addition to these advantageous terms, the Protestants were allowed to hold four towns as security for the full observance of the treaty; viz., Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité. The Protestants on their side were bound by oath to surrender them at the end of two years.*

Such favourable terms being granted, created suspicion in the minds of many Protestants; but though the leaders would not immediately go to court, the people at large had full confidence in the treaty. Many different reasons were assigned by the nation for the sudden decision to make such a peace. Some considered that the emperor had influenced the king, for Charles was soon to be married to his daughter; some thought that the Spanish interference had become so notorious, that Catherine was jealous, while others attributed it to her love of pleasure. Those who had penetration suspected some secret design against the Protestants, when they should be disarmed and scattered; and it was the knowledge that such suspicions were entertained, which rendered the queen's plan so difficult in the execution.

La Noue has preserved some arguments which were used against the peace. The Catholics complained that it was unjust and shameful to make peace with rebellious heretics, who deserved capital punishment: the Protestants complained that the treaty was a mere snare. The former, he adds, were cured of their opposition in the following manner:—"If they were swordsmen, they were recommended to lead an assault, and to slay the wicked Huguenots; and in two essays they were sure to change their opinions: if they were of the long robe, they were invited to give half their income to support the war, and they soon supported the peace. Similar arguments were used on the other side, and they were brought to examine the matter more candidly. With respect to the admiral's opinion of the treaty, the same person mentions that Coligny declared more than once that he would rather die than fall into such disorders, and see so many evils committed again before his eyes.†

The joy with which the peace was received in France forms a striking contrast with the effect it produced on the pope. He wrote letters‡ to the Cardinals of Bourbon and Lorrain, in which he expressed his great concern at the *misfortune* which had befallen France. "It is especially to be feared," says St. Pius, "that God may inflict a judgment on the king himself, and all those who have adhered to this negotiation." He called upon them to do their duty, and defend the church: he spared no kind of argument, using threats, promises, and appeals to their honour and pride. As

* Davila, liv. 5, p. 577. De Thou, liv. 47.

† La Noue, pp. 704 and 708. Mem. de la vie de J. A. de Thou, p. 11.

‡ Dated 23rd September, 1570.

* Dated 20th Oct. 1569.

† Dated 23rd April, 1570.

the subsequent letters of Pius V. were of a very different character, we may fairly presume that he was privately informed of the plot already in preparation. It is impossible otherwise to account for the great change which is obvious in the different letters he afterwards wrote to the King and Queen of France. After having so repeatedly urged the extermination of the Protestants, it is improbable that he should suddenly discontinue his zeal, unless he had received some intimation of the queen's designs; especially as his correspondence evinces the same anxiety for supporting the Catholic religion.

Very soon after, he made an attempt to obtain troops from France for the assistance of Mary Queen of Scots, and the letter * is remarkable for the absence of all exhortation to destroy the heretics; although in persuading the queen to the measure, he alludes to the help which the Protestants continued to receive from the Queen of England, whom they informed of everything that passed in France. Pius complained of their becoming every day more capable of realizing their wishes, but said not a word about exterminating them, as he had been so accustomed to do. The Bishop of St. Papoul, however, was intrusted with a *verbal message*, the substance of which is buried in oblivion.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Artifices of the Court to draw the principal Protestants to Paris—Death of the Queen of Navarre.

THE admiral conducted his German auxiliaries as far as Langres, and there took leave of them. His circumstances prevented him from fully requiting them, and they are said to have returned home loaded with more promises than money. † The Queen of Navarre fixed her residence at Rochelle, where she was joined by the young princes and the admiral.

This step on their part indicated the existence of suspicions and doubts of the queen-mother's sincerity in making the treaty; and we have the evidence of a courtier to show that those suspicions were well-founded. Davila informs us, "That as soon as the peace was concluded, every secret spring which the king and queen held ready in their thoughts was put into action, to draw into their nets the principal Huguenots, and do by artifice what they had so many times attempted by means of war." ‡

Catherine dissembled the vexation she experienced, on finding the Queen of Navarre and her friends retire to Rochelle. She saw that it would be impossible to effect her purpose while the admiral remained there, and enjoyed so much consideration; for, in fact, he had more authority in that town than the king had in Paris, although, for the sake of appearance, the two princes were his nominal superiors: whatever was to be done, he was applied to for instructions. Still he conducted himself so properly, that he prevented any jealousy or suspicion arising in the minds of the Queen of Navarre or the princes. §

The queen, however, considered that too great a

change in her behaviour towards the Protestants would fail in winning their good opinion, as it would increase their suspicions, and set them upon observing her more closely. She therefore made her son assume the public direction of affairs, and convinced him of the necessity of completely gaining their confidence. During the whole of the year 1571, the greatest anxiety was displayed that the last treaty should be punctually observed. Everything was done that could appear calculated to strengthen the new alliance, and care taken to avoid every measure capable of renewing hostile feelings.

Upon a pretext of this kind, Marshal Cossé was sent to Rochelle, accompanied by Malassise and La Routiere, two of the queen's confidential creatures; but the real object of the mission was to watch the motions of the Protestants, to sound their minds, and lead them to a state of complete confidence, which was absolutely necessary for Catherine's designs. She forgot nothing which was likely to inspire it; and Marshal Montmorency was sent to Rouen, with the president Morsan, to punish some excesses committed against the Huguenots. Every infraction of the treaty was severely punished, and Charles usually called it *his* peace. He artfully declared on all occasions, that he had been induced to make this treaty that he might support the princes of the blood against the overgrown power of the Guises, whom he accused of conspiring with Spain to trouble the kingdom.*

The Queen of Navarre and the princes were more satisfied with the treaty than the admiral, who remained a little in suspense before he would trust entirely to the king's professions. These doubts on the part of Coligny, instead of cooling the king's ardour, only excited him to more powerful means for drawing the Huguenots to court. "The king and the queen," says Davila, "were spurred on by an extreme desire to see their designs carried into effect." †

Some deputies had been sent to the king from the Protestants. Charles gave them the kindest reception: he even advanced to Blois to meet them; and, when they quitted Paris, he caressed them very much, and loaded them with presents. ‡ So anxious was the king to draw the admiral to court, that he hesitated at nothing which tended to overcome his reluctance. Such unnecessary condescensions on the part of the king ought to have confirmed Coligny's suspicions; for, however kindly disposed a sovereign may feel towards his subjects, there is no necessity for him to throw aside his dignity in expressing his good will. A kind reception in his palace would have contented the deputies, without his going out to meet them on the road. Charles satisfied them on every point; and, to display a personal regard for Coligny, he offered to write to the Duke of Savoy, in behalf of his wife, whose lands that duke had confiscated, on the ground of her having married without his consent. §

Marshal Cossé did not fail to enlarge upon these proofs of sincerity; and after he had made some

* Sully, liv. 1. Davila, liv. 5. D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 3.
† Davila, liv. 5.

‡ Sully, liv. 1.

§ Vie de Coligny, p. 389. The lady was Jacqueline de Monbel, daughter of Count d'Autremont, and widow of the Baron d'Anthon: the marriage took place soon after the peace.

* Dated 18th June, 1571.

† De Thou, liv. 47.

‡ Davila, liv. 5, p. 578.

§ Vie de Coligny, p. 387.

advances in the confidence of the Queen of Navarre, he began to discuss more seriously a project for marrying the prince her son with the Princess Margaret, sister of Charles IX. He was authorised to promise, on the king's part, a dowry of four hundred thousand crowns. A princess of Cleves was proposed for Condé; and the admiral was to be put in possession of the estates of his late brother, the Cardinal de Chatillon,* and receive a present of one hundred thousand crowns. Coligny did in fact enjoy the property for one year, and Charles gave the above sum to refurnish his house at Chatillon.†

To strengthen the effect of Cossé's proposal, Biron was sent to repeat the offers. He described the feelings of the court against Philip II., who was thought to have poisoned his wife, the king's sister.‡ After demanding a promise of secrecy, he stated that Charles was determined to avenge it, by carrying the war into Flanders and Artois; the restitution of which should be demanded of the King of Spain, as ancient fiefs of the crown. Navarre also was to be claimed, and the Prince of Orange was to be assisted in maintaining possession of Mons. As an irresistible bait, Biron added, that the king had his eye on the admiral to command the army in the Low Countries, with the title of viceroy, and that he would have the nomination of the general officers to serve under him.§ Biron was reputed to be favourably inclined to the Huguenots, and was expected, in consequence, to succeed better in gaining Coligny's confidence than any other person. He told the admiral that the king, being desirous to put an end to the civil wars, wished to employ the warlike spirit of the nation abroad; and as he could find no persons so proper for the projected war in Flanders as him and Nassau, he wished very much that they should both go to court to confer upon it. The king and queen rightly thought that the hope of this war would have an irresistible effect on the admiral; they therefore dwelt more upon it than on any other topic. But the marriage was also dwelt upon as a firm pledge of peace. "Who," said Biron, "would be so rash as to dare to excite dissensions between two brothers-in-law?"||

The Queen of Navarre felt great aversion to the proposed marriage; but Coligny was so pleased with the prospect of a war with Spain, that he was inclined to go to court almost directly it was proposed to him. Any backwardness which he might have felt disappeared when Teligny arrived, and informed him that nothing could be farther from the king's intentions than to break the peace. His wife, however, had sufficient influence to prevent his going at that time: she convinced him that he would commit an unparalleled imprudence in confiding in a princess who had so often forfeited her word to him, and by going to a king whose disposition was so ferocious, that if any violent resolution were discussed he would be the foremost in supporting it. Coligny yielded more out of affection for his wife than for any weight which he attached to her reasons; and instead of

going to court he sent Teligny, whom the king received with marked attentions.*

So many favours continued to delude the admiral, but nothing contributed so much to it as the king's informing him, by Teligny, that he began to discover the slavery in which his mother held him; that she gave the preference to his brother the Duke of Anjou; governed the kingdom so badly that it was in danger of being reduced to nothing; and, as a remedy, he was resolved on removing them both to a distance; but, having need of his servants, he should be pleased to avail himself of the admiral's counsels. And that if he would not go to court, for reasons which he could not comprehend, at least he should send some person with whom he could confer, not only on these matters, but also on the war in Flanders, which he should afterwards be glad to undertake. This proposal was irresistible, and Louis of Nassau was sent to discuss the affair with Charles IX.†

Whether it was to amuse the Protestants, and lull them into supineness, or to prevent any assistance being sent from England, which would have created obstacles to the execution of her design, or whether in reality the queen-mother did desire such an alliance is uncertain, but it is known that Catherine proposed and promoted a marriage between the Queen of England and the Duke of Anjou. The negotiations were carried to a great length; even to discuss the extent which was to be allowed the duke, in the exercise of the Catholic religion.‡ The queen-mother wished to appear eager that the marriage should take place, although she knew that Elizabeth was of too high a spirit to submit to the control of wedlock; but the chance of seeing Anjou removed to a distance was pleasing to the Protestants, and the proposal remaining undecided was likely to prevent any treaty for a marriage between her and the Prince of Bearn from being thought of.§ For the bare idea of such a support would have rallied the Protestant party, and their projected destruction would have been impracticable.

The king testified great joy when he heard that Louis of Nassau was coming to him: he sent word for him to travel incognito for fear of exciting the jealousy of the Spaniards. Louis found the king at Fontenay: he was received with numerous caresses, and Charles professed to unbosom himself: he restored the castle of Orange, which had hitherto been held by the French troops. The report which Louis made, added to the message previously sent by Teligny, removed all the admiral's scruples, and he resolved to go to the king. His wife tried every means to dissuade him, but in vain: he asked her, if for some frivolous fears he ought to renounce the benefits which might accrue to the Protestant religion from the marriage of the prince with the king's sister; and in spite of her tears and entreaties he set out from Rochelle for Blois, where the court then was, having previously requested the king's permission to be accompanied by fifty gentlemen, not that he distrusted the royal word, but to protect himself from private enemies.||

Coligny went to Blois in September, 1571. On arriving in the king's presence, he went on his knee, but Charles raised and embraced him, calling

* He was poisoned at Southampton by his valet. Vie de Coligny, De Thou, and Lappeliere.

† D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 5.

‡ A preacher of Madrid having made an allusion to the death of this princess, in one of his sermons, was banished to America. Brantome, *Vie d'Elizabeth de F.*

§ Sully, liv. 1.

|| Davila, liv. 5.

* Vie de Coligny, p. 389.

† Vie de Coligny, Mezeray, and L'Etoile.

‡ Mezeray, *Abregé Chron.*

§ Davila, liv. 5.

|| Vie de Coligny and Mezeray.

him his father. The expression of his joy was of the warmest kind: "I hold you now," said the king; "yes, I hold you, and you shall not leave me again: this is the happiest day of my life." The queen, the Dukes of Anjou and Alençon, and the principal nobles, all testified great joy at the return of the admiral to court. The Queen of Navarre accompanied Coligny to Blois, but soon returned to Rochelle.*

The king's kindness excited the jealousy of the courtiers: he restored to Coligny all his former pensions, and admitted him to his councils, preferring his advice to that of all others. He several times remained alone with him, and discoursed upon the marriage of his sister, and the war in Flanders; taking care to confirm what had been mentioned to him by Teligny, about the queen-mother and the Duke of Anjou. When he had remained some days at the court, the admiral thought he could safely take a journey to Châtillon; and when he asked the king's permission, that monarch pretended to take an interest in his safety, told him not to go alone, and allowed him to keep an armed force in his chateau.†

He remained at Châtillon five weeks, during which time he continually received letters from Rochelle, urging him to take care of himself, and go back to his friends. But he attributed all these letters to a distrustful spirit which wanted healing.‡ And when some persons remonstrated with him on the fault he committed in going to court, he said, "I trust in my king, and in his word, otherwise to live in such alarms would not be living; and it is much better to die at once, than to live a hundred years in fear."§

At the expiration of that time, the king wrote him a letter requiring his presence for the negotiation of a treaty with the Queen of England and the princes of Germany, in order that, when his forces were occupied in Flanders, he might be free from any interruption on their part.¶ On this occasion the admiral was more caressed than before: the courtiers murmured, the clergy were indignant, and the people expected the king would soon embrace the Protestant religion; even the Guises, who knew of his design, had apprehensions lest, in the excellence of his dissimulation, he should turn these feints against them.¶

Such professions of friendship, while a most dreadful crime was in contemplation, appear incredible; but there is too much evidence to admit any doubt of the fact that Charles IX. and his mother wished to assemble all the leading Huguenots at Paris, and have them at their disposal, either to imprison or kill them, as a measure necessary to insure the complete abolition of every privilege enjoyed by the Protestants. On a former occasion, the king had converted the sacrament of baptism into a snare for the admiral; now his sister's marriage was employed for effecting his purpose.

The king and queen communicated their plans to none, besides the Duke of Anjou, the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Duke of Guise, and Albert Gondy, Count de Retz, a detestable character, and who is said to have given the finish to the corrupt habits of

the king:* some add to this number, Birague and Tavannes, which is probable. The secrecy observed was so profound, that, in addition to the intended effect of their measures on the minds of the Huguenots, the pope became uneasy at the favour which was shown them. He was alarmed at the projected marriage, and refused his dispensation for it. He wrote a letter to the king, to dissuade him from the measure.† He expressed the great uneasiness that he felt on account of the marriage being hurried to a conclusion, in the vain hope that the princess might bring back the prince to the Catholic religion; but that it was rather to be feared that she would be perverted by him. Pius embraced several subjects in his letter, but there is a great reason to suspect that his written communications were only a blind for the verbal messages which he sent by the trusty Bishop of St. Papoul. "Our venerable brother," says the pontiff, "will treat with you upon this affair, and upon the reconciliation so fatal to the Catholics."‡

The Duke of Guise had cherished the hope of marrying the king's sister: he had long entertained a violent passion for the princess, and her affection for him was undisguised. The house of Lorraine was desirous that this union should take place; and when an ambassador from Portugal demanded Margaret's hand, in the name of his sovereign, the Cardinal of Lorraine said to him very haughtily, "The head of my house has married the eldest daughter, and a younger branch shall have the younger princess."§ This arrogant prediction, however, was not verified, although the princess openly declared she would have no other husband than the Duke of Guise.¶

Whether the ardour of Guise's passion abated, or, being influenced by the Cardinal of Lorraine, he esteemed the destruction of Coligny and his friends a more important thing, or was alarmed at the displeasure of his sovereign, is unknown, but he withdrew his pretensions, and retired from court, to the great satisfaction of the Huguenots. The king, being fearful that Guise's passion for his sister might mar his plans, had taken measures for removing such an obstruction. The princess was at a ball, when Guise presented himself elegantly attired; the king stopped him at the door, and without offering his caresses and embraces as usual, he asked where he was going? Guise replied, "That he came there to serve his majesty;" to which Charles answered, "That he had no need of his services."¶ But it was not sufficient to have shown Guise that he disapproved of his proceeding, for the princess might persist in giving him encouragement; and, although one of his confidential friends, Charles resolved on putting him to death. He thus addressed the grand prior,¶ a natural son of Henry II.: "Of these two swords which thou seest, one is to kill thee, if to-morrow, when I am hunting, thou dost not kill the Duke of Guise with the other."** To prevent any effects of the king's

* Brantome, in his life of Charles, gives some account of Gondy, whom he describes as possessing every bad quality; and, in speaking of his family, he adds, that his father traded at Lyons, where he became a bankrupt, and his mother kept a house of ill-fame.

† The letter is dated 25th Jan. 1572.

‡ *Esprit de la Ligue*, vol. ii.

§ Davila, liv. 5.

¶ *Ibid.*

¶ Sometimes styled Chevalier, sometimes Duke d'Angoulême: he was killed at Aix, in 1586.

** Mathieu, liv. 6, p. 333. De Thou, liv. 47, vol. vi. p. 62.

* Lapopeliniere, liv. 25. De Thou, liv. 50.

† *Vie de Coligny*, p. 392.

‡ De Thou, liv. 51, vol. vi.

§ Brantome, vol. viii. p. 205.

¶ *Vie de Coligny*, p. 393.

¶ Mezeray, *Abregé Chron.*

irritation, Guise decided the next day on marrying Catherine of Cleves. Although a princess of great beauty, fortune, and accomplishments, she was not to be compared with Margaret; but a thirst of power, a wish to avenge his father's death, the persuasions of his uncle, and a dread of the king's violent temper, overwhelmed every other consideration in his marriage.*

Coligny again retired to his chateau, but the king kept up a constant correspondence with him; and in his letters asked his advice respecting some very secret affairs.† The admiral, being now completely deceived, contributed all his efforts to persuade the Queen of Navarre: he conjured her not to oppose what would be so beneficial to the reformed religion; repeated that the marriage was to seal peace, and that testifying the suspicions which she harboured was therefore the worst thing she could do. He admitted that two points gave him concern: the credit of the Duke of Anjou, and the friendship between the king and the Spanish government; but the duke was ready to set out for Poland, where Catherine was taking measures for his election to the throne, on the vacancy, which, from the illness of Sigismund, could not be very distant; and concerning Spain, he knew better than any one about that subject, and it only required the king to see his real interests, for him to decide on a war. The Queen of Navarre being thus entreated by one in whom she placed confidence, and public report corroborating the admiral's assertions, she consented to her son's marriage, and prepared to go to court.‡

Pius V. made another effort to prevent the marriage, by sending his nephew, Cardinal Alexandrin, to dissuade the king.§ Charles excused himself from granting the pope's request, which was to give Margaret in marriage to the King of Portugal: but being pressed with questions, and fearing lest his silence should expose him to animadversion at Rome for his condescension to the Protestants, he requested the legate to assure the holy father of his filial obedience; and, pressing his hand, said, "Oh! that I were at liberty to explain myself further." This conversation has been disputed, because it clearly proves the treachery of the king and queen. But it is beyond doubt that the king excused himself to the legate.|| "He could not," says a contemporary, "with honour revoke the promise given to the Prince of Bearn, but he wished the pope to be satisfied that it was arranged for a good object, even the honour and advancement of the Catholic faith: the extraordinary favour likewise which he bestowed on the Huguenots tended to no other end."¶

Everything was arranged for the marriage by the middle of April: the pope's dispensation, on account of their consanguinity, was alone wanting, and Pius refused to give it. Charles was very indignant at this obstinacy, and declared, with his usual oaths, that, if the pope would be so stupid, he would take his sister by the hand, and conduct her to a Huguenot church to be married.** We have

no means of ascertaining whether this difficulty with the dispensation was studied, and the king's anger entire pretence; or whether Pius V. was really averse to the prostitution of one of the sacraments of his church, even for effecting the suppression of heresy. His death, however, removed all difficulty: he expired on the first of May, and was succeeded by Hugh Buon Compagnon, a Bolognese, who assumed the title of Gregory XIII. The new Pontiff readily granted the dispensation, and the first of June was fixed for the nuptials; some difficulties, however, being urged by the Cardinal of Bourbon caused a further postponement.*

The Queen of Navarre arrived in Paris towards the end of May; on the ninth of June she died. An opinion prevailed throughout France that she had been poisoned, and great pains were taken to efface such a notion. Indeed, at this time there had been such a series of crimes, that the suspicion is not at all surprising; neither can we be astonished at the extreme ferocity of the populace in general, which soon after displayed itself, for the court was an assemblage of all that was vicious and depraved. Prefex, Archbishop of Paris, declares that there never was a more corrupt court: "impiety, atheism, necromancy, most horrible pollutions, black cowardice, perfidy, poisonings and assassinations, reigned there in a supreme degree."† The historian Davila informs us, that not only did everything proceed to the wish of their majesties, but had arrived to such a point, that the execution could no longer be delayed, in consequence of the feeling excited by the taking of Mons. He adds, "The first stroke of this execution was lanced against the person of the Queen of Navarre, who, on account of her sex and royal condition, was poisoned, as it is thought, by means of certain gloves which were presented to her, the poison of which was so subtle, that very soon after she had handled them, she was seized with a violent fever, of which she died four days afterwards. Her death, so sudden and unexpected, caused suspicions among the Huguenots; and the king, who knew that the force of the poison had affected the brain alone, ordered the body to be opened, which was found perfect; but they did not touch the head, under pretence of humanity; and, on the testimony of those of the profession, the report circulated that she died a natural death through the malignity of the fever."‡ Such suspicions attaching to the death of this princess ought to have stimulated the court to make everything as clear as possible, supposing them to be unfounded; but we find the greatest contradictions in the different accounts given by those who attempt to defend the court. Le Grain contends that it was pleurisy, others consumption; some say the head was opened, others not. De Thou relates that the surgeons attributed her death to an abscess in the chest;§ while some venture to assert that she died of vexation and spite for having been compelled to place hangings before her house on account of the procession of the *Fête-Dieu*. Voltaire,|| with his usual contempt for every generally-received opinion, rejects the charge as vulgar, although in another work he makes use of the following expression:

* Mazaray, — *Abregé Chron.*

† Hist. de Henri IV.

‡ Davila, liv. 5.

§ Cayet says the same, liv. 1, p. 129.

|| In his notes on the *Henriade*.

* Davila, liv. 5, p. 588.

† L'Etoile, *in loc.*

‡ Vie de Coligny, p. 394.

§ De Thou, liv. 51.

¶ Alexandrinus honorifice in aula exceptus, re tamen infecta dimissus est: ita enim vulgo ferebatur, ac passim totâ Gallia creditum est." Eremundus, *De furoribus Gallicis*, p. 371. This paper has been attributed to F. Hotman.

¶ Lapopeliniere, liv. 25. Mem. de Tavannes, p. 378.

** L'Etoile, *in loc.*

"She (Catharine) feared no other enemies than Jane d'Albret, Coligny, and the Protestants; and she thought that with one blow she could destroy them all and firmly establish her power."*

Many, who consider as preposterous the premeditation of a general massacre, are willing to admit that the leading Protestants were doomed to destruction, as the only method of subduing the rebellious heretics. But to murder, or even imprison the Queen of Navarre, would have made the court odious to the whole world: some other method of removing her was therefore necessary; and notwithstanding the declaration of the surgeons, that her death was not caused by poison, the suspicion must continue to exist, so long as all parties agree in two material points—the shortness of her illness, it being only four days; and the surprise which it caused, a circumstance from which her previous health may be inferred, in spite of the consumption under which she is said to have laboured, or the supposed abscess in her chest. At the time of her decease this queen was in her forty-second year. "She was a woman," says Davila, "of invincible courage, very great understanding, and bravery far beyond her sex. These eminent qualities, accompanied with a remarkable modesty, and unexampled generosity, would have procured for her an eternal commendation, if she had not been imbued with the opinions of Calvin, and obstinately adhered to them, through her desire to penetrate the profound mysteries of theology, unaided by the sciences."†

This melancholy event caused a further delay in celebrating the marriage of the Prince of Bearne, who now assumed the title of King of Navarre. The king and his detestable mother were obliged also to defer the execution of their contemplated coup-d'état: time was thus given for several Protestants of rank to retire from Paris, for many felt alarmed in consequence of the sudden death of Jane d'Albret. The Baron de Rosny, father of the celebrated Sully, had from the first entertained so unfavourable a presentiment of the marriage, that he declared several times, "If it takes place in Paris, the wedding favours will be crimson."‡

CHAPTER XXVII.

Review of the proofs of a premeditated attack upon the Protestants—Attempted assassination of Coligny.

It was Coligny's destiny to be blinded as he approached the close of his career, or he must have been astonished at the excessive kindness and attention which he received at court. His wariness had always rendered him remarkable, and formed a striking contrast with his present infatuation. § Several of his friends took alarm, and many who could not conveniently quit Paris retired from the city to the suburbs. Marshal Montmorency, although a Catholic, was not free from suspicion; and, pretending illness, he retired to his seat at Chantilly; nor could he be persuaded to return, although repeatedly pressed by the king and

queen. Two reasons are assigned for this step on his part: one, that when Montluc, Bishop of Valence, quitted Paris for Poland, to negotiate for the Duke of Anjou's election to the throne of that country,* he having in some measure penetrated the secret recommended several of his friends to remove.† The other cause was the interception of a letter from Cardinal Pellevé at Rome to the Cardinal of Lorraine, which indicated the contemplation of some treachery. This letter may have been a fabrication, but a copy of it was certainly shown to Coligny; and whether it were genuine or not, there must have existed suspicions, to have caused it to be written.‡

A gentleman, named Langoiran, who was very much attached to the admiral, was among the number of those who prudently withdrew from Paris. When he called to take leave of Coligny, the latter expressed surprise, and inquired why he wished to quit him. "Because," said Langoiran, "we are too much caressed here; and I would rather save my life with fools than lose it with those who are too wise."§ But all these circumstances produced no effect upon Coligny, who, believing that some beneficial results would accrue to the reformed religion from the marriage of the King of Navarre, attributed these reports and suspicions to the machinations of those who wished to prevent it. To convince the king that he placed unbounded confidence in him, and at the same time to obtain more attention to his advice respecting the war in Flanders, he offered to give up the cautionary towns before the time fixed for their surrender.|| The Huguenots murmured greatly at this step on his part, and the people of Rochelle would not consent to surrender their town. Brantome informs us "That when Coligny was opposed in this, he always founded his reasons upon the great question of religion, saying, 'Since we have our religion, what more do we require?' From which we may learn that he was a better man and more religious than was thought; and it was this goodness which caused his ruin."¶

After a short absence Coligny again returned to Paris to be present at the marriage, free from all suspicion, and indulging in the anticipations which the projected war afforded him.** On one occasion he was at St. Cloud in company with Strozzy and Brantome, and discoursed with great cheerfulness upon the affairs of Flanders. "God be praised!" said the admiral, "everything is going on well; before long we shall have driven the Spaniard from the Low Countries, and have made our king master of them, or we will all die there, myself among the first, and I shall not care for my life if I lose it in so good a cause."††

On the eighteenth of August the marriage took place: the ceremony was performed by the Cardinal of Bourbon, on a platform erected before the door of the church of Notre-Dame, and according to a certain form agreed upon by both parties. It

* Sigismond, the last of the Jagellons, died 7th July, 1572

† Sully, liv. 1.

‡ Dr. Lingard, in replying to the Edinburgh Review, (p. 67, Paris edit.) alludes to this letter: "The copy and not the original was sent to the admiral: an original therefore must have existed.

§ Davila, d'Aubigné, and P. Daniel.

|| According to Lappopelinere, liv. 28, it was demanded by the king.

¶ Brantome, vol. viii. p. 177.

** De Thou, liv. 52.

†† Brantome, vol. viii. p. 179.

* Essai sur les Guerres Civiles de France.

† Davila, liv. 5, p. 605.

‡ Sully, liv. 1.

§ Before the peace, M. de Thoré had invited him to meet the king, when he replied "There is no Count d'Egmont in France." Amelot de la Houssaye, *Mém. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 108.

was remarked by many persons, that when the princess was asked if she were willing to take the King of Navarre for her husband, she made no reply whatever; and the king, her brother, with his hand made her incline her head, which was taken for her assent, although it was known that she had repeatedly declared that Guise alone should be her husband, and that she could not reconcile herself to taking one of his greatest enemies.* When the ceremony was concluded, the King of Navarre and his Protestant friends retired, while his bride went into the church to hear mass. A grand dinner was afterwards given at the episcopal palace adjoining, and for the four following days all Paris was occupied with fêtes, ballets, and other amusements.†

It was during these festivities that the final arrangements were made for executing the designs of the court upon the Protestants. A resolution to massacre so many persons, because they refused to adopt the ceremonials of the Roman Church, is so diabolical, that it is no wonder its premeditation should be doubted, and the affair attributed principally to the irritation of the moment. It was to avert such an imputation that all the parties became in a measure their own accusers, in order to establish the proofs of the minor offence, and thus escape a portion of the ignominy which became their due. The Abbé Anquetil lays the blame entirely on Catherine, who was alarmed at the confidence which Charles IX. placed in the admiral. "The Queen," he observes, "was cautioned by Villequier, De Saure, and Retz, assiduous and penetrating courtiers, in whom also the king placed great confidence, that her son was about to escape from her; that he was completely gained over by the Protestants; and that without some violent remedy they could not hope to bring him back."‡ She availed herself of an early opportunity to take the king apart, and when she had shut herself alone with him in a retired apartment, she burst upon him with bitter reproaches. Then making a display of maternal fondness, she said, with tears, "If they (the Huguenots) have the management of affairs, what will become of me? What will become of the Duke of Anjou? How shall we escape from their fury? Give me permission to return to Florence; give your brother time to make his escape." Having excited great emotions in Charles's mind, she withdrew; he followed her to another apartment, where Anjou, Retz, Tavannes, and De Saure were assembled.§ The king desired to know what were the crimes of which they had to accuse the Protestants, and received from each a long account of alarming expressions and threats which had come to their knowledge; some of them were pure inventions, many were distorted, but a few were the thoughtless words of some young nobles, who were enraptured at the favour which Coligny enjoyed. Charles promised to be on his guard with the admiral; but as he did not show a resolution to do anything decisive, they resolved on committing him with the Calvinists beyond the possibility of reconciliation: a courier was immediately sent to summon the Guises, and many other nobles and gentle-

men. "All this," says the Abbé, "took place before the marriage of the King of Navarre."*

The statement which the Duke of Anjou made to Miron, his surgeon, during his journey to Poland, does not differ materially from the preceding hypothesis; only he declares himself the originator of the plot, on account of some angry looks which the king was accustomed to give him, from the time that Coligny had been so much in favour; that, in consequence, his mother and he resolved to despatch the admiral, and the general massacre afterwards became necessary to protect them from the vengeance of the Huguenots, on one hand; on the other from the king's anger, in case he discovered that they had employed the assassin.†

Some French writers, feeling great sensibility for their national character, dwell upon the crime being altogether Italian in its origin, contrivance, and execution; while others, in their zeal for the church of Rome, represent it as an entirely political affair. But there is too much evidence to allow any impartial person to suppose that the king's friendship for Coligny was sincere, or that his eagerness to collect all the leading Protestants at Paris was unconnected with the plot. The general massacre may have been concerted but a short time previous to the fatal day; but there are so many authorities to show the perfidious intentions of the court at the peace of 1570, that if the guilt of Charles IX. and Catherine de Medicis be considered problematical, there is scarcely any fact in history which is worthy of credit. It appears, after full investigation, that the plan was to assemble the leading Huguenots; to put to death the most obnoxious, and imprison the rest; and then adopt strong measures for entirely suppressing the exercise of the reformed religion.

The following extract is from Maimbourg, who, although considered an indifferent authority as an historian, may be trusted on this subject, on account of his violence against the Protestant religion:—"But not to dissemble, as the queen did in this treaty, there is every appearance that a peace of this kind was not made in good faith on the part of this princess, who had her concealed designs, and who granted such things to the Huguenots only to disarm them, and afterwards to surprise those upon whom she wished to be revenged, and especially the admiral, at the first favourable opportunity which she should have for it."‡ He adds, that the king and queen very frequently held a council upon this business; that the king, having sworn he would never forget or pardon the attempt on Meaux, was easily persuaded that he need not keep a promise made by ever so solemn a treaty, with him who had first violated his faith by so horrible an attempt upon the sacred person of his king; and that the only way to prevent a fourth civil war was to be beforehand with so bad a man, and assure the peace of

* *Esprit de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 27.

† The statement entitled, *Discours du Roi Henri III. à un personnage d'honneur*, &c., is printed in a great many works, but first appeared in the *Mémoires d'Etat de Villeroi*. There is, however, no proof that it was made by the Duke of Anjou; and the introductory remarks show how necessary it was for him to place his character in a more favourable light respecting the massacre. It is therefore extremely probable that the account of Miron being called in the middle of the night, &c., is inserted merely to give it greater plausibility.

‡ *Hist. du Calvinisme*, vol. ii. p. 453.

* Davila, liv. 5. p. 609.

† Le Grain, Mezeray, and others.

‡ *Esprit de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 24. The Abbé's account is taken chiefly from the statement of Tavannes.

§ *Mem. de Tavannes*, p. 416.

the kingdom by the destruction of this declared enemy of God and the king.

The confidential report which Tavannes addressed to the king, in 1571, is corroborative.* He represents, that although both parties required peace from the exhausted state of their affairs, a surprise was still possible, and the king ought to guard against it; that in fact the dispute could never be definitively settled, until one party had seized upon the leaders of the other; the Huguenot chiefs could not be taken while in their strongholds, but for them to surprise the royal family was not so difficult; force could neither obtain possession of their fortresses, nor destroy their religion, nor dissolve their foreign connexions. He recommended several precautionary measures, and concluded by observing:—"The king must keep his word, that the Huguenots should have no pretext for resuming their arms, before his majesty could take the necessary measures; for if he had time to anticipate this movement on their part, assuredly they would always be defeated." Now, the bare fact of a general representing to his sovereign the necessity of keeping his word until he had taken measures for preventing any surprise, gives fair room for inferring that he was privy to some intended violation of the treaty, on account of which the Huguenots had laid aside their arms. Brantôme alludes to this advice of Tavannes, in his life of that captain: "As it was difficult to subdue them by force, he recommended the king and queen to effect their purpose by art."†

The testimony of Percefixe, Archbishop of Paris, also displays the existence of treachery on the part of the king. "In the mean time, the king being satisfied that he could never subdue the Huguenots by force, resolved to employ other methods, more easy, but much more wicked. He took to caressing them; he pretended that he wished to treat them favourably; he granted them the greater part of their demands, and lulled them with the hope of making war in the Netherlands against Spain, which they passionately desired. And the better to decoy them, he promised, as a pledge of his faith, his sister Margaret to be married to our Henry; so that by these means he drew the principal chiefs of that party to Paris."‡

Davila's assertion is unequivocal:§ "But as the stratagems formerly practised had always produced but little benefit, either because ministers had perfidiously divulged them, or the queen had conducted herself with some hesitation and too much respect;

or the Huguenot princes had distrusted her inclination and wishes; so at this time a most complete and favourable issue was expected. For the most secret designs were no longer confided to any but ministers deeply interested, in addition to the attention which the king himself gave. The principal difficulty consisted in rallying the minds of the Huguenot nobility, and from the suspicions in which they indulged to lead them to such a pitch of confidence that they should feel no apprehension in coming to court unarmed."*

Unless the affair of Lignerolles can be effaced from the page of history, we have another clear proof that a plot was in contemplation previous to Coligny's quitting Rochelle to go to court. That young man was a favourite of the Duke of Anjou, who bestowed on him so much confidence that he imparted the king's design, and explained the reasons of such kindness being shown to the Protestants. It happened one day that the king having given an audience to the Huguenot deputies dismissed them affably, and immediately after they had withdrawn, he threw off his restraint, and showed very great displeasure at the insolence of their demands. Lignerolles, proud of possessing a secret of such importance, and with a thoughtlessness common to his age, approached the king, and observed, that his majesty had only to be patient for a short time; that he should laugh at the impudence and temerity of those people, since, by an interview already contrived, he would have them in his nets in a few days, and could punish them as he thought proper. Charles was astonished at such a remark, and did not know how to reply; he pretended not to hear him, and retired in a rage to a private apartment, where he sent for De Retz, thinking it was he who had imparted the secret to Lignerolles. Charles upbraided him with the kindnesses he had conferred upon him, and then declared that he would punish his perfidy and ingratitude. De Retz persisted in a denial, and offered to remain in prison until the affair was cleared up: this removed the charge from him, and the queen-mother was sent for. She heard her son's complaint; told him, with a smile, that she did not need his instructions how to keep a secret; and cautioned him against making known, by his impatience, what he thought had been put in evidence by others. Charles then began to display his rage: he sent for the Duke of Anjou, who freely confessed what he had told Lignerolles, but assured his brother that the secret was safe with him. "I will make sure of that," replied the king, "for, before he has time to speak of it, it shall cost him his life." Anjou took no pains to dissuade his brother from the murder, either not daring to oppose the violence of the king, or being vexed at the imprudence of his favourite. George Villequier, Viscount de La Guerche, was then summoned to the royal presence, and received a command to get rid of Lignerolles that very day, in any way whatever. He, being a secret enemy of his victim, readily undertook the commission, and, being joined by Count Charles de Mansfeld, they assassinated Lignerolles while hunting, the king and his brother purposely galloping to a distance from them. Charles, with his usual dissimulation, pretended anger, and sent the two assassins to prison; whence after a short time they were re-

* This report is not to be found in the Memoirs of Marshal Tavannes; but in those of William de Saulx, Seigneur de Tavannes, p. 411, in vol. xxxv. of Petitot's Collection. The Marshal (Gaspard de Saulx de Tavannes) had two sons, viz., William, above-mentioned, and John, commonly called the Viscount Tavannes: the latter published his father's memoirs, to which I have uniformly referred as *Mém. de Tavannes*. I have made use of the folio edition printed at Lyons.

† His words are *par la voye du renard*, vol. ix. p. 112.

‡ Hist. de Henri le Grand, p. 13. Amsterdam, 1682.

§ Dr. Lingard (in his *Vindication*) represents Davila as unworthy of credit; but I persist in thinking him good authority for several reasons. His family were in the household of Catherine; and himself, his brother, and John Hemery de Villers, his sister's husband, were all in the royal armies; he was therefore constantly in the company of those who could rightly appreciate the transactions of this period. His bias, moreover, is so decidedly favourable to Catherine, that the Abbé Anquetil observes of his history, "We should distrust Davila when he writes in favour of the court." Surely such a person would have avoided exaggeration in describing a case which, at the time he wrote, required all possible palliation on behalf of his friend and patron.

* Davila, liv. 5, p. 578.

leased upon the pressing application of the Duke of Angoulême.*

The Duke of Nevers has also added his testimony, which is the more valuable as he was known to detest the reformed religion. "The admiral," says he, "proposed the war in Flanders, with the most flattering representations; but the king would hear nothing of it, for fear of offending his brother-in-law, the most Catholic King. His Majesty wishing to avoid such a misfortune, and thinking to destroy the Huguenots, rather than their heresy, ordered the St. Bartholomew in August, 1572."†

The king and queen had spared no exertions in drawing Coligny to court, but, when they had effected that object, they were undecided how they should carry their plan into execution: that was rendered still more difficult, on account of the admiral's arriving about eight months before the Queen of Navarre. For, however unfounded the idea of a war in Flanders may have been originally, the king was obliged to converse frequently with Coligny upon that subject; and the admiral, with his sanguine calculations, had created in Charles's mind a desire to annex those provinces to his dominions. So that, rebel as he had been, he appeared on this occasion a zealous promoter of the dignity of France; and the personal hatred which had existed against him began to abate in the monarch's mind. Duplessis Mornay drew up a memoir, which the admiral presented to Charles IX.; it strongly urged the prosecution of a war in Flanders, and concluded thus: "To sum up, you will acquire a territory to which none of your provinces can be compared in extent, beauty, riches, population, towns, and conveniences, both by sea and by land, from which you may easily draw an annual contribution of a million (livres), &c. And you, sire, who will have received with immortal honour the incredible advantage of such a conquest, shall be so feared by your enemies, so cherished by your friends and allies, that your fortune will speedily open the way for your becoming the greatest monarch of Christendom."‡

The following, if not a complete proof of the king's deception, is at least an evidence of the duplicity attributed to him by his contemporaries. On the Wednesday before the admiral was wounded, as the said nobleman conversed with his majesty concerning *the religion*, he said, "My father, I beg you will give me only four or five days to make merry; after that, I promise you, on the faith of a king, that I will satisfy you, and all those of your religion."§

Coligny perceived that his words had great effect upon the king; it was that which made him so heedless of all the warnings he received, and it is very possible that, but for the execrable queen-mother, who would not relinquish her project, the reproaches of conscience, added to the prospect of territorial acquisition displayed by Coligny, would have overcome resolutions formed in a troubled day, and made Charles inattentive to the calls of bigotry and rage. If these circumstances are taken into consideration, many contradictory accounts may be reconciled; and although, at the conclusion of the peace in 1570, the king was most forward

in the plot, it afterwards required all the influence and exertions of Catherine and the Duke of Anjou to keep him to his first resolution. Charles fluctuated between the martial feeling which the admiral had kindled, and the rancour which his fiend-like mother fanned incessantly: at last she excited his fears, by a persuasion that great personal danger awaited him: he joined in her purposes, and must share her infamy.

It is impossible to fix on any period as the precise time when the murderous resolution was adopted, for secrecy is essential to a plot. No one denies the memorable expression of Charles IX.: "I consent to the admiral's death; but let there not remain one Huguenot to reproach me with it afterwards:" the contested point is, whether it was uttered *before* or *after* the attempt to kill Coligny. Caveyrac acknowledges that the death of the leaders and factious was decided on.* Anquetil states that *before* the marriage took place a resolution was formed to commit the king with the Protestants, beyond the possibility of a reconciliation.† The younger Tavannes, in vindicating his father's memory, makes use of the following words: "It is a fact that the Huguenots were alone the cause of their massacres, by placing the king in the necessity of a war with Spain or with them. His majesty, by the advice of Tavannes, chose that which was least prejudicial, being as salutary for the Catholic religion as for the state. And as Tavannes is accused of giving this counsel, all those of the Catholic religion must esteem and praise him, considering that if he had not, by his good advice, prevented the marriage of England with M. d'Anjou (that of the King of Navarre being already concluded, and the King Charles being bent upon the war with Spain), inevitably the kingdom of France, and ultimately all Christendom, except Italy and Spain, would be of the heretical party. And since this stroke of the St. Bartholomew, they have constantly diminished and become weaker. Let honour then be given to those to whom it belongs: not that these great murders are praiseworthy, but for having avoided and prevented three quarters of Europe from being connected with the heretical party by marriages and alliances, and for having diverted from France a most dangerous war with Spain, at a time when the kingdom was enfeebled."‡ This passage indicates the king's participation in the plot *before* the attempt on Coligny's life, for an alternative afterwards was impossible. Brantome gives similar testimony: "The king, therefore, not desiring to make use of him (the admiral) in such good affairs, was either of himself, or by some of his council, persuaded to have him killed."§ It cannot be supposed that the death of Coligny alone would have answered the purpose of the king or his mother: another captain would have taken his place; and the King of Navarre's increasing experience made him nearly equal to take the command without assistance: any attempt upon his life was necessarily accompanied with some measure for preventing his death from being avenged; and on that account, in addition to the different authorities which have been produced, there is sufficient reason for concluding that

* Davila, liv. 5. De Thou, liv. 50. Brantome, *Discours sur les duels*, Bassompierre, *Novv. M. m.*, p. 100.

† Mem. de Nevers, vol. ii. p. 16.

‡ Mem. de Duplessis, vol. i. p. 1.

§ Mem. de l'Estolle, vol. i. p. 22.

* Dissertation sur le St. Barthélemy, p. 25.

† Esprit de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 26.

‡ Mem. de Tavannes, p. 419.

§ Brantome, vol. viii. p. 182.

Charles was a party to the premeditation of the massacre.

Catherine's tortuous policy exhibits a line of conduct unparalleled in history; nothing appeared criminal in furtherance of her views; but no sooner was her object attained, than her own work was condemned to destruction, from some idea which she had subsequently conceived. During the wars she lamented the defeats of the Huguenots, because they increased the importance of the Guises; and it was frequently her policy to attack that family in turn. If the Huguenot leaders were doomed to destruction, common prudence made her inquire what barriers she could in future oppose to the house of Lorraine, the head of which considered himself equal to the princes of the blood; and who, if he made an attempt to possess the throne, would be certain of the Romish and Spanish influence in his behalf. De Retz proposed a measure which promised the destruction of the Protestants, and rendered very probable the removal of some of the Guises: the plan suited her views, and policy justified it to her conscience.

That proposal was to this effect: that, although it was easy of execution, and quite just, to kill all the Huguenots, still it was desirable to have a pretext for it: if the life of the admiral alone were taken, every one would think the Guises had done it, and the Huguenots in their rage would fall upon that family; the Parisians would support their favourites, and the Huguenots would certainly be overwhelmed; the object would thus be accomplished, and the fault imputed to the private resentment of the house of Lorraine, and not to the deliberations of the court.* Some accounts give this further development: when both parties were exhausted and reduced, the king was to march from the Louvre, at the head of his guards, and punish the rebellious on both sides; no impediment would then exist, to prevent the re-establishment of the king's authority.†

An assassin was soon found to despatch the admiral: it was Maurevel, the same who killed Mouy at Nîort, and who was known as the *King's assassin*.‡ By whom he was employed on this occasion is immaterial, for Guise was so desirous of avenging his father's death, that the king's permission to satisfy his resentment was all he required; he would therefore become a willing instrument in the hands of the court.§ Still it is probable that revenge executed by a hireling would not have suited his courageous character; and the fact of Maurevel being employed affords a presumptive proof that the proposal of De Retz was in reality that which was decided upon.

Maurevel took his post in the house of Villemur, a canon of St. Germain L'Auxerrois, and who had been tutor to the Duke of Guise. He waited some days before he had an opportunity, but on Friday the 22nd of August, Coligny was returning from the Louvre, and walked very slowly, as he was reading some papers.|| Maurevel fired on him

from behind a curtain; his piece was loaded with two balls, which struck the admiral, one in each arm. He pointed to the spot whence the blow came, but before his attendants could force their way in, the assassin had made his escape upon a horse belonging to the king's stables, which was waiting for him by the cloisters of the church.*

This event caused great confusion among all parties. The Protestant leaders hastened to Coligny's house to discuss the affair, but amidst the numerous opinions given, no conclusion was adopted. When the admiral's wounds had been dressed, and the first dismay had subsided, it was resolved that they should complain to the king, and demand justice, the general impression being that it was the work of the Guises. The calculations of De Retz were thus proved to be correct, and the suspicion fell where it was intended. But Maurevel's aim was not sufficiently true; and Coligny being still alive, his friends were advised by him, instead of taking justice into their own hands. Had he been killed on the spot, there is every probability that the Huguenots would have taken arms immediately; but, whatever resentment was expressed by any of them, their defenceless state, when they were attacked soon after, shows that no violence was meditated among them. Their coolness rendered a change necessary in the plans of the court.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Massacre of the Saint Bartholomew.

THE king was playing at tennis when he was told that Coligny was wounded, and that the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were coming to him, to demand justice against the Guises. The circumstance both surprised and alarmed him: Maurevel had so seldom failed in despatching his victim, that his blow had been looked upon as sure; and, on the other hand, it could not have been expected that the Huguenots would think of seeking redress from him. Their prompt application, by bringing him so directly in contact with the Duke of Guise, placed him in a dilemma. He threw away his racket in a passion; and, after giving vent to a number of oaths, declared he would have the assassin sought for, even in the recesses of Guise's hotel.† Charles succeeded in satisfying the young princes that the assassin should meet with exemplary punishment, and immediately ordered the President De Thou, the Provost Morsan, and Veale, a counsellor, to commence an investigation:‡ this calmed them in some measure, and made them give up the plan which they had agreed on of leaving Paris immediately.§

But the king felt convinced that something more must be done, to prevent the intended mischief from recoiling on himself: that measure required deliberation; as, in order to amuse the Huguenots, and convince them of his good will, he announced his intention of visiting the admiral in the afternoon. He could not with prudence go among the Huguenots unprotected, nor could he

* Davila, liv. 5. D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 13. Maimbourg, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 8. De Thou, liv. 52.

† Mezeray, *Abregé Chron.* Voltaire, Note to the *Henriade*.

‡ He was called *Le tueur du Roy*, ou *le tueur aux gages du Roy*. Brantôme, vol. viii. p. 182.

§ Caveyrac states that he was not present at the council.—*Dissertation sur le St. Barthélemi*, p. 3.

|| The admiral lived in the Rue Bethizy; Villemur, in the Rue des fosses St. Germain: in his way home from the Louvre, Coligny had therefore to go along the latter street.

* Sully, liv. 1. De Thou, liv. 52.

† Sully, liv. 1.

‡ Félibien, vol. ii. p. 1117.

§ D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 14. Mezeray, *Abregé Chron.*

consistently be attended by his guards ; he therefore desired that all the court should visit Coligny also.

Charles entered the admiral's dwelling, accompanied by his mother, the Duke of Anjou, De Retz and his other counsellors, the marshals of France, and a numerous suite.* He began by consoling the admiral, and then swore that the crime should be punished so severely, that his vengeance should never be effaced from the memory of man. Coligny thanked his sovereign for such testimonials of his kindness, and conjured him to support with his authority the execution of the different edicts in favour of the Protestants, many points of which were violated or misunderstood. "My father," answered the king, "depend upon it, I shall always consider you a faithful subject, and one of the bravest generals in my kingdom ; confide in me for the execution of my edicts, and for avenging you when the criminals are discovered." "They are not difficult to find out," said Coligny ; "the traces are very plain." "Tranquillise yourself," replied the king ; "a longer emotion may hurt you, and retard your cure."† The conversation then turned upon the war with Spain, and lasted near an hour. Coligny complained of the Spanish government being informed of whatever was decided on ; and as the intimacy between the queen-mother and the Spanish ambassador was very great, and caused suspicion, he spoke to the king in a low voice.‡ The war in Flanders was a subject of great alarm for Catherine ; she knew her son's secret wishes, and she dreaded the effect which Coligny's remarks might have upon him : she interrupted the conversation, and prevailed upon the king to leave the place. Charles, who was exerting himself to efface any suspicion which might have arisen in Coligny's mind, became vexed at the anxiety displayed by his mother ; and, as they were returning to the Louvre, being pressed to tell what Coligny had said, he declared with an oath, "That the admiral had said what was true, that he had suffered the authority to fall from his hands, and that he ought to become master of his own affairs."§ When the king and his suite retired, the admiral's friends expressed great astonishment at his affability, and the desire he showed to bring the crime to justice. "But," says Brantome, "all these fine appearances afterwards turned to ill, which amazed every one very much how their majesties could perform so counterfeit a part unless they had previously resolved on this massacre."||

Under pretence of protecting Coligny and his friends from any tumult which the populace might stir up in favour of the Guises, the king recommended the leading Huguenots to lodge near the

admiral, and placed a guard in the neighbourhood to defend them ; all the gates of the town (except two) were closed, and the admiral himself was invited to remove into the Louvre for security.* The real object, however, was to prevent any Huguenots of rank from escaping : when collected they were more easily watched ; and, in the execution of the murderous plan, Charles could call to mind the pithy observation of Alaric, "Thick grass is easier mown than thin." Those soldiers who were said to be for the defence of the Protestants were the Duke of Anjou's guards, and became the most zealous of their murderers ; arms were delivered out at the same time to the populace, who concealed them in their houses till the proper time.

Charles was so thorough a dissembler, that he practised his deception even in the Louvre. His sister Margaret (either anxious to palliate his conduct, or willing to believe his declarations) represents him as completely persuaded that Guise had caused the attack on the admiral. "Nothing," says she, "could appease the king ; he could neither moderate nor change his passionate desire to have justice done, constantly ordering that Guise should be sought after and arrested ; for he would not suffer such an act to remain unpunished."† But, independent of the caution with which the sister's narrative should be received, it is to be observed that this was a part of the king's original plan, and everything which he did or said was meant to throw the odium of the affair upon the Guises.

Soon after the king had quitted Coligny's chamber, the leading Protestants assembled to deliberate on their position. The Vidame of Chartres was for immediately transporting the admiral to Chatillon, and vehemently declared against placing any further confidence in the king ;‡ he recommended, also, that they should do so before the people had shown themselves openly adverse to them. Telyny was so infatuated, that he stood forward to defend the king's honour and word ; and Coligny himself was averse to showing any suspicions. "If I do so," said he, "I must display either fear or distrust ; my honour will be hurt by one, and the king will be injured by the other ; I should then be compelled to renew the civil war, and I would rather die than again see such ills."§ The Vidame, however, made another effort on the following day, and was for carrying off the admiral in a litter ; this attempt being equally unsuccessful, he left the city accompanied by several of his friends. Many violent threats are said to have been uttered by these gentlemen : they declared they would take arms, and never lay them down till they had put it out of the power of the Catholics to injure them. Their suspicions were fully excited, and, upon a review of every circumstance which then became the subject of conversation they saw how shamefully they had been ensnared. The Guises, notwithstanding their disgrace at court, had been twice seen in masks conversing with the queen, De Retz, and Birague ; and this circumstance, coupled with the king's pretended anger against them, made them decide on quitting the dangerous ground upon which they stood.||

* Mezeray.

† Mem. de la Reine Marguerite, p. 174, vol. lii. of the Collection of Memoirs, printed 1789.

‡ D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ.* vol. ii. p. 15. De Thou, liv. 52.

§ Mathieu, vol. i. liv. 6, p. 343.

|| Sully, liv. 1. De Thou, liv. 52.

* All accounts state that the king was well attended on this occasion ; it is therefore absurd to argue his ignorance of the plot, because he trusted himself *unarmed* among the Huguenots.

† D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 15. De Thou, liv. 52.

‡ The confederates seeing that this ambassador was usually present at the council where everything was discussed ; remarking, besides, the friendly discourse which the Spaniard held frequently with the queen and his excellency, and the secret conversation which they had the greater part of the time, made some think that all did not pull together ; so that looking at that and such other things, the more they were informed of each particular, the more suspicions they entertained.—*Lapoplietère*, liv. 25, vol. ii. p. 21.

§ Discours du Roi Henri III., &c.

|| Brantome, vol. viii. p. 184.

The day after the attempt to kill Coligny was a dreadful interval for the king and his mother. His conduct from the first displayed all the irresolution and want of thought which accompanies crime. In his eagerness to deceive the King of Navarre, he had appointed persons to investigate the assassination; the information which they procured caused in turn still greater uneasiness. It was impossible to prevent Maurevel's employers from being made known, and a council was summoned at the Louvre; the behaviour of Charles IX. at this council was consistent with the rest of his actions. As he approached the fatal moment, his conscience appears to have assailed him, and he hesitated to carry the plan into effect. The queen entreated him to take firm measures to preserve her and the Duke of Anjou from the vengeance of the Huguenots, who already accused them of the assassination of Coligny. De Retz told the king that such was the irritated state of the Protestants, that he, as well as Guise, would be sacrificed to their vengeance. Soon after intelligence was brought that the Huguenots were preparing to carry Coligny out of Paris: if he should escape, their whole design would be frustrated, and a civil war become unavoidable; especially as the Huguenots had threatened to rise *en masse* to obtain justice.* Catherine perceived the wavering state of her son's mind: she informed him that couriers had been already sent off to Germany and Switzerland for troops, and that, in the unprovided state of the government, his ruin was certain if another war broke out. The wretched king, whose mind was so framed that he blindly followed the impulse of the moment, and who the minute before had felt a repugnance to consent to the death of so many subjects, was then so much inflamed by the solicitations and assertions of his counsellors, that he experienced all the anger which could be called into action by a recollection of the past, a dread of the future, and the vexation of failing in an attempt to punish the leaders of the sect so hateful to him. He became more eager than any to execute the resolution, *already taken* in the secret council, to make a general massacre of the Huguenots.† This could not safely be deferred any longer, as some of them were quitting Paris every hour, and the dawn of the next morning was to behold the consummation of this inhuman scheme.

At first there was no exception whatever from the massacre, and Charles consented to destroy one branch of his own family: "It was deliberated," says the archbishop of Paris, "if they should not murder the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé with the others, and all the murderers were for their death; nevertheless, by a miracle, they resolved on sparing them."‡ "The Duke of Guise," says Davila, "wished that in killing the Huguenots they should do the same with the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé; but the queen-mother and the others had a horror of dipping their hands in royal blood."§ "Indubitably," says Brantome, "he was proscribed, and down on the red list, as they called it; because, said they, it was necessary to dig up the roots, such as the King of

Navarre, the Prince of Condé, the admiral, and other great persons; but the said Queen (Margaret) threw herself on her knees before the King Charles her brother, to beg the life of her husband and lord. The King Charles granted it to her with great difficulty, although she was his good sister."** It was also proposed to kill the Montmorencies, who, although Catholics, were very much connected with the Huguenots; but the marshal could not be drawn from Chantilly, and was beyond their reach: so the council concluded that to destroy the younger branches, and leave the elder to revenge their death, would only increase the chances of a civil war.† De Retz, however, maintained that they should all be killed.‡

Everything was soon decided on: the Duke of Guise was to begin the massacre by despatching the admiral directly he heard the signal given, by ringing the great bell of the palace, which was used only on public rejoicings.§ Tavannes in the mean time sent for the provost of the trades, and some other persons of influence among the inhabitants: he ordered them to arm the companies and to be ready by midnight at the Hotel-de-Ville. Those persons made some excuses and scruples of conscience, for which Tavannes abused them in the king's presence. He told them that if they refused they should all be hanged, and advised the King to threaten them too. The poor frightened men then yielded, and promised to do such execution that it should never be forgotten||. The instructions they received were, that directly they heard the bell, torches were to be put in the windows, and chains placed across the streets; piquets were to be posted in the open places; and, for distinction, they were to wear a piece of white linen on their left arms, and put a white cross on their hats.¶

Notwithstanding the awful crime in contemplation, the king rode out on horseback in the afternoon, accompanied by the Chevalier d'Angoulême, his natural brother; but the sight of his unsuspecting people had no effect upon him. The queen also showed herself at court as usual in order to avoid suspicion.**

Secrecy was desirable till the last moment, and no one was informed of the plan who was not necessary to its execution. But there were several persons who caused great concern and anxiety to both the king and queen. The Queen of Navarre describes herself as altogether ignorant of the affair previous to the execution; and, when she retired after supper to go to bed, her sister, the Duchess of Lorraine, entreated her not to go. The queen-mother was angry at that, and forbid her telling anything further. The Duchess of Lorraine thought that it would be sacrificing her to let her go to bed; and the queen-mother said, that if she did not go it might cause suspicion, and observed, that if it pleased God no harm would befall her.††

The Count de la Rochefaucault was a great favourite with Charles, who took such delight in his

* Brantome, vol. i. p. 261. This statement, however, is at variance with the Memoirs of Queen Margaret, who declares she knew nothing of the massacre till it occurred; but it is possible that she begged for her husband's life on the Sunday, when everything was to be feared on his account

† Davila, liv. 5, p. 617.

‡ Mem. de Tavannes, p. 421.

§ Mezeray, *Abregé Chron.*

|| Brantome, *Vie de Tavannes.*

¶ Maimbourg and Mezeray.

** Dr. Lingard, *Vindication*, &c. p. 30. Paris edition.

†† Mem. de la Reine Marguerite, p. 179.

* Maimbourg, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 6.

† "Cete effroyable resolution, qu'il avoit déjà prise dans le conseil secret, et qu'on lui avoit fait quitter, de faire un massacre general de tous les Huguenots."—Maimbourg, *ut antea.*

‡ Porfize, *Hist. de Henri le Grand.*

§ Davila, liv. 5, p. 616.

company, that he wished to save his life. He had passed the evening with the king, and when he prepared to go home, Charles advised him to sleep in the Louvre. In vain did he press him: the count resolved to go: the king was grieved that he could not preserve him without violating his secret, and observed, as his guest retired, "I see clearly that God wishes him to perish."*

Ambrose Paré, his surgeon, was a person indispensable for the king's health and comfort, and he used less ceremony with him. He sent for him in the evening into his chamber, and ordered him not to stir from thence: he said, according to Brantome, "That it was not reasonable that one who was so useful should be massacred, and therefore he did not press him to change his religion."†

As midnight approached, the armed companies were collecting before the Hotel-de-Ville. They required some strong excitement to bring them to a proper mind, and in order to animate and exasperate them, they were told that a horrible conspiracy was discovered, which the Huguenots had made against the king, the queen-mother, and the princes, without excepting the King of Navarre, for the destruction of the monarchy and religion: that the king wishing to anticipate so execrable an attempt, commanded them to fall at once upon all those cursed heretics (rebels against God and the king) without sparing one; and that afterwards their property should be given up to plunder.‡ This was sufficient inducement for a populace who naturally detested the Huguenots; everything being thus arranged, they impatiently waited the dawn, and the signal which it was to bring with it.

The wretched King of France had gone so far that a retreat was impossible; but there is every reason to believe, that even at the last moment he would gladly have obeyed the dictates of nature, and have desisted from the cruel purpose. Among the inferior classes of murderers, whose condition is unable to protect them from the laws, we frequently find that, unless their lives have been of an abandoned description, they have generally hesitated at the moment of committing the crime, and have required some excitement to urge them to the work. The hesitation, therefore, which Charles displayed was natural: although depraved in his mind, and vindictive in his disposition, his rank had preserved him from conduct which would sear his feelings; and we find that too late he sent orders to prevent the massacre from taking place. But the queen had perceived the inquietude which tormented him: she saw that if the signal depended upon him, he would not have resolution enough to give it: she considered that the hour should be hastened, to prevent any rising remorse from destroying her work: she therefore made another effort to inflame her son, by telling him that the Protestants had discovered the plot; and then sent some one to ring the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, an hour earlier than had been agreed upon.§. A few moments after was heard the report of a pistol, which had such an effect on the king, that he sent orders to prevent the massacre, but it was then too late.||

Guise, who had waited with impatience for the signal, went at once to Coligny's house, accompanied by his brother Aumale, Angoulême, and a number of gentlemen. Cosseins, who commanded the guards posted there, broke open the doors in the king's name, and murdered some Swiss who were placed at the bottom of the stairs. Besme,* a Lorrain, and Pestrucchi, an Italian, both in Guise's pay, then went up stairs to the admiral, followed by some soldiers. Coligny, awakened by the noise, asked one of his attendants what it was: he replied, "My lord, God calls us to himself." Coligny then said to his attendants, "Save yourselves, my friends; all is over with me. I have been long prepared for death." They all quitted him but one; and he betook himself to prayer, awaiting his murderers. Every door was soon broke open, and Besme presented himself. "Art thou Coligny?" said he; "I am he indeed," said the admiral; "young man, you ought to respect my grey hairs; but, do what you will, you can shorten my life only by a few days." Besme replied by plunging his sword into Coligny's body; his companions then gave him numerous stabs with their daggers. Besme then called out of the window to Guise, that it was done: "Very well," replied he, "but M. D'Angoulême will not believe it, unless he sees him at his feet." The corpse was thrown out into the court from the window; and the blood spurted out on the faces and clothes of the princes. Guise wiped the murdered man's face in order to recognise him, and then gave orders to cut off his head.†

The ringing of the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois was answered by the bells of all the churches, and by a discharge of fire-arms in different parts. Paris resounded with cries and howlings, which brought the defenceless people out of their dwellings, not only unarmed, but half naked. Some tried to gain Coligny's house, in the hope of obtaining protection, but the companies of guards quickly despatched them: the Louvre seemed to hold out a refuge; but they were driven away by men armed with spears and musketry. Escape was almost impossible; the numerous lights placed in the windows deprived them of the shelter which the darkness would have afforded them; and patrols traversed the streets in all directions, killing every one they met. From the streets they proceeded to the houses; they broke open the doors, and spared neither age, sex, nor condition. A white cross had been put in their hats to distinguish the Catholics; and some priests, holding a crucifix in one hand, and a sword in the other, preceded the murderers, and encouraged them, in God's name, to spare neither relatives nor friends. When the daylight appeared, Paris exhibited a most appalling spectacle of slaughter: the headless bodies were falling from the windows; the gateways were blocked up with dead and dying; and the streets were filled with carcases which were drawn on the pavement to the river.‡

Even the Louvre became the scene of great carnage: the guards were drawn up in a double line, and the unfortunate Huguenots who were in that place were called one after another, and killed

* Brantome, *Vie de Charles IX.* Voltaire, *Essais sur les Guerres Civiles.*

† Brantome, vol. ix. p. 428. Sully, liv. 1.

‡ Maimbourg, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 6, p. 473.

§ De Thou, liv. 52. The church bell was rung at two o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the 24th August.

|| Discours du Roi Henri III., &c., at the end.

* Besme married a natural daughter of the Cardinal of Lorrain; and, as a further recompense for murdering Coligny, the King of Spain made him a handsome present. Brantome, vol. viii. p. 195. Bayle, art. *Besme*.

† De Thou, liv. 52. Brantome, vol. viii. p. 185.

‡ D'Anbigné, Davila, Maimbourg, De Thou, Mathieu, &c. &c.

with the soldiers' halberts.* Most of them died without complaining, or even speaking; others appealed to the public faith and the sacred promise of the king. "Great God!" said they, "be the defence of the oppressed. Just judge! avenge this perfidy."† Some of the King of Navarre's servants, who lived in the palace, were killed in bed with their wives.‡

Tavannes, Guise, Montpensier and Angoulême, rode through the streets, encouraging the murderers: Guise told them that it was the king's wish; that it was necessary to kill the very last of the heretics, and crush the race of vipers.§ Tavannes ferociously exclaimed, "Bleed! bleed! The doctors tell us that bleeding is as beneficial in August as in May."|| These exhortations were not lost upon an enraged multitude, and the different companies emulated each other in atrocity. One Crucé, a goldsmith, boasted of having killed four hundred persons with his own hands.

The massacre lasted during the whole week, but after the third day its fury was considerably abated; indeed, on the Tuesday a proclamation was issued for putting an end to it, but no measures were taken for enforcing the order: the people, however, were no longer urged on to the slaughter.¶ What horrors were endured during that time can be best described by those who were present or contemporaries. Sully gives the following account of his sufferings:—"I went to bed the over-night very early: I was aroused about three hours after midnight by the noise of bells, and the confused cries of the populace. St. Julien, my governor, went out hastily with my valet-de-chambre to learn the cause, and I have never since heard anything of those two men, who were, without doubt, sacrificed among the first to the public fury. I remained alone dressing myself in my chamber, where a few minutes after I observed my host enter, pale and in consternation. He was of the religion, and having heard what was the matter, he had decided on going to mass to save his life, and preserve his house from plunder. He came to persuade me to do the same, and to take me with him. I did not think fit to follow him. I resolved on attempting to get to the college of Burgundy, where I studied, notwithstanding the distance of the house where I lived from that college, which made my attempt very dangerous. I put on my scholar's gown, and taking a pair of large prayer books under my arm, I went down stairs. I was seized with horror as I went into the street at seeing the furious men running in every direction, breaking open the houses, and calling out 'Kill! massacre the Huguenots!' and the blood which I saw shed before my eyes redoubled my fright: I fell in with a body of soldiers, who stopped me: I was questioned; they began to ill-treat me, when the books which I carried were discovered, happily for me, and served me for a passport. Twice afterwards I fell into the same danger, from which I was delivered with the same good fortune. At length I arrived at the

college of Burgundy: a still greater danger awaited me there. The porter having twice refused me admittance, I remained in the middle of the street at the mercy of the ruffians, whose numbers kept increasing, and who eagerly sought for their prey; when I thought of asking for the principal of the college, named Dafaye, a worthy man, and who tenderly loved me. The porter, gained by some small pieces of money which I put into his hand, did not refuse to fetch him. This good man took me to his chamber, where two inhuman priests, whom I heard talk of the Sicilian Vespers, tried to snatch me from his hands, to tear me to pieces, saying that the order was to kill even the infants at the breast. All that he could do was to lead me with great secrecy to a remote closet, where he locked me in. I remained there three whole days, uncertain of my fate, and receiving no assistance but from a servant of this charitable man, who came from time to time and brought me something to live upon.**

The Queen of Navarre has also given an account of the dreadful night which preceded, or rather ushered in, the massacre. She relates, that on retiring to rest, her husband's bed was surrounded by thirty or forty Huguenots, who were talking all night of the accident which had befallen the admiral, and resolved the next morning to insist upon the king's doing justice for them on the Guises. No sleep was to be had under such circumstances; and before day the King of Navarre rose, with the intention of playing at tennis, till the king (Charles) was up. When the King of Navarre and his gentlemen had retired, the queen soon fell asleep. In less than an hour she was woke up by a man, striking with his hands and feet against the door of her chamber, and calling out Navarre! Navarre!—Margaret's chamber-maid opened the door, and immediately a man covered with blood, and pursued by four soldiers, ran in for refuge.† "He, wishing for protection," says Margaret, "threw himself on my bed: I, feeling a man lay hold of me, threw myself out at the bedside, and him after me, still holding me round the body: I did not know the man, nor did I know if he came there to injure me, or whether the soldiers were after him or me; we both of us cried out, and were both equally frightened." It was with difficulty the queen could obtain this person's pardon: the captain of the guards conducted her to the chamber of her sister, the Duchess of Lorraine; and at the moment of entering that apartment, a gentleman was killed close to her. She almost fainted away, and could only be brought to by her sister's care.‡

On coming to herself the Queen of Navarre inquired for her husband, who on quitting his room had been conducted to the king's presence, along with the Prince of Condé. They were not allowed to take their swords, and on the way they saw several of their friends murdered before them, particularly the brave Piles, who so valiantly defended St. Jean d'Angely. In order to frighten them into compliance with the king's wishes, they were made to feel the full extent of their danger; they passed through long lines of soldiers who were prepared to massacre them. Charles received them

* Mem. de Tavannes, p. 418. Davila, liv. 5.

† D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ.* vol. ii. p. 18.

‡ Voltaire, *Essai sur les Guerres Civiles de France*.

§ *Esprit de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 48.

|| Brantome, vol. ix. p. 113.

¶ Lappelière states that on the Sunday, and almost every day, orders were issued to stop the massacre, but it still continued; "so that the last day of the week was but little less remarked for murders than the others," liv. 29, p. 67.

* Sully, liv. 1.

† It was Gaston de Lévis, Viscount de Leyran. Brantome, vol. i. p. 262. D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 19.

‡ Mem. de la Reine Marguerite, p. 181.

in great anger, and commanded them, with his usual oaths and blasphemies, to renounce the religion which he declared they had only taken as a pretext for their rebellion. As the princes, however, expressed the difficulty they felt in changing their creed, his rage became excessive, and he told them "That he would no longer be thwarted in his wishes by his subjects: that they ought to teach others, by their example, to revere him as the likeness of God, and be no longer the enemies of his mother's images."* The Prince of Condé boldly told him, "That he was accountable to God alone for his religion; that his possessions and his life were in his majesty's power, and he might dispose of them as he pleased; but that no menaces, nor even death, should make him renounce the truth."† They were then remanded for three days, with the information, that if they did not become Catholics they would be treated as guilty of high treason, both human and divine. The King of Navarre was, in addition, to send an order to his states forbidding the exercise of every religion but the Romish.‡

Marshal de la Force was a child at the time of the massacre: he has left some memoirs of his life, and has given the following narrative of what occurred to him: "A horse-dealer who had seen the Duke of Guise and his satellites go into Admiral Coligny's house, and, gliding through the crowd, had witnessed the murder of that nobleman, ran immediately to give information to M. Caumont de la Force, to whom he had sold ten horses a week before.

"La Force and his two sons lodged in the faubourg St. Germain, as well as many Calvinists. There was not then any bridge which joined this faubourg to the city. All the boats had been seized by order of the court to carry over the assassins. The horse-dealer plunged in, swam across, and informed M. de la Force of his danger. La Force was out of his house, and had time enough to save himself; but seeing his children did not follow him, he returned to fetch them. He had scarcely entered again when the assassins arrived. One Martin, at their head, entered his room, disarmed him and his two children, and told him with dreadful oaths that he must die. La Force offered him a ransom of two thousand crowns; the captain accepted it; La Force swore to pay it to him in two days, and immediately the assassins, after having stripped the house, told La Force and his children to put their handkerchiefs in their hats in the form of a cross, and made them tuck up their right sleeves on the shoulder: that was the token for the murderers. In this state they made them pass the river, and conducted them into the city. The marshal declares that he saw the river covered with dead bodies. His father, his brother, and he landed before the Louvre: there they saw several of their friends murdered, and among others the brave De Piles, father of him who killed in a duel the son of Malherbe. From thence Captain Martin took his prisoners to his house, Rue des Petits Champs; made La Force and his sons swear that they would not go out thence before they had paid the two thousand crowns; left them in the custody of two Swiss soldiers, and

went in search of other Calvinists to massacre in the city.

"One of the Swiss, touched with compassion, offered the prisoners to let them escape. La Force would do nothing of the kind: he answered, that he had pledged his word, and that he would rather die than forfeit it. An aunt of his had procured for him the two thousand crowns, and they were going to be delivered to Captain Martin, when the Count de Coconas (the same who was afterwards beheaded) came to tell La Force that the Duke of Anjou wished to speak to him. Immediately he made the father and the children go down stairs, bareheaded and without their cloaks. La Force plainly saw that they were leading him to death: he followed Coconas, praying him to spare his two innocent children. The younger (aged thirteen years, the writer of this, and who was called James Nompia) raised his voice, and reproached the murderers with their crimes, telling them they would be punished for it by God. In the mean time the two children were led with their father to the end of the Rue des Petits Champs. They first gave the elder several stabs; he cried out, 'Ah, my father, Oh, my God! I am dead.' At the same instant the father fell upon his son's body covered with wounds. The younger, covered with their blood, but who by an astonishing miracle had received no stab, had the prudence to cry out also 'I am dead.' He threw himself down between his father and brother, and received their last sighs. The murderers believing them all dead, went away, saying, 'There they are all three.' Some wretches afterwards came to strip their bodies. The young La Force had one stocking left; a marker of Verdelet's Tennis Court wished to have it; in taking it off he mused on the body of the young child. 'Alas!' said he, 'what a pity! This is but a child, what can he have done?' These words of compassion obliged the little La Force to raise his head gently, and say, in a low voice, 'I am not yet dead.' The poor man answered, 'Do not stir, child; have patience.' In the evening, he came to fetch him. 'Get up,' said he, 'they are no longer here,' and put a shabby cloak upon his shoulders. As he conducted him, some of the executioners asked him, who is that boy? 'It is my nephew,' said he, 'who has got drunk; you see what a state he is in: I am going to give him a good whipping.' At last the poor marker took him to his house, and asked thirty crowns for his reward. From thence the young La Force was taken, in the disguise of a beggar, to the arsenal, to his relative, Marshal Biron, grand-master of the artillery. He was concealed some time in the girls' chambers. At length, hearing that the court were hunting after him to destroy him, he made his escape in the dress of a page, under the name of Beaupuy.*

Although bigotry and fanaticism were the chief motives with the murderers, part of the crimes committed on the occasion were the effect of other bad passions, and many true Catholics were involved in the massacre: those who were rich were sacrificed by their heirs, and many fell victims to private resentments. Marshals Biron and Cossé were both devoted to destruction, through the effect of personal dislike; but Cossé found a power-

* Sully, liv. 1.

† D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ.* vol. ii. p. 19.

‡ Sully, liv. 1.

* This narrative is inserted in the Notes of the *Henriade*: the circumstance is mentioned also by De Thou, D'Aubigné and Mezeray.

ful intercessor in the Duke of Anjou's mistress; and Biron, who was commander of the Bastille, defended himself by pointing cannon against the infuriated mob: this attempt against him ensured his assistance for those Huguenots who sought his help.*

In the mean time Coligny's body was the object of every kind of insult. His head was cut off and sent to Catharine: what became of it afterwards is unknown: some say it was sent to the pope, others to the King of Spain.† His body was mangled, and drawn through the streets during two or three days: the populace then threw it into the river, but afterwards drew it out again, and hung it up by the heels at the gibbet of Montfaucon; a fire was placed underneath and disfigured it horribly.‡

It was in this state, when Charles went with his court to indulge in the sight of his murdered enemy: the same whom a few days before he had called his father, assuring him that he should always consider him a faithful subject, and a brave general. Some of the courtiers stopping their noses on account of the smell, the king remarked, "I do not do as you, for the smell of a dead enemy is always good."§

Marshal Montmorency employed some persons to take down the miserable remains at night, and placed them in a secret place, being afraid to trust them in the chapel at Chantilly, lest they should be taken away: they were afterwards interred at Montauban, and subsequently, when the decrees against Coligny's memory were reversed, they were removed to the tomb of his ancestors, at Chatillon-sur-Loing.||

They who thus insulted Coligny's remains may be supposed to belong to the lower classes; but the king gave a public approval of their conduct, and the courtiers endeavoured to exceed them in brutality. The monarch's ferocity appears to have been contagious, for ladies of his court were seen descending into the square of the Louvre, then filled with the dead bodies of Protestant gentlemen, many of whom had cheerfully passed with them some hours of the preceding day. It was by their siren-like qualities that many of the Huguenot nobility had been drawn to court: they had now become harpies, through the addition of cruelty to their fanaticism and wantonness; and, trampling every proper feeling under foot, they jested and laughed as they recognized any of the murdered men. Among those who fell within the precincts of the palace was Soubise,¶ whose wife had instituted a suit against him for a divorce, on the ground of impotency. His mangled body underwent an examination by all those ladies, whose barbarous curiosity was worthy of such an abominable court.** Restraint of every kind was thrown aside; and while the men were victims of bigoted fury, the women were exposed to the violence of lust.††

The Count de Coconas boasted of having rescued from the populace thirty Protestants, to whom he

promised their lives if they would recant. He afterwards put them all to death in a lingering way.*

About seven or eight hundred persons had taken refuge in the prisons, thinking to find shelter under the wings of justice; but the captains placed there had them brought out to an open spot, when they were knocked on the head and thrown into the river.‡

Guise considered it his interest to give shelter in his hotel to a few Huguenots, and even Tavannes spared some who fell in his way. When they were speaking of it in the Louvre, others replied, fiercely: "It was betraying them, it was betraying God and the king to spare the heretics: if they are less numerous, vengeance gives them more force: Coligny is no more, but the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé survive: they will soon escape from the court; and the church has everything to fear from such converts. We must still fight: we must seek under the walls of Rochelle and Montauban those who have been suffered to escape from Paris, from Provence, Languedoc, and other provinces. While we grow weary, they hate us the more, and they have almost ceased to fear us.‡" Thus the murder of so many of their countrymen appeared in their view only an imperfect piece of policy unless it were well followed up.

In attempting to detail the particulars of this dreadful event, or rather series of events, it is impossible to describe each circumstance in its chronological order. The reader must therefore excuse those retrograde steps which are unavoidable in such a narrative; perhaps the preponderance of his sensibility may cause a wish that a mere outline had been given, which would have spared him an account of events so painful to humanity, so disgraceful to the cause they were intended to benefit. The historian, however, is bound to relate the whole truth; and, when he treats of those circumstances which affected the happiness of a nation, he should exhibit every crime in its full deformity. We have seen the wretched Charles falter in giving the fatal order, and we find him countermanding it when too late: we must trace his behaviour through the whole transaction.

In spite of the assertions of Romish writers, that their church had nothing to do with the massacre, it is very clear that a zeal to support that religion was the chief motive of Charles IX. He told Ambrose Paré on the day of the massacre, that the time was arrived when every one must become Catholic;§ and it appears that his repugnance to it entirely ceased when the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé showed a reluctance to change their religion. His bigotry, meeting with obstacles, became inflamed to such a degree, that his impetuous temper disdained all bounds, and he was as furious as any of the inferior murderers in the city. From his window in the Louvre he perceived some persons making their escape across the river, and actually fired at them, but happily

* De Thou, liv. 52.

† Tavannes says it was sent to Rome, *Mem.* p. 419; and Felibien asserts the same, *Hist. de Paris*, vol. ii. p. 1119.

‡ Vie de Coligny, D'Aubigné, and De Thou.

§ Brantôme, P. Masson, and many others.

|| *Mem. de la Vie de J. A. De Thou*, liv. 14. Vie de Coligny.

¶ His name was Dupont-Quillenc; but, having married the heiress of James Parthenay, Lord of Soubise, he assumed that name. The circumstance is mentioned by most writers.

** De Thou, liv. 52, vol. vi. p. 402.

†† Brantôme, vol. i. p. 303. "Je cognois deux grandes

dames Huguenottes, lesquels au massacre de la St. Barthélemi souffrirent la charge de *quelques-uns* que je scay bien, car tout estoit lors a l'abandon," &c.

* *L'Estoile*, vol. i. p. 32. Montglave, *Hist. des Conjurés des Jésuites*. In this work I find the following passage: "The Jesuits were very busy, and encouraged the people to murder: their house had been a rendezvous for some time previous."

† Mazeray, *Abregé Chron.*

‡ Lacroelle, *Hist. des Guerres de Religion*, vol. ii.

§ Sully, liv. i.

without effect; calling out to those who pursued them, "Kill! kill!" not wishing, says Brantome, that any should escape.*

But before the day had elapsed, Charles reflected that so much bloodshed required some account to be given, or all Europe would resound with indignation against him. On the evening of the 24th, despatches were sent to all the governors of the provinces, informing them of the death of Coligny, and the troubles which had occurred in Paris; attributing everything to the feud which had so long subsisted between Guise and the admiral, and stating that the populace in their enthusiasm for the Guises could not be restrained.† The governors were ordered to make proclamation, that the edict of pacification should be maintained, and in order to shift the blame entirely from himself, he added:—"I am with the King of Navarre, my brother, and my cousin, the Prince of Condé: if they are in any danger, I am determined to share it with them."‡ In one letter he went so far as to say, that he had joined with the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé to avenge the death of his cousin the admiral.§

This pretence, however, was too shallow to last; and, besides, the Guises had sufficient influence to compel the king to acknowledge the share he had in the massacre. Charles was easily persuaded, moreover, that his proclamation would not only be disbelieved, but that he would expose himself to contempt, by making it appear that he had not authority enough to compel the Guises to obey him, nor strength nor resolution sufficient to punish such a crime. He therefore changed his plan, and on Tuesday he went to the parliament, and there held a bed of justice.

As the king was so eager to send off his first proclamation, it might have been expected that no time would be lost in justifying his conduct after he had shifted his ground; but a whole day was passed over. The vacillation of the court is a proof of guilt. Charles was unprepared with measures; and the original plan having failed, by Coligny not being killed on the 22nd, everything was hastily concerted, and badly executed. When the admiral was dead, his house was ransacked; but all his papers were sent to the Louvre, where they were examined, in order to find materials for an accusation against him. Some memoirs on different subjects were then discovered; among others, one to persuade Charles to make war against the English. Catherine showed that to Walsingham, the English ambassador, who only despised her for her baseness in resorting to such means for stopping his complaints against her treachery. Another paper demonstrated the danger which the state would incur, if the king bestowed an appanage on the Duke of Alençon. This was shown to that prince, who had a great partiality for Coligny. After reading it, he observed, "I do not know whether the writer is any friend to me, but certainly he is a faithful subject."||

On the 26th, the king, accompanied by a numerous suite, went early to hear mass, and return thanks to God for so happy an event. He then

summoned all the court to hold a bed of justice.* There, unmindful of his declaration and letters, which had attributed the massacre to a sudden tumult, he entered into a long complaint of the conspiracy of the admiral and his friends, and declared that the massacre had taken place by his orders, as the only means of preventing the destruction of himself and all the royal family, not excepting the King of Navarre. He concluded, by giving orders to investigate the conspiracy of the admiral and his accomplices, that the prisoners might be punished, and the memory of the dead stigmatized.† The counsellors could not venture to raise doubts upon the charges made by the king in person, although they considered that, if they were maintainable by proof, the parliament ought to have been summoned on the first day. Still they could not receive such a communication without reply; and the chief president, De Thou, had to express his approbation of what he strongly condemned. The words which he used on the occasion would, under any other circumstances, have been insulting: he praised the king for having acted upon the precept of Louis XI.—*He who cannot dissemble is not fit to reign.*‡ But Charles could not take offence at what had been his public boast; and we are assured by Brantome that he said, "Have not I played my game well? Have not I known how to dissemble? Have not I well learnt the lesson and the Latin of my ancestor, King Louis XI.?"§

Pibrac, the king's advocate, then asked if his majesty would be pleased to have the event registered in parliament, to perpetuate the memorial of it, and if he proposed reforming the ecclesiastic and judicial orders: he also begged that the murders should be discontinued. The king consented to the first proposition, promised to consider of the second, and made proclamation by sound of trumpet, forbidding any one to kill another person.

On the 28th, letters and a proclamation were sent to all parts, by which the king declared himself the author of the massacre. The edict contained long charges against the admiral and his friends; declared that the edict of pacification should be maintained; but, at the same time, prohibited the exercise of the reformed religion, until the king shall have provided for the tranquillity of the kingdom.|| The parliament afterwards passed a decree, convicting the admiral of treason, condemning him as a disturber of the peace, and an enemy of the public safety. His memory was declared infamous, his property confiscated, and his family degraded to plebeian rank; his body (and if that could not be found, his effigy) was ordered to be drawn on a hurdle, hung up at the Grève, and then fixed on the gibbet at Montfaucon. His portraits and arms were everywhere to be destroyed by the public executioner, and his house at Châtillon was to be razed, and the trees cut down. The decree further declared, that in future, on the anniversary of his death, general processions should be made, to thank God for the discovery of this conspiracy.

In the conduct of Charles IX. it is difficult to decide whether his cruelty or his dissimulation is most detestable. His own edicts, which closely

* Brantome, vol. ix. p. 427.

† See every historian *except* Lapolleiniere, who passes it unnoticed. The Abbé Caveyrac gives a copy of the proclamation.

‡ D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 22, and De Thou, liv. 52.

§ Mezeray, *Abregé Chron.*

|| De Thou, liv. 52.

* Lapolleiniere, liv. 29, p. 67.

† Ibid. Davila, liv. 5.

‡ D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 24. De Thou, liv. 52.

§ Brantome, vol. ix. p. 424.

|| Lapolleiniere, liv. 29, p. 67.

followed each other, were very contradictory; but it is asserted by an authority, not to be rejected in this case,* that, the day after his proclamation commanding every one to remain tranquil, he dispatched Catholics of note to all the considerable towns, with verbal orders quite contrary.† His desire of exterminating the Huguenots was also unabated, although he had published orders, by sound of trumpet, forbidding any further slaughter, "After the fête was over," says Brantome, "which lasted the week, the king being at table, Tavannes came to him, when he said, 'Marshal, we have not yet done with these Huguenots, although we have well-thinned the race: we must go to Rochelle and Guyenne.' 'Sire,' said Tavannes, 'do not give yourself any trouble; I will soon finish them with the army which you have proposed to give me.'"[‡]

But without taking into account the difference between the declarations and the actions of the king, the discordance between the studied excuses made on four occasions is sufficient to condemn him. Elizabeth had sent an extraordinary embassy to Paris, and Charles gave the Earl of Worcester an account of the massacre. He afterwards wrote to Lamotte-Fenelon, his ambassador in London, giving him the conversation at length. His defence then assumed was, that, having discovered a dreadful conspiracy, he was obliged to permit what had taken place. He said that it was out of his power to act in a legal way, as he was in great danger; and the conspiracy being on the point of execution, he had not time to investigate and pursue the conspirators, according to the forms of justice; but was constrained, to his great regret, to strike the blow which had taken place.§

Another attempt to palliate the king's conduct was made by Montluc, bishop of Valence, in an address to the Diet of Poland. Montluc had quitted Paris before the massacre, he must therefore have received his instructions from the court; and as this speech was not delivered till several months after, it was not the result of any communication hastily made during the disturbed state of the court of France.|| The bishop in his speech went into a detail of all the advantages which the Poles would derive from having a French prince for their king. But as reports of the massacre had spread into every kingdom, he considered it necessary to vindicate the King of France from the charge of tyranny and cruelty. "You cannot find," said he, "any trace of cruelty during the whole twelve years of the reign of our king, whom they call a tyrant and cruel. No one has ever by his commands been killed or wounded, or stripped of his property. But they endeavour by calumnies, foolishly and impudently invented, to impute the death of the late admiral and some other gentlemen to the king's cruelty, to which he has always been averse. But it is very easy to refute their calumny by a single word; for their not having been killed before, is a sure argu-

ment that the king never had it in his heart to do so. A hundred times he has had them near him at court, and especially at Blois a year since, where they might have been massacred very conveniently, without any fear of danger, because the blame of it would very probably have fallen on the Duke of Guise, who complained of his father having been treacherously killed by order of the admiral. In this complaint were joined his near relations and connexions, as also the Dukes of Montpensier, Nemours, and Nevers, who for certain private offences had become his declared mortal enemies. But what has occurred in Paris has certainly been by accident, which suddenly made it spring up, without any one being able to foresee it; and contrary to the hopes and opinions of everybody. For grievously as they had offended the king, and were even then accused of high treason for having conspired, still the king, who by his nature is more inclined to clemency, would have preferred seizing their persons to murdering them. His advice was that the whole affair should be investigated; the business, however, to be reserved for the cognizance of the parliament of Paris. But, as it commonly happens in tumults, on a sudden the people, swelled with fury, became excited; and then the affair took place otherwise than was desired, and the king was very angry and troubled on account of it."

The Count de Retz was sent to England on an embassy, in May, 1573. His mission had two principal objects: to dissuade the queen from helping the Protestants in Rochelle, and to refute the accounts of the cruelty of the massacres in France. Elizabeth received the ambassador with great respect, and went towards Dover to meet him.* He assumed a defence quite opposite to those preceding, and vindicated the king's conduct in conspiring against Coligny. He represented that the admiral was much better accompanied than the king himself; and that thus making a greater appearance than his master, the king could not suffer in him what she (Elizabeth) would not consider proper in any of her nobles. De Retz displayed great familiarity with ancient history, and gave examples of the danger which such ambition caused. "The king, my master," added he, "had examples more recent and remarkable than those to warn him of the admiral's overgrown power. For he had learned that the indolence of former kings had given too much opportunity to the Pepins, the most ambitious of their time, to aspire to the crown, which they finally usurped." Having shown how the Capets took the place of Pepin's race, he enlarged on the utility of the ostracism of the Athenians, which was an excellent plan for preventing any one from becoming dangerous by his popularity; but that not being practicable in these times, "the king was advised to destroy the roots of his greatness, and with the same hand cut down what had already sprung up: this he considered could not be done more effectually than by the death of him whose interest and resources were too much suspected throughout the kingdom." This statement made Elizabeth inquire for what reason the massacre had included so many other persons, innocent of such ambition, and many of them incapable of bearing arms. De Retz replied by assuring her that the number

* The Abbe Anquetil, *Espirit de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 52.

† The parliament of Rouen was proceeding in an inquiry respecting the slaughter which had taken place within their jurisdiction; but the king ordered that body to desist from the attempt. D'Anbigue, vol. ii. p. 27.

‡ Brantome, *Vie de Tavannes*.

§ D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, &c., quoted by Dr. Linard.

|| It was spoken 10th April, 1573. Lapopelinere gives it at length in his History, liv. 35. pp. 162 *et seq.*

* Lapopelinere, liv. 34, p. 159. The speech delivered by De Retz is also given at length.

of killed was not the fourth part of what had been told her, and referred her to Walsingham for corroboration.

The Swiss had felt and expressed much indignation at the king's conduct to the Protestants, and Bellievre was sent to Baden in December, 1572, to explain the affair in a favourable manner. He commenced a long speech by explaining the peril to which the kingdom was exposed from the admiral's ambition, so that his punishment could not be deferred; and unfortunately some of his majesty's subjects who professed the new religion were sacrificed with him. But Bellievre was commissioned equally by the Guises to clear their character: he therefore spares no effort to blacken Coligny's character, and dwells upon Maurevel requiring no incitement to kill the admiral, as he considered himself in danger of assassination, at the instigation of Coligny, *who had always more murderers in his pay than were to be found in the rest of France*. He then showed that the Huguenots were better prepared to take the field than the king; "and it was resolved to arm the people and punish the admiral and his accomplices."*

Had Charles IX. been actuated by any motive which admitted an avowal, he would not so continually have shifted his ground; but his excuses were always at variance with each other. Supposing any one of them to be true, there is then great room for condemning his conduct, even on the hypothesis most favourable to his character: but unsupported and contradictory as they are, we can only reject them all as false; and if any persons feel interested in removing the spots of infamy which disfigure Charles's memory, they must endeavour to prove false, not only the accounts given by Huguenot writers, but also those in favour of the persecuting king.

It is curious that a very learned individual, who has lately become conspicuous in the discussion of this subject, should use this identical argument to prove the contrary propositions. "Whence arise these contradictory explanations imagined by the court? Suppose the massacre a sudden and unexpected measure, and they are easily accounted for."† But if we admit that it was sudden and unexpected, we must suppose some violent impulse to have caused such a measure; and it is the contradiction that pervades the accounts of such impulse which discredits every apology for Charles IX.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Massacres in the Provinces.

THE Huguenots were so unprepared for any defence at the time of this treacherous attack upon them, that out of near seven hundred persons of rank who were murdered, most of them experienced soldiers and of approved courage, only one (Guerchy) died with his sword in his hand; he fought for a long time with the assassins, and was at last overpowered by numbers. Taverny, a lawyer, aided by his valet, defended his dwelling for nine hours, which was the only resistance met with in pillaging so many houses.‡ Had a few others done the same, the whole body would have

had time to rally: but they seemed equally unable to defend themselves or to fly; their faculties were benumbed, and they were completely in the power of the murderers.

There were, however, a considerable number that escaped destruction in spite of the vigilance of their enemies. On the day after Coligny's death the Duke of Anjou quitted the Louvre at the head of his guards and traversed the town and suburbs to force open the houses. "But he found," relates Davila, "that either the greater part of the Huguenots were already dead, or that, frightened, they had placed in their hats the white cross for a token, as all the Catholics wore it; or that they tried to save their lives by concealing themselves in the best possible manner. For if, by chance, going through the street, they were pointed out, or recognised in any manner, the people immediately fell upon them and threw them into the river."* And another writer informs us that many put the white cross in their hats, and went to mass through terror.†

Montgomery and the Vidame of Chartres, who lodged in the faubourg St. Germain, where early informed of what was passing in the city, but could scarcely believe it, thinking the Guises with a mob were attacking the Louvre. They went to the river intending to cross, and then discovered their mistake, as they could plainly see the soldiers approaching them in boats. They lost no time in taking horse with a few followers, and escaped into Normandy, from whence they passed over to England. Their delay nearly proved fatal; for at the dawn the Dukes of Guise, Nevers, Aumale, and others, well attended, set out to wake up those who slept in the faubourg, and wishing to go out by the gate on that side were delayed, because the porter, having brought a key in mistake, was obliged to return to his house to look for the right one. Guise sent a party in pursuit of the fugitives as far as Montfort.‡ He had promised Catherine to avenge the death of her husband as soon as he had obtained justice for his own father.§

Persons were sent to Chatillon to lay hold of Coligny's family, Andelot's son, and some others who were there; but they had succeeded in making their escape, and arrived safe at Geneva.|| The widow of Teligny, the admiral's daughter, afterwards married the Prince of Orange, who also fell by the dagger of fanaticism.

Merlin, the admiral's chaplain, attempted to escape along with Teligny, by crossing the tops of the houses: he fell into a loft, and lay more than three days concealed by the hay: his only sustenance during that time was an egg, which a hen laid every morning close to him.¶

Resnier's escape was astonishing: he was saved by Vezins, a man who had often vowed his death, and whose character was a guarantee for his fulfilling it. Resnier naturally expected that his enemy would not suffer the present opportunity to pass, and was fearfully awaiting him, when Vezins entered his apartment with his sword in his hand, accompanied by two soldiers. "Follow me!" said he to Resnier, who passed between the satellites, fully satisfied that he was going to death. Vezins

* Davila, liv. 5.

† Laopomberg, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 6.

‡ Maimpouliere, liv. 29. D'Aubigne, vol. ii. p. 19.

§ Bassompierre, *Nouveaux Mem.* p. 110.

|| Davila, liv. 5.

¶ D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ.* vol. ii. p. 32.

* Villeroy, *Mem. d'Etat*, vol. vii. p. 189.

† Dr. Lingard's *Vindication*, &c. p. 69.

‡ D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 23. Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 133.

made him mount on horseback, and conducted him to his chateau at Quercy. On their arrival he thus addressed him: "You are now safe; I could have taken advantage of this opportunity to avenge myself, but between brave men the danger ought to be equal; it is for that reason that I have saved you. When you please, you will find me ready to finish our quarrel as becomes a gentleman." Resnier replied by protestations of gratitude, begged his friendship, and asked for an opportunity to serve him. "Can the Huguenots," said Vezins, "be so mean as not to resent the perfidy of the court?" "Whatever others may do," answered Resnier, "I should be ungrateful to you were I to resent it." Vezins sternly replied: "I love courage both in an enemy and a friend. I leave you at liberty to love or to hate me; and I have brought you hither, merely to enable you to make the choice." Without staying to prolong the conversation, Vezins spurred his horse and rode off.*

D'Aubigné had arrived a short time previous to the massacre, in order to obtain permission to go into Flanders; but having wounded an officer, who tried to arrest him for being concerned in a duel, he was obliged to fly, and meeting with Langoiran, they both quitted Paris, three days before it took place. When the melancholy news of what had occurred reached him, he was accompanied by eighty of his men; but their spirits were so dejected on the occasion, that they were seized with a panic and fled, merely because some one hallooed to them at a distance. The same men, however, showed soon after that they had not lost their intrepidity, by attacking a very considerable force with success.†

In the mean time a retreat from Paris afforded but little security, for the massacre was extended to the provinces. And again, we find the subject entangled with controversy; for, notwithstanding the general belief that orders were sent to kill the Huguenots in the provinces (and this opinion is supported by numerous Catholic authorities), two writers strenuously contend that Charles was no party to it.‡ "The sufferers believed, as they were not protected, they were persecuted by the commands of the court. But the memory of Charles needs not be loaded with additional infamy. There is no evidence that the other massacres had his sanction or permission; and when we consider that they happened at very different periods, and were confined to the places in which the blood of Catholics had been wantonly spilt, during the preceding insurrections, we shall attribute them rather to sudden ebullitions of popular vengeance, than to any previously concerted and general plan.§"

Whether the events took place by the spontaneous feelings of the people, or in consequence of the king's orders, will not be discussed at this moment: the events themselves are not denied; the massacres at Meaux, Angers, Bourges, Orleans, Toulouse, and Rouen were terrible; and besides these places most of the small towns, villages, and even chateaux became scenes of carnage. It was not so violent in Burgundy and Brittany, because there were but few Huguenots; nor in Languedoc, nor Gascony, because they were sufficiently numerous to protect

themselves.* But it was at Lyons that the worst ferocity was displayed; for the Guises had a strong party in that town. Mandelot, the governor, having learned that some Huguenots had escaped the vigilance of the murderers, and yielding to positive orders received from the court, wished to compel the public executioner to put them to death; but the man bravely replied, that he was not an assassin, and worked only according to the orders of justice.†

De Thou's picture of the horrors committed at Lyons is heart-rending. He estimates the victims at eight hundred; but another contemporary makes the number four thousand; and mentions that a butcher who had signalled himself in the massacres was invited to dine with the legate on his passage through Lyons.‡ There may be some exaggeration here: it is however recorded elsewhere, that when Cardinal Orsini arrived soon after as legate, he found a concourse of people on their knees before him, as he quitted the church of St. John, after vespers. Upon inquiry into the cause for which his absolution was demanded, he learned that they were the perpetrators of the late massacres: he instantly acceded to their request; and as the principal murderer, Boydon, would not receive his pardon so publicly, he waited upon the legate, who absolved him in his chamber.§

All the circumstances connected with this terrible scene have been critically examined by a modern writer;|| and it results, that Mandelot's character is such as might be expected from a partisan of the Guises. It appears from this opusculé, that his letters to Charles IX. have been preserved in the Royal Library; and that, within two days after the massacre, he solicited a share of the confiscated property. Some of the king's letters to him were destroyed; but the governor's replies abound with allusions, that remove all doubt respecting the sanguinary nature of the royal instructions.

Several of the governors of provinces refused to lend themselves to such cruelty, and would not obey the king's orders; for the secret council had despatched letters to the governors of the towns, in which the Protestants were numerous, ordering them to plunder those of the religion.¶ The Count de Tendes preserved the Protestants of Provence, observing, when he received the king's letter, "That it could not be his majesty's orders."** St. Heran de Montmerin, governor of Auvergne, addressed the king in the following terms: "Sire, I have received an order under your majesty's seal, to put to death all the Protestants who are in the province. I respect your majesty too much to suppose the letters are other than forgeries; and if (which God forbid) the order has really emanated from your majesty, I have still too much respect for you to obey it."†† The Viscount d'Orthèz, who commanded at Bayonne, wrote a letter no less spirited:—"Sire, I have communicated your majesty's commands to the faithful inhabitants, and to the garrison; I have found among them good citizens, and brave soldiers, but not one execu-

* Mezeray, *in loc.*

† De Thou, *lib.* 54.

‡ Chronologie de l'Hist. de Lyons.

§ Mem. de l'Etat de France.

¶ Péricaut, *Notice de Mandelot*, Lyons, 1828.

** Mem. de Tavannes, p. 418.

†† Brantôme, *vol.* vii. p. 199.

‡‡ Voltaire, *Essai sur les Guerres Civiles de France.*

* De Thou, *liv.* 52. D'A. oigné, *vol.* ii. p. 23.

† D'Aubigné, *Mem.*, p. 31.—Amsterdam, 1731.

‡ The Abbé Caveyrac and Dr. Lingard.

§ Dr. Lingard, *History of England*. Note E. *vol.* viii. edit. in 8vo.

tioner. They and myself most humbly entreat your majesty to employ our arms and our lives in things possible; and however hazardous they may be, we will devote thereto the last drop of our blood.*" The Viscount d'Orthèz and the Count de Tendes died suddenly a short time after; and the prevalent opinion was, that they fell victims to the king's resentment.†

The Bishop of Lizieux, James Hennuyer, also behaved in a merciful manner, and displayed a truly Christian disposition. He was originally a Dominican, and had been confessor to Henry II.: on the death of that king he was made Bishop of Lizieux. For twelve years he had watched over his people, imparting to them the benefit of his learning, and the advantages of his example in mildness and piety, when the king's lieutenant came to communicate the orders he had received, to massacre all the Huguenots of Lizieux. "No! no! sir," said the Bishop to him: "I oppose, and I will always oppose the execution of such an order, to which I cannot consent. I am pastor of the church of Lizieux, and the people you say you are commanded to slay are my flock. Although they are at present wanderers, having strayed from the fold which has been confided to me by Jesus Christ, the sovereign pastor, they may nevertheless return, and I do not give up the hope of seeing them come back. I do not perceive in the gospel, that the shepherd ought to suffer the blood of his sheep to be shed; on the contrary, I there find that he is bound to shed his blood, and to give his life for them. Return then with this order, which shall never be executed so long as I live." "But," said the lieutenant, "for my justification, you must give me, in writing, your refusal to let me act according to the king's orders." The bishop willingly gave the document required, and agreed to incur all the responsibility of it. No further orders arrived from court.‡ This amiable conduct of the bishop overcame all opposition, and most of the Protestants of that place returned to the Catholic church, giving an unequivocal example of the efficacy of mildness, and its superiority to persecution in subduing enemies.

Gordès, governor of Dauphiny, having received a written order, which revoked all the verbal communications, wrote to the king, saying that he had received no verbal order; to which the king replied, that he need not trouble himself, for they were given only to some who were about him!§ All these tend to prove that the king did issue orders in the provinces: besides, if it had depended upon popular fury, the massacres would have occurred immediately after the arrival of the news from Paris; whereas, the time which was occupied in awaiting the result of spontaneous feeling excited by example, and sending orders where requisite, makes it still more probable that the massacres were ordered by the king. But we have, in addition, the evidence of Tavannes on this point. "Many towns of the kingdom killed not only the leaders and factious, as they had been commanded, but behaved with the unbridled licence of the Parisians."|| And De Thou, who was in a situa-

tion to be well informed, declares that verbal orders were sent.*

Davila goes so far as to say, that on the day which preceded this dreadful execution, the king despatched several couriers to different parts of the kingdom, with express orders to the governors of the towns and provinces to do the same.† And this assertion is supported by a journal, which was kept by Mallet and Vautier, inhabitants of Senlis, in which town no massacre took place. They simply state, "That on the arrival of orders from Paris against the Huguenots, on the 24th of August (the very day of the St. Bartholomew), the inhabitants assembled, and having a horror of dipping their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, they only enjoined them to quit the town, which was done without noise and without tumult."‡

The orders of the court arrived at Nismes in the evening of the 29th of August. Guillaume Villar, the consul of that city, immediately shut the gates, that no stranger might enter, and confided the superintendence of that charge to two eminent citizens, one a Protestant, the other a Catholic. He then convoked a meeting, which was attended by the principal residents belonging to each religion; and, in an eloquent address, showed the necessity of union in their terrible situation. He called upon all present to swear they would maintain order, and prevent any violence; each pledging himself to protect the others, without distinction of religion. By this laudable measure, Nismes was spared the prevailing horrors.§

The events at Toulouse form a melancholy contrast with what precedes. There, the barbarity displayed was aggravated by a long detention, completely destroying all pretext of a hasty movement. The news of the massacre in Paris was kept secret for some days, as the parliament and the capitouls were undecided how they should act. On Sunday, the 31st of August, all the gates were shut, with the exception of a postern; and trustworthy persons were placed, to watch those who entered, or went out. Some Protestants had gone early in the morning, for worship, to a village called Castanet. They became suspicious, and were inclined to keep away from the town. Others returned, leaving their swords at the gate. The next day the president Daphis sent for several counsellors residing in the environs, as their absence gave rise to rumours. It was true, he said, that there had been a massacre in Paris; but it had arisen out of a private quarrel, and that the king would not infringe the edict of pacification. Some returned, but others, more wary, withdrew to Montauban.

On the 2nd of September, in order to quiet those in the town, and attract those who were outside, there was published, by sound of trumpet, a prohibition against molesting any of the religion: for deceptive purposes, great pomp was displayed on that occasion. The president, finding that many Protestants still kept away, resolved to seize those in his power; and on the morning of the 3rd of September, the troops, divided into several bodies, broke into the houses, seized the Protestants, and confined them in the prisons and convents. A general order was issued for their arrest; and those

* D'Aubigné, De Thou, Sully.

† De Thou, liv. 52.

‡ Maimbourg, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 6.

§ Lingard, *Vindication*, &c.

|| Tavannes, p. 419.

* De Thou, liv. 52.

† Davila, liv. 5.

‡ This journal is quoted in *Esprit de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 57.

§ Menard, *Hist. de Nismes*, vol. v. pp. 71, 72.

concealed were to be given up. Five counsellors were thus captured. The victims remained in the prisons during three weeks, after which they were collected in the Conciergerie; and, on the 3rd of October, orders came from Paris, that the execution was to be no longer delayed. The parliament still hesitated; and the president, perceiving an unwillingness among the counsellors, said, "Do as you please, and say what you think fit; but for my part, I shall set about executing, in the king's name, what my charge and my duty command." On the next day, before sunrise, two students, with seven or eight of the rabble, armed with axes, cutlasses, &c., proceeded to the Conciergerie, by order of the advocate-general, and, having made the prisoners descend one by one, murdered them at the foot of the steps, without giving any time to speak or pray. There were three hundred killed in that manner. They were stripped, and their bodies remained in the court of the palace for two whole days, after which they were thrown into a trench. The counsellors were hanged in their robes before the palace; and the bodies of the victims were abandoned to pillage. Orders were afterwards issued to all places in the dependencies of Toulouse to do the same.*

The news of the massacre created a great sensation throughout Europe. The indignation which it excited was accompanied by terror; for it seemed the signal of a crusade against the Protestants. The English were far from esteeming their insular position a guarantee: they had experience of the impervious character of Romish intrigue, in the different manœuvres (not to say plots) on behalf of Mary Queen of Scots; and the pretended rupture between France and Spain, which vanished as soon as its object was accomplished, made them dread either an immediate attack from Philip II., or a general revolt of the papists in Great Britain. This alarm was increased by the absence of news from their ambassador, Walsingham, whose messenger had been detained by some accident. The fugitives, hourly arriving, gave dreadful, often exaggerated, details; and an account of his death was generally expected. Walsingham was one of the most experienced statesmen of the age: his penetration was remarkable, and he constantly employed a number of spies; but the massacre took him by surprise. His life, however, was in no danger; for his house was protected by order of Catherine, and all the English who had presence of mind to take shelter there were safe.

Lamotte-Fenelon, the French ambassador in London, was ordered to give an account of the motives which had caused the massacre: he was received by the queen and the court in deep mourning, and nothing more was said to him than civility and etiquette required.

The French Protestants were crying out for aid, and the nation at large was anxious to help them: Walsingham informed his sovereign that the friendship of Catherine de Medicis was more dangerous than her enmity; but Elizabeth persisted in refusing help to the sufferers, and even permitted the proposal of a marriage with the Duke of Alençon. It must however be said, in justice to this queen, that she would not hastily risk a war, which at that time might cause still more injury to the Protestant

interest; and that, while she suffered the empty forms of negotiation to be pursued, she, being decided on refusing every offer of marriage, was careful to send such secret information as kept alive the hopes of the Huguenots.

All the princes of Europe expressed their indignation on the occasion, except two: the King of Spain and the pope. A courier, with an account of the massacre, was sent off to Philip II., who, although pleased with the event, could not conceal his regret that the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé had been spared. Having read the letter, he sent it to the Admiral of Castille, who received it while at supper, and thinking to promote the cheerfulness of his guests, he read it to them. The Duke of Infantado, who was present, is stated to have asked if the admiral and his friends were Christians. And on receiving an answer in the affirmative: "How is it then, that, being Frenchmen and Christians, they should have been killed like brutes?" "Gently, duke," said the admiral; "do you not know that war in France is peace for Spain?"* This dreadful event put an end to Philip's fears for Flanders, at least for the present; and policy reconciles a tyrant to the worst of crimes.

At Rome great rejoicing took place: the Cardinal of Lorraine liberally rewarded the messenger, and questioned him, like a person informed beforehand.† The Cardinal Alexandrin had made no secret of *expecting* the news of a great victory gained over the heretics, and exclaimed when it arrived, "The king of France has kept his word!"‡ The pope went in a grand procession, performed high mass with all the splendour of his court, and ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung in order to celebrate the event; the firing of cannon at the same time announced the glad tidings to the neighbouring villages. A medal was struck, bearing on one side the head of Gregory XIII. and on the other the exterminating angel striking the Protestants, with this inscription: "*Huguenotorum Strages, 1572.*"§

Here ought to finish the discussion of this sanguinary subject; and here it would finish, had not its continuation been rendered necessary by the inconsiderate zeal of the advocates of popery, who, instead of excusing these excesses, by attributing them to the ferocious manners of the age, (in which they would in some degree meet with the concurrence of all candid persons,) deny the existence of many facts which have been handed down to us: while some go so far as to reverse the tables, and attempt to show that the church of Rome is less persecuting than the reformed churches. On this account it has been considered necessary to examine the characters and weight of the principal champions of the church of Rome.

Lapopeliniere, a contemporary, and the Abbé Caveyrac, in the last century, are well known to all inquirers upon this subject: their mouldering celebrity has been recently revived by the polished pen of a divine, whose anxiety to remove this stain from his church, has made him also enter the lists. Of these writers, the first aimed at making such a plausible narrative, as should represent

* Brantome, vol. viii. p. 189.

† Esprit de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 65.

‡ Lacrosette, *Hist. des Guerres de Religion*, vol. ii.

§ L'Estoile mentions that in June, 1608, he obtained one of these medals. *Journal de Henri IV.*

* *Chronique de Castres*, par un Anonyme, 1560, à 1610. MS. Bib. Royale, No. 124.

Charles, and the Queen-Mother in a favourable light; the second tried to justify the French government for having persecuted the Huguenots; while the third endeavours (and the effort cannot be blamed) to efface those opinions which Protestants in general entertain of the severe persecutions inflicted by the church of Rome. We find, in consequence, in the works of the first, softened statements, apologetic reasonings, and the entire omission of some accounts; in the pages of the second reigns a spirit of rancorous bigotry accompanied with much sophistry; while the third offers a critical examination, the object of which is to shew that the received accounts being inconsistent with each other, the probabilities are favourable to the Catholic religion. It will not be supposed that these three are the only writers who have undertaken the defence of the church of Rome; but the periods at which they wrote, and the feelings which pervade them, give a superior interest; while the constant reference which is made to them creates an importance beyond other authors on the subject; for these reasons I submit a short notice of each.*

Lancelot Vösin de Lapopelinere was educated as a Protestant, and became a Catholic. The period of his conversion is uncertain; but his history† displays feelings very different from the character universally attributed to the Huguenots of that irritated period. His eloquence made him conspicuous at conferences; but on account of his repeated efforts to persuade the Protestants to abate their demands, which were obstacles to a pacification, he incurred the suspicions of his comrades; he is said to have fought a duel on that very account in 1579.‡ His book is dedicated to the queen-mother, in the style of a most servile courtier; and to shew how desirous he was of palliating the conduct of the court, it is only necessary to point out his unfairness in one particular; he has not made the least mention of the King's proclamation on the 24th of August, which attributed the massacre to the Guises, and which proclamation was so notorious that he could not plead ignorance of it. By that omission, Charles is made to appear consistent in the charge which he laid before the Parliament on the 26th, respecting the detected conspiracy of the Huguenots.

The philosophical writers of the eighteenth century had indulged in very severe strictures on the revocation of the edict of Nantes and the cruelties which followed: the subject being continually under discussion, it was considered necessary to publish some counter statement, and the Abbé Caveyrac in consequence composed his apology.§ His work may be said to carry its own refutation within itself, and that may be the reason why we hear of no reply of any note: indeed it is impossible to read this justification of bigotry, without pitying the narrow or perverted mind that can approve of it. The work itself does not belong to

this portion of our subject; but as it was requisite for the abbé to revert to the commencement of the moral contagion, he found it necessary to apologise for another equally wicked piece of policy in the century preceding the subject of his labours. He, therefore, annexed a dissertation on the St. Bartholomew, which contains four propositions, viz. 1. That religion had nothing to do with the massacre. 2. That it was an affair of proscription. 3. That is was only intended for Paris. And 4. That the number of killed was much less than has been stated.

"Religion," says the abbé, "had nothing to do with it, either as *motive, counsel, or agent*. The attempts to carry off two kings, many towns being withdrawn from their allegiance, sieges maintained, foreign troops introduced into the kingdom, and four pitched battles fought against the sovereign, were motives sufficiently powerful to irritate the monarch and render his subjects hateful to him: these caused him to write to Schomberg, his ambassador, in Germany, that he could endure it no longer."* In reply to these motives, the answer which first suggests itself is, that Charles is accused of making a peace in order to lull his Protestant subjects into security, and of contriving a marriage for the purpose of collecting their leaders together: if therefore religion be unconnected with the motive his treachery remains the same; and when Caveyrac argues that the above motives were sufficiently powerful, he gives a practical illustration of the odious decree of the council of Constance, *that faith need not be kept with heretics*; for Charles had published three decrees of pacification, each of which declared, that the Protestants, in taking arms, had been actuated by a desire to serve his majesty; and the friendship that he professed to entertain for Coligny is notorious.

In order to show that religion had nothing to do with the massacre as *counsel*, the abbé roundly asserts that neither cardinals, bishops, nor priests, were admitted into this fatal divan; adding, "even the Duke of Guise was excluded from it."† It is remarkable how unsparingly the abbé condemns almost every writer on this subject: he cannot credit their accounts, as they either write under a delusion, or were interested in propagating a falsehood; but still he offers no reason why his bare assertion should be received. It has been said by many contemporaries, that persons belonging to the clergy were in the plot, and the absence of a refutation leaves their testimony quite as good as the contradiction of the Abbé Caveyrac. When Pius V. denounced the wrath of God upon the king, if he did not annihilate the enemies of the church, the Catholic religion was assuredly made both motive and counsel;‡ and, if it were not, how is it that the massacre was immediately followed by the suppression of the reformed religion? "But," says the abbé, "if Gregory XIII. went in procession from the church of St. Mark to that of St. Louis; if he appointed a jubilee; if he had a medal struck on the occasion,—all these demonstrations of gratitude, rather than satisfaction, had for their real and sole principle, not the massacre of the Hugue-

* The memoirs of Tavannes have been greatly praised as containing a *disinterested and faithful* account of the event; but a careful perusal of them must convince every one, that the younger Tavannes aimed at an apology for his father's memory, in hopes of obtaining the good graces of Henry IV.

† Histoire de France, &c. depuis, 1550, jusqu'à cestemps, (1577), 2 vols. folio, Paris, 1581.

‡ Biographie de Lavocat, *Memoires*, &c. du P. Nieerou, vol. XXXIX. p. 381.

§ Apologie de Louis XIV. et de son conseil, sur la revocation de l'Edit de Nantes; avec une Dissertation sur la St. Barthélemi. Par l'Abbé Nove de Caveyrac, Paris, 1758.

* Dissertation, p. 2.

† Diss. p. 3. The absence of Guise certainly increases the probability of De Retz having really made the proposition attributed to him.

‡ De Thou states positively that a medal was presented to the king on the 7th of September with this motto, *Pietas ex-citavit justitiam*, liv. 53.

nots, but the discovery of the conspiracy which they had plotted, or at least which the king took pains to accuse them of at all the courts of Christendom."*

To prove that the Catholic religion had no part in the massacre as *agent*, the abbé gives a long account of persons saved from murder by Catholics, and mentions cases where convents and religious houses afforded refuge. "At Bordeaux there were several saved by priests and other persons, from whom such help was not expected. On the other hand, many Catholics perished; and if their names had been preserved we should be surprised at their number."† Here is an evident attempt to divert the attention from the main question, that religion was the chief motive in the massacres which were committed. It is undeniable that the white cross was worn to distinguish the murderers, and that the bare fact of going to mass saved the lives of many; if therefore the king and queen had no idea of religion in commanding the massacre, they were evidently convinced that the multitude would better execute their purpose, if they were called upon in the name of the church. Admitting this supposition, the king's conduct appears still blacker; it is deprived of the excuse of pious intentions, and receives the additional stigma of having employed the religious feelings of a mob in the execution of an atrocious crime.

The Abbé's second proposition, showing that it was an affair of proscription,‡ contains a long series of abuse against Coligny and the Huguenots, all which confirms the generally received opinion, that the court had some perfidious measures in contemplation for a long time previous: it also destroys the only argument calculated to relieve the king from his odious reputation, in attributing the massacre to a dread of the Huguenots' vengeance, when Guise had revenged his father on the person of the admiral.

In developing his third proposition, that the affair regarded Paris only, the abbé gives a view of the different opinions upon the plot: he considers three hypotheses as particularly worthy of attention. One is the account given by Queen Margaret, who assures us that the king was led to form the fatal resolution by the threats of vengeance which escaped the Huguenots. The second is the statement made by Tavannes, according to which it originated with the queen-mother, who had great fears on account of the king's placing so much confidence in Coligny; she employed Maurevel to dispatch him, and thus rendered the massacre necessary. The third is the declaration made by the Duke of Anjou to his surgeon, Miron, during their journey to Poland. This last, which is long, is the abbé's favourite version, "because the confession contains nothing in the prince's favour; but on the contrary, he declares himself the accomplice, or rather the first author of the admiral's death: if he had been less alarmed at his brother's silence, his walking with great strides, his angry looks, and his putting his hand at times to his dagger, he would not have gone to relate those things to his mother, and they would not have put together all the reports, notices, suspicions, &c.," and the abbé then shows that the dreadful results would not have taken place. "It is true," says

he, "that this arch rebel might have been able to destroy the throne and the altar, as he *designed*, but that was not the object of their fears at the time: their aim was to prevent his gaining all the king's confidence."* The abbé thus attempts to show that the massacre was not premeditated, and then refutes all who have asserted that orders were sent into the provinces to take similar measures, on the ground of those massacres not being simultaneous. Some occurred two and three weeks, some even a month after; which delay, to a candid inquirer, offers a fair presumptive evidence, not only that such orders were actually sent, but that, in consequence of reluctance on the part of the governors, additional orders were issued for enforcing the execution of the first.† But not only does the abbé refuse his credit to every writer, he attempts to discredit all their accounts, by producing one which is unworthy of attention, from the palpable marks of fabrication it contains. It is a letter purporting to be written by the queen to Strozzy, and sent to him in the month of April, with orders to open it on the 24th of August: it contains information of the massacre resolved on, and orders him to do the same in his government. It is only necessary to observe, that till the death of the Queen of Navarre, the general expectation was that the marriage would take place in June, and that ceremony being over, the Huguenot nobility would soon disperse: in addition to which, the king's eagerness in drawing them all to court would preclude the postponement of his plan any more than was necessary; the letter was most probably written to discredit the general opinions, by a *reductio in absurdum*.

The letter of the Viscount d'Orthes, refusing to murder the Huguenots, is declared to be a fable, and every authority is rejected, except Lapopeliniere, whom he takes care on every occasion to call a *Calvinist* writer, in spite of his abjuration. But admitting that no orders were sent, the abbé himself has shown that in many cases they were not necessary. "The death of the leaders and factious alone was resolved on: the horrors were not meant to extend beyond Paris; and if in spite of precautions, the murders were spread from the capital to the other towns, it was because the news of the event, being diffused throughout the kingdom, invited the Catholics of many cities to do the same."‡ It will never be contended that the news was more than a week in penetrating into every corner of France; whence then arose the delay in some of the towns? It was because the inhabitants felt averse to it, and the massacres did not occur there till fresh instructions and instigating emissaries had arrived to carry the point. In the towns where fanaticism reigned, they wanted only an example. Bigotry requires no orders: permission to exert itself is all that is necessary.

The fourth and last proposition is, that the number of killed on the occasion is much less than has been stated. After examining every account, the abbé settles down, as usual, with the opinion of Lapopeliniere, who estimates the killed in Paris at a thousand. "This opinion is the more probable, as it can be supported by an account of the

* Dissertation, p. 21.

† At Bordeaux the people were exhorted from the pulpits to massacre the heretics on the fête of St. Michael, (29th Sep.)—*D'Aubigné*, vol. ii. p. 27.

‡ Dissertation, p. 25.

* Dissertation, p. 3.

† Ibid. p. 5.

‡ Ibid. p. 6.

Hotel-de-Ville of Paris, from which it will be seen that the provost, &c. had bodies to the number of eleven hundred buried in the environs of St. Cloud, Auteuil, and Chaillot. It is certain, that with the exception of the admiral, who was exposed at the gibbet at Montfaucon, and Oudin Petit, a bookseller, who was buried in his cellar, that all the bodies were thrown into the Seine. Carts were loaded with dead bodies of girls, women, children and men, and were taken to the river and thrown in. The carcasses stopt partly at a small island, which was then opposite the Louvre, partly at that which is called the Isle des Cygnes: it was therefore necessary to take measures for their interment, lest they should infect the air and water; and eight grave-diggers were employed for eight days, who, so far as we may rely on people of that description, buried eleven hundred bodies. If it were essential to examine this account, we should find strong presumptions against its accuracy. It is hardly possible that eight grave-diggers could have buried eleven hundred bodies in eight days; it was necessary to draw them out of the water; it was requisite that the trenches should be rather deep to avoid infection; the soil where they were made is very firm, frequently stony: how then could each of these eight men have been able to bury, for his part, one hundred and thirty-seven bodies in eight days? a thing difficult to do and to believe. We ought even to presume that these men, of but little delicacy by condition and nature, would make no scruple of swelling the number of interred, to increase their pay; and indeed they had nobody to control them: (query?) I therefore make every allowance, in supposing a thousand persons were massacred in Paris, conformable to what Lapopeliniere has written.*

Without staying to inquire where those bodies were buried, which stopped facing the Louvre, there is great probability, from the strength of the current in the Seine, that for every corpse which took ground, six or seven floated on. The island has disappeared within the last twelve months;† but it will be recollected, that the branch of the river separating it from Auteuil was nearly dry during the summer months; the bodies therefore on the north side of the stream would be carried into the opening, or against the inlet, and there remain; while those in the middle of the river would pass down to the sea. Thus, this account from the Hotel-de-Ville, instead of proving that fewer persons were killed than is thought, actually substantiates the opinion to be drawn from a general review of the accounts of that time; viz. that more than six thousand persons fell in Paris alone. It is clear that only a small portion of the bodies lodged at the Isle des Cygnes; for as the municipal officers thought fit to have them thrown into the river at first, why did they not simply renew the process, and send the bodies on again, by pushing them into the stream? but as they remained there several days, and constituted but a small portion of the victims; and as other towns contributed to charge the rivers in the same way, it was thought better to put them underground. With respect to those buried at Chaillot, there could be no reason for carrying them half a league over a high hill, from Auteuil, which has a *clay* soil, to Chaillot,

which is very *stony*: it is much more likely that they were persons killed at Chaillot in attempting to make their escape; for at that period, one of the principal outlets of Paris was in that direction.

Great importance has been attached to the recent publication of Dr. Lingard. His history of England has been held up as an antidote to the incorrect and prejudiced writers of preceding times: the persecution of the French Protestants being so interwoven with the events of Elizabeth's reign, he could not avoid discussing the subject; and a short notice of this episode will therefore be useful. His account is founded on the Duke of Anjou's confession. In the body of the work his remarks are short; but the subject is treated more at length in a note at the end of the volume. The assertions which are there made excited considerable attention on their publication, and some observations in the reviews became the cause of a treatise in vindication of the original remarks. In the history, the notes, and the vindication, there are many inaccuracies which will immediately strike every one acquainted with the French history of this period; and without insinuating that the reverend gentleman has intentionally misrepresented any point, there is fair ground for inferring that he has in some cases taken a quotation on the authority of a partial writer, and that his acquaintance with the French authors is very superficial: the following are a few of the cases alluded to.

"Coligny and his counsellors perished; the populace joined in the work of blood, and every Huguenot, or reputed Huguenot, who fell in their way was murdered."* Justice to the population of Paris demanded a statement of the methods used to excite their feelings; but that is passed in silence, because the detail would be fatal to the sentiment meant to be impressed. "Several hours elapsed before order could be restored in the capital."† Certainly several *days* elapsed before any real attempt was made to put an end to the carnage. In the afternoon of the twenty-fourth, public proclamation was made to desist from the massacre, and Dr. L. has given a quotation from Lapopeliniere, to shew that the king gave orders, by sound of trumpet, for every one to return home, under pain of death for those who continued the murders;‡ but in common fairness, the extract from that writer should have been given more at length: it would then appear that the last day of the week was but little less remarkable for murders than the others.§

The work contains some errors which deserve notice, although they are unimportant in point of historical argument. "So powerful a nobleman, who had *twice* led his army against that of the crown, was naturally an object of jealousy."|| "They reminded him (the king) of the *two* rebellions of the Huguenots, &c."¶ It is certainly of no real consequence that Coligny had been engaged against the king's troops more than twice,** and that there had been *three* civil wars or rebellions, instead of two; but the assertion shows how much

* Hist. of England, vol. viii. p. 96.

† Ibid.

‡ Note E, p. 440.

§ Lapopeliniere, vol. ii. liv. 29, p. 67.

|| Note E, p. 436.

¶ Note E, p. 433.

** Besides sieges and skirmishes, there were no less than *six* battles; viz. Dreux, St. Denis, Jarnac, La Roche-Abeille, Montcontour, and Arnuay-le-Duc.

* Dissertation, p. 39.

† It was dug away in 1826 and 1827, to widen the river on the establishment of a dock at Grenelle.

this writer's reputation for research and accuracy has been overrated. Two other remarks are unaccountable: in one, the admiral's assassin is placed in an *upper window*,* a thing impossible in a narrow street; the other mentions the ringing of the bell of the *parliament house*.†

The doctor's remarks respecting the number of killed are curious: "among the *Huguenot* writers, Perefice reckons 100,000; Sully, 70,000; Thuanus, 30,000; Lapopeliniere, 20,000; the reformed Martyrologist, 15,000; and Masson, 10,000. But the Martyrologist adopted a measure which may enable us to form a tolerable conjecture; he procured from the ministers in the different towns where massacres had taken place, lists of the names of persons who had suffered, or were supposed to have suffered. He published the result in 1582; and the reader will be surprised to learn, that in all France he could discover the names of no more than 786 persons; perhaps, if we double that number, we shall not be far from the real amount."‡ Of the above six Huguenot writers, three were well known Catholics, viz. Perefice, Archbishop of Paris; Thuanus, or De Thou, and Masson. Lapopeliniere abjured Protestantism, and the only Huguenot of them all is Sully, with the exception of the anonymous Martyrologist, respecting whom it is a fair subject for inquiry who he was; and whether his work was not one of the artifices of the League, to diminish the odium which even at that time was entertained for these effects of Popish bigotry. Dr. L. himself seems aware that his position is untenable, for in his *Vindication* he changes his ground; represents his printer to have inserted the word *Huguenot* instead of *National*;§ and afterwards declares how little importance he attaches to the contradictory conjectures of historians; adding, that as he had taken Caveyrac for his guide, he refers the reader to him as his sole authority.|| Such a reference renders comment unnecessary; it must however be observed, that more than seven hundred persons of distinction were killed,¶ and supposing the Martyrologist to have been what is pretended his researches must have been for persons of a particular class, or he could easily have found more names than he did; but the list contains chiefly the names of persons of the lowest condition; and when the period of its publication is considered, there is very great appearance of its being intended to discredit the then prevailing opinions, if not in France, at least in foreign parts.

In replying to the reviewers, Dr. L. goes more deeply into the subject, but with no better success, for errors are often discernible. "The ceremony (the marriage) had been fixed for the 18th of August, but he (Coligny) went to court in June, &c."** It was, however, the death of the Queen of Navarre in June, which caused it to be delayed till August. To shew how unlikely it was that the king should be so great a dissembler, he is stated to have been no more than *twenty years* of age,§ whereas he was in his *twenty-third* year.

Respecting the league of Bayonne in 1565, there

* Note E, p. 437.

† Note E, p. 439. If by Parliament House is meant the Palace of Justice, it is at variance with the general accounts; and there was no other building which could be so called.

‡ Note E, p. 441.

§ *Vindication*, &c. p. 15.

|| *Ibid.* p. 45.

¶ Maimbourg, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 6.

** *Vindication*, p. 18.

†† *Ibid.* p. 18. Charles IX. was born in May, 1550

are some observations worthy of attention. Dr. L. shows that there is no proof of it beyond the suspicions of the Huguenots, and which suspicions had not much effect even on them: for they placed themselves without hesitation at the mercy of the court, at the assembly at Moulins in 1566.* So far, however, from trusting to the court, the fact was, that they went so well accompanied, that the queen did not dare attempt anything.† It is moreover singular that to prove there was nothing in contemplation against the Huguenots, a letter should be produced from Strada, written by Philip II. to his sister in the Netherlands. It states, "that the Queen of Spain having entreated her brother and her mother to remedy the perilous state of religion in France, found them perfectly disposed to follow the counsels which were discussed: that several marriages, and an alliance against the Turks were proposed; but that nothing was decided, because the queen turned aside *every subject but that of religion*, which she recommended anew to her brother and mother, at the suggestion of the Duke of Alva, and that the meeting broke up."‡ It has been said that Strada did not believe that any idea of the massacre was entertained at this meeting; but the substance of the letter which he has preserved shows that measures were then canvassed for suppressing the Huguenot party; and, the argument as to whether he did or did not believe that the massacre was then discussed, rests altogether upon a disputed punctuation.

CHAPTER XXX.

Conversion of Navarre and Condé—Execution of Briquemaut and Cavagnes—Fourth civil war—Siege of Rochelle—Conspiracy of the Politiques—Death of Charles IX.

ON the morning of the St. Bartholomew Charles IX. had ordered the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé to abjure their heresy: when order was restored, they were again summoned before his presence. Catherine had employed Cosmo Ruggieri, her countryman, to cast the nativity of the princes. He made the calculation with great apparent care and minuteness, and announced that the state had nothing to fear from them.§ Repeated efforts had been made in the meantime to win them over by the exhortations of Maldonathus, a Jesuit, assisted by other theologians; Navarre displayed some reluctance to the change, but Condé gave a most decided refusal. The king's anger being inflamed by this opposition to his will, he was inclined to renew the dreadful scenes in Paris, which even then continued to desolate the provinces. He vowed he would put to death every Huguenot persisting in heresy, beginning with the Prince of Condé: he ordered his guards to be drawn out, and then sent for the two princes. The young Queen of France, whose charms gave her some influence over her husband's violent temper, intreated him with tears to desist from his purpose, and wait a little longer: Charles was persuaded to send away his guards, but still ordered the princes to be brought before him.||

* *Vindication*, p. 51.

† *Vie de Coligny*, p. 314.

‡ *Vindication*, &c. p. 53.

§ *Mem. de la Vie de J. A. Thou*, p. 244.

|| Sept. 9. Lapopeliniere, Maimbourg, D'Aubigne.

Navarre was induced to comply with the king's wish, more by the example of De Rosiers (a Huguenot minister, who had abjured), than from the effect of conviction; but Condé was inflexible. Charles, with a fierce look, said to him, "*The mass, death, or the bastille!*" and sent him back to confinement.*

In a short time the prince yielded; and, after proper instructions from his uncle, the Cardinal of Bourbon, he went to mass with the princess his wife, and the different members of the Bourbon family. They all received absolution; and that they should not afterwards disavow their consent, Navarre and Condé were made to write to the pope for his approval of their return to the church of Rome. The King of Navarre also published the declaration required of him, which prohibited the exercise of the reformed religion in his states.†

Zealous Catholics argued upon these conversions, to show the utility of the massacre; and the king's counsellors recommended another cruel measure to prove its necessity. Briquemaut and Cavagnes were brought to trial for the alleged plot of the Huguenots. Briquemaut had taken refuge in Walsingham's house, where he was seized in the dress of a groom.‡ They were both condemned to be hanged, as convicted of all the crimes which the decree of the parliament attributed to the Protestants: the sentence was carried into execution at the end of October. Tavannes informs us§ that they were both offered their lives, if they would confess the existence of a conspiracy, but they refused to listen to such terms; while De Thou declares,|| that Briquemaut himself made great efforts to avoid death. He offered not only to acknowledge Coligny's guilt, but even to serve against Rochelle. Cavagnes, however, exhorted him to display the firmness for which he was celebrated; and from that time his intrepidity never forsook him.

They were drawn on a hurdle, and the effigy of Coligny was placed beside them. The populace insulted them as they went to execution, and afterwards offered every possible indignity to their bodies. The king and the queen-mother were at the window of the Hotel-de-Ville, to witness the dreadful spectacle; when, in order to make the representation more complete for the gratification of their vengeance, a toothpick was placed in the admiral's mouth.¶

"The court," says the Abbé Crillon, "thought to have drowned Calvinism in the blood of its principal defenders; but that *hydra* resumed fresh vigour."** A fourth civil war became inevitable: the government had taken measures for seizing the towns still in the hands of the Protestants, but were successful only at La Charité. A body of soldiers having obtained admission upon some pretext, suddenly seized upon the gates and principal places, so that the inhabitants were unable to help

themselves, and the town was in the power of the king's officers. Joyeuse and Strozzy attempted the same thing at Montauban and Rochelle, but failed, in consequence of information being sent to those places, which put the garrisons on their guard.*

The timely arrival of Resnier was the cause of Montauban being preserved. After his remarkable escape from the massacre he travelled southward, and arrived at that town with about eighty horsemen. He found the inhabitants in such a state of alarm, that he could not persuade them to defend the place. On retiring from Montauban, his little troop fell in with a division of Montluc's army: they fought, less with any hope of success, than from a desire to sell their lives as dearly as possible; their desperation was rewarded with a victory, for Montluc's cavalry was nearly destroyed, and his standard fell into the hands of the Protestants. Returning to Montauban with the news of this success, Resnier's example revived the courage of the people; they shut their gates against the king's troops, and many other places were then encouraged to do the same.†

By sacrificing the admiral and his friends, the King of France had completely destroyed every chance of employing the martial spirit of the nation in a manner either useful or glorious; and he had rendered reconciliation with his revolted subjects absolutely impossible. Great exertions were requisite for raising his forces. Three armies were levied: one under La Chastre was employed to reduce Sancerre; Damville, with another, undertook to quiet Languedoc; the third, commanded by Villars, admiral of France, was sent into Guyenne. Besides these, there were the forces under Strozzy before Rochelle, and Montluc's army near Montauban, ready to join that of Marshal Damville.‡

Rochelle being the head-quarters of the Huguenots, it was considered that the conquest of it would be followed by the submission of the other towns, or at least the dispersion of the Protestants, and the retreat or adhesion of their leaders. To make more sure of their object, Biron was proposed as their governor, he being high in the confidence of the Protestant party, and reasonably so, as his destruction had been intended with theirs. Another reason for trying persuasion and gentle means, was the fear lest despair might make them deliver the place to the English. These proposals and delays gave sufficient time to prepare for the defence of the place, by repairing the works, as well as in sending abroad to negotiate for assistance.

The Protestant authorities at Rochelle began early to prepare for the storm, which it was evident would soon burst over them. The inhabitants were numbered, and all capable of bearing arms were enrolled and exercised. The most important posts were confided to individuals of approved fidelity; and as a measure of precaution, they were renewed every week. Provisions were collected, and a premium given for the importation of ammunition. It is stated by Amos Barbot,§ that thirty thousand casks of wine were collected in the

* D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 30. Matthieu, liv. 6, p. 348.

† The letter to the pope and the declaration are given at length by Lapopelinière.

‡ Lapopelinière and Matthieu.

§ Mem., p. 419. The same is mentioned in a work entitled, *De Favoribus Gallicis*, p. 411. Edin., 1573.

¶ Book 53, vol. vi. p. 460.

|| De Thou, liv. 53. The admiral had a habit of constantly using a tooth-pick; and it became proverbial to say, "*Dieu me garde du curent de M. l'Admiral.*" See Brantome, vol. viii. p. 535.

** *Vie de Crillon*, written in 1785 by one of his descendants, Louis Abbé de Crillon, canon of Toulouse.

* Davila, liv. 5.

† Sully, liv. 1. D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 78.

‡ D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ.* Mezeray, *Abregé Chron.*

§ An advocate, mayor in 1610, who compiled a valuable record from the archives of this city.

town; so that if their store of food was in proportion, they were well supplied. The consistory ordered a general fast, and prayers to implore Divine assistance.*

Biron arrived at the end of September, and delivered letters from the court to the magistrates of Rochelle. The letters were attentively read before a full assembly. One of them was from the King of Navarre, who recommended them to receive the new governor. The magistrates were undecided; and it was fully expected that a deputation would be sent to meet the marshal: but two letters received from the Baron de la Garde gave rise to suspicions of some project for seizing the town. The unfavourable impression caused by the letters was augmented by tidings from Montauban, informing them of the treacherous conduct of a governor, who had been admitted by the confiding inhabitants of Castres, and a massacre of many Protestants followed. The magistrates of Rochelle were then fully decided against admitting Marshal Biron.†

Finding that Biron would not be received, and that after what had passed the Protestants would distrust any offer which might be made, Charles sent La Noue to Rochelle with full powers.‡ He was, happily for him, in Hainault at the time of the massacre, but finding himself too weak to oppose the Duke of Alva, he returned to France, and claimed the protection of his old friend the Duke of Longueville. His reputation stood so high with all parties, that his Huguenotism was forgotten in estimating his character. With the greatest share of bravery and skill, he was known to be earnest in his wishes for peace: he was besides considered so incapable of dissimulation, that the highest importance was attached to his recommendations, by Catholics, as well as Protestants.§ On his arrival at court, the king, to his surprise, received him with great demonstrations of kindness, and conferred upon him the confiscated property of Teligny, his brother-in-law. Charles then proposed to him to go to Rochelle, to persuade the inhabitants to submit. La Noue declined such a commission; but the king's threats overcame his reluctance.|| He was accompanied by a Florentine priest, named Gadagni; and on approaching Rochelle, sent a message to the town to announce his arrival.¶

Biron was in constant communication with the leading Huguenots, and sent them information calculated to dispel any thoughts of submission,** which, added to the exhortations of their ministers, not only made them decided in defending the town, but rendered them distrustful and suspicious of any offer which might be made.

In a village near the town, La Noue awaited the arrival of the deputies from Rochelle;†† their coolness was painful to a man so jealous of the esteem of his friends. "We have been invited," said they,

"to confer with La Noue; but where is he? It is to little purpose that the person to whom we speak resembles him in person, when in character he differs so widely from him." La Noue, pointing to the artificial arm he wore, (and which had procured for him the surname of *Bras de fer*,) reminded them of the limb he had lost in their service;* but they persisted in asserting, that they remembered with gratitude their valued friend, but that they could not then recognise him. Finding it impossible to treat with the deputies, he requested permission to enter the town: the inhabitants received him joyfully, but they would hear no more of his proposals for a peace, and gave him a choice of three things; either to retire into England, to remain in the town as a private individual, or to become their general. In accepting the mission, his conscience had reproached him with having joined the enemies of his religion; he had no hopes of persuading them to accept of peaceful terms; and after consulting with Gadagni, he consented to take the command of the town.‡ This step on his part did not, however, destroy the good opinion which Charles had entertained of him; and it is a case almost unparalleled, that being commissioned by two contending parties, he preserved the confidence of both. In action none more bravely joined in repelling the assaults; and at quiet intervals he never omitted to exhort the town's-people to listen to the kings offers, which were liberty of conscience and full security for themselves; but they insisted on treating for all the Protestants, a demand to which the king would not listen.

It is remarked by Davila, that the court committed two errors in the manner in which they proceeded to reduce Rochelle; by losing so much time in parleys and negotiations, the inhabitants had an opportunity of furnishing themselves with every necessary; and in supplying them with an excellent commander (which they stood in need of) by sending La Noue.‡

The town is naturally well fortified; and batteries and trenches had been added to its other means of defence. The garrison consisted of fifteen hundred regular troops, and about two thousand of the inhabitants, who, though not well disciplined, were far from being inexperienced, having taken part in the preceding civil wars; the women also joined with ardour in the defence of the place, and emulated the animation of their husbands and brothers.

The influence of the preachers was likewise very great: two among them, La Place and Denord, were remarkable for their energy in addressing the people. Their harangues excited the feelings of their hearers, whose humanity was appealed to, by descriptions of the sufferings endured by their brethren; but they principally dwelt upon the paramount claims of religion to their most devoted services. Denord was very eloquent; and possessed such influence by his persuasive style, that he was called the Pope of Rochelle.§

Although the town was not completely invested before the close of January, 1573, there were several attacks in December; one in particular

* At the siege of Fontenay, in 1569, his left arm was so severely fractured by a musket-ball that amputation was necessary. Amiraault, p. 62.

† De Thou, liv. 53. D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 34.

‡ Davila, liv. 5.

§ Arcère, p. 421.

* Arcère, vol. i. p. 404.

† Ibid., p. 412.

‡ De Thou, liv. 53.

§ On ne se peut assez saouler de dire les biens, les vertus, les lettres et les merites qui estoient en luy; si bien qu'il fut tenu estre resté le plus grand capitaine que nous eussions aujourd'huy en France. Brantome, V. de La Noue.

|| La promesse de M. de La Noue avoit esté faite, lui ayant le couteau à la gorge.—Mém. du duc de Bouillon, p. 12, vol. xlviii of the collection, published in 1788.

¶ D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 34.

** Davila, liv. 5, p. 639.

†† 19th Nov. 1572.

was upon a mill near the counterscarp. As it could not be easily fortified, it served as a barbican, or post of observation in the daytime; and at night, it was left under the guard of a single sentinel. Strozzy considering the position would be valuable to the besieging force, advanced by moonlight to attack it. The sentinel, with a hardihood rarely equalled, resolved to defend the mill, although two culverines were pointed against it. He fired briskly on the assailants; and in order to deceive them, called out as if giving orders to his men, while an officer hallooed from the nearest bastion that he would soon be reinforced. The contest was too unequal to allow time for assistance to arrive; and to avoid the consequences of an assault, he demanded quarter for himself and his men: it was granted, and he walked forth alone. Strozzy was so enraged at his presumption in pretending to hold out, that he ordered him to be hanged for his insolence; but Biron interfered, and saved his life, at the same time condemning him to the galleys. This courageous fellow happily succeeded in making his escape; his name has not been preserved; but Amos Barbot says he was a brazier of the isle of Rhé.*

In order to prevent the arrival of supplies by sea, the besiegers made use of a galleon, originally a prize of the Huguenot cruizers, and afterwards taken by the Catholics: dismasted, and filled with stones, it was sunk at the mouth of the harbour, and served as a redoubt for annoying the town. The Rochellose at once saw the inconvenience to which it might expose them, and the following night, at low water, proceeded with torches and combustibles to destroy it. The wood was too wet to ignite, before the flood-tide compelled them to retire. †

The besieging army was formidable; the Duke of Anjou had the chief command, and reached the camp in February. He was accompanied by the elite of the French nobility; the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were also obliged to appear in the royal army, with a view to destroying more completely the hopes of the Huguenots. The Rochellose defended themselves in a manner which surprised their assailants. The principal direction of the royal army was intrusted to Biron and Strozzy; but Biron was not very desirous of seeing the Huguenot party subdued; and although the operations were on a grand scale, it is said that more might have been done if he had thought proper. ‡ Another circumstance proved very favourable to the besieged: in the royal army there was neither system nor secrecy. The Duke of Anjou became disheartened, and summoned La Noue to quit the place. That general obeyed the order willingly; for in his endeavours to persuade the town to submit to the king, he had undergone many insults and mortifications from the more violent Huguenots: he asked for and obtained permission to retire to his own house, and live in private. §

The Rochellose could not but regret the loss of their brave leader; but no time was to be lost, and they chose five or six men of experience, who jointly exercised the command. Their hopes were kept up principally by the news, that Montgomery was coming to their assistance. He arrived in

April, but his vessels, though numerous, were unfit for action; and the king's fleet and batteries compelled him to keep out at sea:* one ship, however, laden with ammunition and stores, succeeded in making the port, which proved of great assistance to the besieged. † Charles complained to the Queen of England of this breach of the treaty existing between them, but De Retz, who was employed on the embassy, could only obtain a disavowal of her having equipped the fleet, which she said had been put to sea unknown to her. ‡

In the mean time everything languished in the royal camp: the Duke of Anjou had been wounded; Aumale and several others of rank killed; and above twenty thousand men had perished in the different attacks. The prince regretted that he had undertaken an affair, which seemed likely to destroy his reputation. The length of the siege, instead of weakening the Rochellose, seemed to impart both vigour and desperation; and a furious sortie, which they made in June, convinced him that his chance of success was very small. Twelve hundred men attacked the royal camp, while an equal number from the wall opened a destructive fire upon the besiegers. The efforts of Crillon, one of the bravest men of the age, preserved the royal army from defeat, but he fell covered with wounds, and was thought to be dead; a violent struggle ensued for the possession of his body, which ended in the repulse of the Huguenots. § This circumstance proved clearly to the Duke of Anjou how capable the town was of prolonging the defence; and notwithstanding the arrival of six thousand Swiss to reinforce him, he decided upon taking the first opportunity to raise the siege.

The existence of a new confederacy likewise contributed very much to help the Rochellose, by adding to the confusion and distraction which reigned in the Duke of Anjou's councils. They were called the *Politiques*, and embraced persons of both religions. Their aim was to destroy all foreign influence, and to effect some reformation in the state, without any consideration for religion. It had originated with the Montmorencies, Biron, and Cossé previous to the massacre; the Duke of Alençon from his intimacy with Coligny had imbibed a taste for the reformed religion, and was easily persuaded to join them; Navarre and Condé would not be induced to make common cause with Alençon, while they were under surveillance at court; but on finding themselves more free in the camp, their adhesion was soon brought about, by the mediation of Turenne, a youth of great talents. || A plan was proposed for seizing upon Angoulême or St. Jean-d'Angely; and they expected that upon their taking arms and declaring their reasons, they would be certainly joined by all the Huguenots. La Noue returned to the camp from Rochelle about the same time; and as there was some difference among the parties upon the plan of operations, they agreed to refer to his experience. He listened to all their reasons; and shewing them the certainty of their danger, the little probability

* Brantome, vol. vii. p. 358.

† Davila, liv. 5.

‡ D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 48.

§ Vie de Crillon. (by the Abbé Crillon.) p. 32.

|| Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne, Viscount Turenne, afterwards Duke of Bouillon: his mother was a daughter of the constable Montmorency, and his father was killed at the battle of St. Quentin.

* Arcère, p. 436.

† Ibid. p. 437.

‡ Davila, liv. 5. Brantome, vol. ix. p. 131.

§ Davila, liv. 5. D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 45.

of any advantageous result, and the prospect of Anjou's departure for Poland, which would effect their purpose for them without having recourse to arms, he persuaded them to renounce it altogether.*

The news of this combination reached the king, who became uneasy, lest some surprise should be attempted against himself; and he sent orders to his brother to hasten the reduction of Rochelle, as he required the troops near his own person. These orders were the cause of so many ill-timed assaults being made, and with so little success. But while things were in this position, the news arrived of Anjou's election to the crown of Poland; and the diet having insisted on some conditions in favour of the Huguenots, the opportunity was taken for putting an end to the conflict. During the siege the Rochellese had several times been offered liberty of conscience for themselves, but they declared they would never betray their cause by treating alone; the king at last finding his treasury empty, and his army unable to subdue the town, sent orders for concluding peace on any terms; and deputies from Nismes and Montauban were sent for, to confer with those of Rochelle.

A treaty was concluded at the end of June, which secured to all Protestants liberty of conscience, but freedom of worship was confined to Rochelle, Nismes, and Montauban. Great efforts were made to have Sancerre included in the treaty, but as that town was expected to surrender every day, they could not carry that point. The treaty stipulated also, that no one should be troubled for any promise of abjuration which had been extorted from him, and that all who had taken arms should be restored to their honours and fortunes, and be acknowledged faithful subjects. The treaty was ratified the sixth of July, and Biron entered the town, as governor appointed by the king.†

La Chastre, governor of Berry, a violent Catholic and zealous partisan of the Guises, had camped before Sancerre at the close of the year 1572; his attacks on the town were furious and incessant, but the resolution of the besieged seemed to increase with every assault. At the end of three months he converted the siege into a blockade, and then the inhabitants exceeded even their former firmness. So long as they could procure the flesh of the vilest animals, they cheerfully made it their food; but having consumed everything of that kind, they ate skins and parchments, and straw mixed with the most rancid grease; human flesh was their last resource, and even that was eaten by some people. The defence of Rochelle preserved them from desponding, and having great hopes of being included in any treaty which might be made, they sustained their privations with firmness. The same circumstances which obtained favourable terms for Rochelle, really saved the lives of the remainder of the garrison; but the town was sentenced to pay a heavy fine, the municipal privileges were all cancelled, and the fortifications destroyed.‡ The siege altogether had lasted eight months.

The greatest magnificence was displayed in the reception of the Polish ambassadors: but Henry lingered in Paris, he felt a wish to stay, from a warm attachment to the Princess of Condé; and the Duke of Guise, while he hinted the possibility of an approaching vacancy on the French throne, gave him to understand that it was to his interest to remain in France. Charles however, observing the delay in his departure, shewed great displeasure: he had felt extreme satisfaction on hearing the decision of the Polish diet; and Catherine, in a letter which has been preserved, informed the Duke of Anjou while before Rochelle, "that she had never before seen his brother so pleased at his good fortune, and that it only remained for God in his grace to enable him to take Rochelle;" but the delay made the king suspect some conspiracy against him; he began to form plans of a very violent nature to counteract them; and declared with an oath that one of them must leave the kingdom.* A longer stay became dangerous, and Catherine recommended her favourite son to depart. He quitted Paris the 28th of September, 1573.

Charles proposed to accompany his brother to the frontier, less from affection than to prevent his taking up quarters in some province. The king made a short stay at Villers-Coterets, and while there received a deputation of Protestants, who presented a request embracing many points, upon which that party founded their complaints. Catherine was very indignant at the boldness of the demand, and said, "If Condé were still alive and at the head of twenty thousand horsemen, and fifty thousand infantry, and in possession of the principal towns of the kingdom, he would not ask for half what these wretches have the insolence to propose to us."† A sudden illness prevented the king from going beyond Vitry, where he remained while the queen-mother proceeded to Blamont in Lorraine. She there took leave of the King of Poland in a most affecting manner, and her parting expression has caused suspicions of the too certain knowledge she had of Charles's approaching death: "Go, my son," said she, "you will not be long there.‡

The King of Poland quitted France in November, 1573. During the journey he stopped at Heidelberg, where the Elector Palatine omitted nothing which could remind him of the St. Bartholomew. In the apartment destined for him was placed a large picture of the massacre, in which the admiral and the principal persons murdered were represented in their natural size.§ The king was surrounded with French Protestants who had escaped: they regarded him with a mournful air, and suffered him to hear some of their murmurs against himself, as a cause of their misfortunes. The elector afterwards led him to the

* D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 106. De Thou, liv. 57. The Queen of Navarre in her *Mémoires*, p. 185, mentions that she informed her brother of a conspiracy, on his promising to take no vengeance on the parties implicated; it is not surprising then, that he should be irritated. Charles appears to have had a design of assembling the States-General, as the best method of quieting the country; for he appointed two gentlemen of each province to make a survey, and ascertain what was requisite.—See also the *Mémoires* of William de Saulx, seigneur de Tavannes, at the beginning of the second book.

† De Thou, liv. 57, vol. vii. p. 17.

‡ D'Aubigné and Mezeray.

§ Discours du Roi Henri III. (à Mirou).

* De Thou, liv. 56. Mem. de Bouillon, p. 24. Vie de Mornay, liv. 1, p. 25. Davila, liv. 5. Arcère, vol. i. p. 501. Amiraault, p. 97.

† Davila, liv. 5. De Thou, liv. 56. D'Aubigné, vol. ii. pp. 98 et seq. The latter gives the treaty at length.

‡ Davila, liv. 5. D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 53. Mathieu, liv. 6. Strada, de Bello Belgico, lib. 7. Arcère, vol. i. p. 534.

picture, and pointing to the portrait of Coligny, he said, "You know this man; you have killed in him the greatest captain in all Christendom. And you ought not to have done so, for he has done the king and yourself great services." Henry attempted an excuse upon the ground of the conspiracy, to which the elector answered, "We know the whole history of that," and quitted the room.* This was not the only mortification of the kind which Henry experienced on his journey.

The Duke of Alençon aspired to filling the post of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, which became vacant on his brother's departure. Charles was willing to accede to his wish, but the queen-mother considering it possible, that some means might be used to prevent the return of her favourite son, whenever the king should die,—besides knowing his turbulent disposition, rendered more dangerous from his inexperience,—she aimed at removing him to some distance, and indulged him with the hopes of a marriage with the Queen of England, or of obtaining for him the government of Flanders: the vacant office was in the meantime conferred upon the Duke of Lorraine. Alençon's dissatisfaction revived the hopes of the Huguenots, who anticipated great results, if they could have the king's brother at their head: they offered to make him chief of their party; persuading him that he might thus obtain even more power and consideration than had been refused him.† In this manner was renewed the project, which had been abandoned at La Noue's recommendation; and the Politiques or malcontents re-appeared as a party, with the addition of many persons of distinction.

The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were ready to join in any undertaking likely to put an end to their forced residence at court, which, from the strictness with which they were watched, was a captivity; Navarre besides had a great wish to visit his own dominions.‡ The leaders of the association held their conferences, sometimes at the residence of the Queen of Navarre, sometimes at that of Madame De Sauve:§ both those ladies had such a reputation for intrigue, that the visits of the confederates excited no suspicion. But bad as were the morals of that corrupt court, the undisguised licentiousness of this coterie excited at last the king's severe displeasure.

The Duke of Alençon had two favourites, who were of bold and scheming dispositions, and by whose counsels he had been excited to such measures. They were Joseph Boniface De la Mole, and Annibal, Count De Coconas, an Italian. The Queen of Navarre laid no restraint on her passions for La Mole, and the Duchess of Nemours, Guise's mother, placed her affections on Coconas: the King of Navarre and the Duke of Alençon disputed for the affection of Madame De Sauve, who was also addressed by the Duke of Guise. Charles IX. was indignant that his sister should so disgrace herself, and employed some person to dispatch La Mole as he quitted the young queen's apartment; but either being warned, or by chance, he stayed there till morning, and thus escaped the snare.|| Disputes frequently arose between Navarre and Alençon, and on one occasion it required

the interposition of several gentlemen to prevent their fighting.*

The Queen of Navarre was the person who composed these differences; and in spite of the little reserve which was maintained, the enterprise of the confederates failed only from a misunderstanding respecting the day of its execution. Their ulterior intentions are unknown, at least there is so much uncertainty respecting them, that it is impossible to form an opinion upon the subject; but whether they contemplated any measure for excluding the King of Poland after his brother's death, or not, it is clear that, at the moment, their object was only to withdraw all the confederated princes from the court, then staying at St. Germain's; and to conduct them into some province, in which the Protestants were numerous. An escort was all they required; and if the evasion were effected simultaneously with the arrival of their conductors, success would be certain. As a collateral measure, and to prevent immediate pursuit, by any considerable force, it was proposed to surprise a few surrounding towns at the same time.†

On Shrove Tuesday,‡ 1574, the court was surprised by the information, that armed bodies had been seen in every direction around the chateau; their arrival was not to have taken place for a fortnight, but the consternation of the queen-mother gave the confederates every opportunity to effect their purpose at once. Alençon hesitated; and when his friends begged him to depart without loss of time, he replied, that he would not go, unless the town of Mantes were ready to receive him. Duplessis-Mornay represented that his presence alone was sufficient to open the gates, and that without him they could not get possession of the town: the Duke of Alençon was inflexible.§

Mornay unwilling to abandon the enterprise, went to Mantes, accompanied by his brother; they each of them seized a gate, and waited the arrival of Guityry, who commanded the escort, when they would be able to overpower the town. He happened to arrive too late, and Mornay and his brother escaped by a stratagem; they sallied from the town under pretence of attacking Guityry, and after some pretended manœuvres and pursuit, they all retired together. The king thanked him, by letters, for having saved the town from surprise; but he would not trust himself within reach of the king's resentment, which he knew would be violent, when the whole affair were laid open.||

La Mole in the mean time, perceiving that the enterprise had failed, thought to obtain the queen's favour by giving a full account of the affair: he assured her that she need be under no apprehensions whatever, as the exclusive object was to release the princes from their captivity. Catherine would not trust to this representation, but gave immediate orders to set out for Paris. D'Aubigné

* Matthieu, liv. 7, p. 409.

† Le Laboureur, in his additions to Castelnau, represents Navarre and Alençon as having planned the murder of Catherine de Medeis. But Bayle (Art. *Henry IV.*) considers there is no foundation for such an hypothesis: and, indeed, it is hardly probable that if Navarre had meditated such a thing, he would have chosen Alençon for a confederate.

‡ The 20th of February is said to be the precise day by De Liques in his Life of Duplessis-Mornay, and Amiraault in that of La Noue.

§ Vie de Duplessis-Mornay, liv. 1, p. 26. Mem. de Bouillon, p. 40.

|| Vie de Duplessis-Mornay, p. 27.

* Brantome, vol. viii. p. 216. De Thou, liv. 57.

† Davila, liv. 5. Mezeray.

‡ Perelfice, *Hist. de Henri le Grand.*

§ She was the wife of the Baron De Sauve: after his death, in 1579, she married the Marquis De Noirmoutier.

|| Journal de Henry III.

has given us a description of the confusion which this sudden departure of the court produced: "The Cardinals of Bourbon, Lorrain, and Guise, Birague the Chancellor, Morvilliers, and Bellièvre, were all mounted on Italian coursers, grasping the saddle-bows with both hands, and in as great fear of their horses as of their enemies."* The king, dangerously ill, was taken out of his bed in the middle of the night to be carried in a litter. His sufferings, both bodily and mental, and the mystery which still hung over the affair, made him suspect the worst, and his mind recalled the attempt upon Meaux: he said with a sigh, as he was moved into his litter, "At least they might have waited for my death!"†

The principal object of the confederates failed; but the plans of the Huguenots had led to events which were of serious consequence. They had resolved on taking arms in every part of France at the end of the carnival; the Rochellese had chosen La Noue for their general; and in the night of Shrove Tuesday he seized two towns by escalade. Other chiefs did the same in different provinces; and among them Montgomery, who was in Guernsey, waiting for a favourable opportunity: he took Carentan, Saint Lo, Domfront, and Valognes, and levied contributions on the surrounding country.‡ The Prince of Condé, Thoré, and Turenne escaped into Germany; the rest were imprisoned. Navarre and Alençon were confined in the castle of Vincennes; the marshals Montmorency and Cossé were sent to the Bastille, to the great joy of the Parisians, who hooted and hissed them as they were conveyed thither,|| the persons of inferior rank were held in custody to await the result of a judicial inquiry, which was proceeded with directly the court appeared secure from danger.¶

Catherine, alive to every suspicion, and fearing the worst consequences if her favourite son were prevented from enjoying his right of succession, was resolved on adopting some measure of severity to deter all parties from repeating these machinations; and at the same time she hoped to convert this attempt against her authority into an occasion for strengthening it. The Viscount de Bourdeille, a courtier who appears to have enjoyed the confidence of the king and his mother, wrote to the Duke of Alençon to caution him how he conducted his affairs. "If," says he, "I had the honour of being with you for two hours, I would tell you things which you would find strange and maliciously invented: so that unless the king, the queen-mother, and you do not take better care than hitherto, I fear I shall see you *aussi petits compagnons que moy*."** From this it would appear that Bourdeille participated in the queen's fears of some deep plan of the *Politiques* respecting the government. When Catherine questioned the Duke of Alençon, he confessed everything; and betrayed

his friends, without stipulating for the least consideration in their favour.* The queen wished the chancellor to examine the King of Navarre; but he refused to submit to such a proceeding, which would compromise his dignity as an independent prince. However, to satisfy the queen-mother that he was innocent of the charges she preferred, he made a declaration in her presence, in which he complained of many abuses; still he does not appear to have made any disclosure which might implicate any one.† Thoré indeed was so seriously involved by Alençon, that he would certainly have been put to death: Navarre met him in the palace, and told him to lose no time in making his escape.‡ It was necessary to discover something on which to found a charge of high treason, for the evasion of the princes was an act which did not justify severity; several were put to the torture and made to confess things against Montmorency and Cossé. In searching La Mole's dwelling they found an image in wax, which was said to represent the king, whom they attempted to destroy by magic.§ Upon these grounds La Mole and Coconas were beheaded; a gentleman named Tourtray, was also put to death; and the Florentine, Cosmo Ruggieri, was sent to the galleys.|| This man was famous, not only as an astrologer, but also as a maker of subtle poisons: the queen-mother and several noblemen gave him great protection, and from that circumstance arose so much suspicion of persons of rank being poisoned at this time.

Charles in the mean time was drawing to the close of his mortal career: he exhibited a shocking spectacle of wretchedness, to serve as a warning to kings who may have an inclination for bigotry or cruelty. His bodily sufferings were rendered more violent by his dreadful remorse: his blood is said to have started through all his pores; and the St. Bartholomew being ever present to his imagination, he could not help expressing the regret which it caused him.¶ As his end approached he sent for the King of Navarre, whom he called his brother: the queen-mother, afraid lest it was to confer upon him the regency of the kingdom, wished to deter him from obeying the summons. As he proceeded to the king, who also was in the castle of Vincennes, she gave orders that he should pass through vaults, between a double line of guards ready to dispatch him. Navarre, startled, retreated a few paces, and refused to go; but the captain informed him there was no danger, and though he placed but little dependence on the declaration, he had to pass before the carbines and halberds.**

The dying king conversed with him for some time in a very friendly manner, and expressed sorrow at the severity with which he had been treated. "I know," said he, "that you were not concerned in the late affair, though, if I had paid attention to what was said, you would not now be alive; but I have always loved you, and to your care I confide my wife and my daughter: I recom-

* Hist. Univ. vol. ii. p. 119.

† Brantome, vol. ix. p. 437.

‡ He had retired to Rochelle in Jan. 1574, actuated by doubts which he entertained on account of the treacherous character of the queen. Amiraull, p. 108.

§ Brantome, vol. ix. p. 170. Davila, liv. 5.

|| Davila, liv. 5, p. 665. Le Grain, liv. 2, p. 112.

¶ Commission pour instruire les procès, &c.—*Mem. de Nevers*, vol. i. p. 72.

** André, Viscount and Baron de Bourdeille, was the elder brother of Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur and Abbé de Brantome. This and other letters are to be found in the 14th volume of his works.

* Mem. du Duc. de Bouillon, p. 42.

† D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 121. Le Grain, liv. 2, p. 112. Matthieu, liv. 6 p. 374. De Thou, liv. 57.

‡ Mem. du Duc de Bouillon, p. 42.

§ Mem. de Nevers, vol. i. p. 73.

|| This execution took place at the end of April, 1574. Journal de Henry III.

¶ Sully, liv. 1.

** Cayet, liv. 1. p. 252.

mend them to you." The king then cautioned him to distrust ———. The name was not heard distinctly in the chamber, but the queen-mother immediately said, "Sir, you should not say that!" "Why not?" replied the king, "for it is true." It is probable that the king of Poland was alluded to, for his vices were well known to Charles: some, however, think it was against the queen-mother herself that the caution was directed.*

Charles died a few days after, in the 25th year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.† The reason assigned for his death, by Ambrose Paré, his surgeon, was his passion for hunting, when he incessantly blew a horn. "However," says Brantome, "it could not be driven out of some persons' ideas, that he was poisoned when his brother set out for Poland; and it was said, with the powder of some marine animal,‡ which makes the party languish a long time, and then by degrees he dwindles away and becomes extinct like a candle. Those who have been suspected of being the authors of it have not come to a better end."§ Marshal Bassompierre relates in his memoirs, that having cautioned Louis XIII. not to blow a horn too much, as it killed Charles IX., that king answered, "You mistake; blowing the horn did not cause his death; but he quarrelled with the queen Catherine, his mother, at Monceaux, and left her and went to Meaux; and if he had not yielded to the persuasions of Marshal de Retz, who conducted him back to Monceaux, to join the queen his mother, he would not have died so soon."||

De Thou, in allusion to the king's illness at Vitry, says that few persons would believe the disorder was natural, and, in giving an account of his death, he mentions, "that, to remove doubts, the king's body was opened, but some livid spots which were discerned, and could not be accounted for, only served to confirm the public in their suspicion."¶

In his person Charles IX. was of good stature, but without a pleasing physiognomy: he took great pleasure in strong bodily exercise, and did not want courage. His character can best be learned from his history: he possessed a good share of intellect, and was inclined to poetry. Had he been free from his mother's influence, he might have made a much better king.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Capture and execution of Montgomery—Flight of Henry III. from Poland—Death of the Princess of Condé and of the Cardinal of Lorrain.

DURING the latter months of Charles's life, the queen mother had tried to have the regency settled upon her, in a manner that should prevent every kind of dispute. So long as the king retained his strength, he refused to give anything more than letters to the governors of the provinces, desiring them to obey her in everything during his illness; and, in the event of his death, till the arrival of

the King of Poland; but, as his dissolution approached, he gave her the full powers she wished for, and a short time before he died he declared it in the presence of the princes and great officers of state.*

The condition of public affairs would have presented to any other person a most appalling aspect; but discord was Catherine's element, and it is even probable that she made the civil war, with which France was threatened, a means of obtaining her wish. The Prince of Condé, on arriving at Strasbourg, had abjured the Catholic religion and renewed his profession of Protestantism. This event raised the hopes of the Huguenots, and they took arms everywhere as if the attempt on St. Germain had been successful. The death of Charles IX. became an additional motive with them, on account of their detestation of his successor; and there is reason to suppose that if the attempt had not been made too soon, if the confederates had remained quiet till after the king's death, they might have succeeded in placing the crown on Alençon's head. The taking of arms was so general, that in the southern provinces every private gentleman assisted in seizing on some strong place.†

Three armies had been levied to quell the insurrection: one under the Duke of Montpensier to oppose La Noue in Poictou; a second, under his son, the prince dauphin, was sent to Dauphiny; and the third under Marshal Matignon was employed against Montgomery, who had made great progress in Normandy. As Marshal Damville already commanded in Dauphiny and Languedoc, the queen wished to displace him, and persons were sent with orders to that effect, with private instructions to put him to death if possible.‡ The agents, however, could do nothing against Damville's address: he deceived the court by pretending to take no offence at his brother's confinement, and offered to lay aside his government and charge of marshal, until the king should be pleased to restore them; but all the while he was increasing the strength of his partisans in different towns, and prevented anything being effected in the quarter.§

The Duke of Montpensier could do but little with his army; but Marshal Matignon was more successful. He marched direct to St. Lo, where Montgomery was. The town is near the sea, on the mouth of a river which afforded the count a haven for his ships. Matignon succeeded in completely investing the place, and a battery erected below the shipping entirely blockaded the town on that side. Montgomery, being well acquainted with the neighbourhood, made his escape by night; crossed an arm of the sea in a fishing boat which lay on the shore; and retired to Domfront, another town held by his forces. His son remained at St. Lo, the count promising to return in a few days, with some troops to help him. Directly Matignon was informed of Montgomery's escape, he followed him to Domfront, leaving sufficient force to mask St. Lo: the fortifications of Domfront being very feeble, the marshal soon obtained possession of the town; but the castle was extremely strong.||

* Cayet, liv. i. p. 252.

† 30th May, 1574.

‡ *Lievre marin* is the expression in the original.

§ Brantome, vol. ix. p. 440.

|| Mem. de Bassompierre, vol. ii. p. 21.

¶ De Thou, liv. 57.

* Journal de Henri III. Brantome, *Vie de Charles IX.*

† Davila, liv. 5, p. 667.

‡ Brantome, vol. vii. p. 175. Davila, liv. 5, p. 670. Vileroi labours hard to clear himself from this imputation.—*Mémoires d'Etat*, vol. i. pp. 6, et seq.

§ Davila, liv. 5, p. 671.

|| Ibid. p. 675.

The court was delighted at the prospect of capturing the count; but jealousy of Matignon, made Fervaques, an officer of distinction, wish to disappoint him. He was attached to the service of the King of Navarre, who was naturally desirous that Montgomery should escape. Fervaques, accompanied by D'Aubigné, went to the besieging army, with the intention of conveying the count safely out of the town, under pretence of examining the trenches. D'Aubigné approached one of the sentinels, and contrived to send a message to the count, who met him at the same place the next night. D'Aubigné offered him the means of escape, which Montgomery refused, as he expected assistance from Germany very speedily; a few days after he was obliged to surrender at discretion.*

The news of his capture reached Paris three days before the king's death, but he paid no attention to it. The queen was surprised, and said to him, "How! my son, do you not rejoice at the capture of him who killed your father?" He answered, that he took no further concern about that, or anything else. This listlessness was considered a sure sign of his approaching end.†

Montgomery was the most obnoxious man of all the Huguenot party, but the death of Henry II. was purely accidental, and ought not to have been placed among the charges against him. He was an indefatigable leader, and his assistance and co-operation had enabled Coligny to recover himself after the defeat at Montcontour: he had besides been active and useful in missions to England, to obtain reinforcements. So particularly was he doomed to destruction at the St. Bartholomew, that his escape was mentioned in the first despatch sent off to communicate the news to the King of Spain.‡

No time was lost in condemning him to the penalties of high treason; he was beheaded at the Grève, his body quartered, and his family degraded from their nobility. Previous to his execution, he was cruelly tortured to make him confess the existence of the late admiral's conspiracy, but the pain drew no such acknowledgment from him, and mangled and wounded as he was, he went to the scaffold with remarkable serenity.§ We have an account, given by a contemporary, of his steady attachment to his principles: "He would not confess to the Archbishop of Narbonne, who went to him in the chapel to admonish him; nor would he take or kiss the crucifix, which is usually presented to those who are being led to execution; nor in any way attend to the priest, who had been placed in the cart by his side. A cordelier thinking to draw him out of error, began to speak to him, and said that he had been abused. Looking at him steadily, he answered, 'How! abused? and if I have been it is by those of your order: for the first person who ever handed me a Bible in French, and made me read it, was a cordelier like you; and therein I have learned the religion which I hold, which alone is the true religion, and in which, having since lived, I wish now by the grace of God to die.' "||

Immediately after the death of Charles IX. Ca-

therine sent a courier to Poland to communicate the intelligence to her son Henry; at the same time, to be more secure in her authority, she removed the King of Navarre and the Duke of Alençon from Vincennes to the Louvre, where she placed them in apartments, the windows of which were grated: she also put so many persons to watch them, that escape was impossible.* But in order to render their captivity less irksome, she allowed them the society of her damsels without any restraint.† In addition to these precautions, the queen had all the gates of the Louvre blocked up, with the exception of one, which was well guarded by Swiss; and the streets adjoining were barricaded, for she was fearful of some attempt connected with the recent affair of Shrove Tuesday.‡ Catherine's precautions were not without reason; for two proclamations were issued in the month of July which forebode a great trouble for her. One was from Damville, who, finding himself exposed to such danger from the queen's machinations, had decided on joining the confederates; the other was from the Prince of Condé, who announced that his German levies would be ready to march directly the Protestants could find the means of paying them. An assembly was held in consequence at Milhaud, where it was decided that the Prince of Condé should be proclaimed their chief, until they could be joined by the King of Navarre.§

The queen-mother, uncertain of the nature of her son's policy, anxiously awaited his arrival; but as it was desirable to have a strong force on foot, in case he should wish to subdue his enemies by the sword, she sent Count Schomberg to raise six thousand Swiss, and some troops of German cavalry: || while, in order to be nearer the frontier on Henry's arrival, she went to Lyons, taking with her the two captive princes; which, says Brantome, she did so cleverly, that no one would have thought they were prisoners who saw them riding in her carriage with her.¶

The courier with the intelligence of Charles's death arrived at Cracow in the middle of June, and Henry immediately confirmed the regency to his mother. The French nobles who had followed him were pleased at the prospect of returning to their native land. The Poles were desirous of retaining him, and especially wished that he should preside at a Diet about to be held on the frontiers of Lithuania. Henry had discussed the affair, and he thought it better to quit the kingdom immediately, than to waste his time in formal consultations with the Polish senate: his mother had informed him of the state of affairs in France, and that his presence was necessary; and in order to prevent his plans being suspected, he acquiesced in the demands of the Poles, at the moment he was taking measures for leaving them abruptly. Bel-lièvre, the French ambassador at his court, demanded his audience of leave, on the ground of his functions having ceased at the death of the prince who had commissioned him; he set out for France immediately, and ordered relays on the road for the king and his suite. On the night of the 18th of June, 1574, this prince quitted his palace like a

* D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 126.

† Brantome, vol. ix. p. 443. Mathieu, liv. 6, p. 376.

‡ Brantome, vol. viii. p. 188.

§ D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 131.

|| 25th June, 1574. Journal de Henri III.

* Brantome, vol. i. p. 171.

† Mezeray, *Abrégé Chron.*

‡ Journal de Henri III.

§ Davila, liv. 6. La Poplinière, liv. 38. Mezeray, *Abrégé Chron.* Arcère, p. 559.

|| Davila, liv. 6. p. 9.

¶ Vol. i. p. 71. (*Vie de Catherine.*)

criminal fleeing from justice; but all his care and arrangement barely preserved him from being arrested, and conducted back to the Diet, which he had so shamefully insulted. When his departure was known in the morning, Count Tanchin, the grand chamberlain, pursued him with five hundred horsemen; but before he could overtake him, Henry had reached the Imperial dominions.* The French who remained at Cracow were in danger of being sacrificed to the vengeance of the Poles; the senate was in some measure appeased by the explanation giving by Danzay, whom Henry had appointed to be his ambassador in Denmark; he showed the danger which pressed Henry's return to France, Condé having an army of Germans ready to join the Huguenots already in revolt. This excuse would have justified Henry in the eyes of posterity, if his flight had not presented such inconsistency. He feared faction in France; he knew that more than one ambitious leader was ready to dispute the crown with him, and felt conscious of having incurred the hatred of a large body in arms. But when he arrived at Vienna, Maximilian treated him with such distinction, that he forgot the state of his affairs, and remained six days in the midst of pleasure and festivity.†

The emperor's two sons conducted him to the frontier, and wishing to avoid a renewal of the treatment he had experienced in passing through Germany, he took the route of Friuli and Venice; he was received at the latter town in a most magnificent manner. He first alighted at Murano, a town famous for its manufactories of mirrors and crystals, where the display so enchanted his weak mind, that he ennobled all the manufacturers: "by which," says a modern writer,‡ "it is not to be understood that they became Patricians of Venice; but that sort of nobility which swarms throughout Italy and Germany. A grand procession of galleys of every kind were sent to conduct him from Murano to Venice. Henry threw his arms round the neck of Antonio Canale, who superintended it; lavished the most flattering compliments upon him for his exploits at the battle of Lepanto, and knighted him. At a sitting of the grand council the king assisted in the costume of a Venetian Senator."

Henry made some stay at Venice; but throughout his journey he was willing to stop wherever there were fêtes; so much so, that instead of being actuated by love for France, his conduct seemed the result of dislike to Poland. He was sumptuously entertained by the Dukes of Ferrara, Mantua, and Savoy, and entered his own dominions in the beginning of September, having occupied nearly three months in his journey.§

Catherine presented to him the King of Navarre and the Duke of Alençon, saying, "I hand over to you these two prisoners: you have been informed of their conduct, and it is for you to decide on their fate." Henry received them with a formal embrace, and listened to their excuses, when they

made many protestations of their attachment to his person and government. He set them at liberty, recommended them to live united, and cautioned them against pernicious counsels which might be given them.* The princes received the sacrament with him, and swore fidelity and obedience.†

Henry hesitated for a considerable time in deciding upon the policy he should adopt. Not only France, but the principal governments of Europe were in suspense; all being anxious to see whether the hero of Jarnac and Montcontour would quiet his kingdom by arms, or appease it by measures of a conciliatory nature. At Vienna the emperor had urged him to abstain from rigorous proceedings, and the Venetian senate had suggested the same thing; but his consciousness of being detested by the Protestants for his conduct at the St. Bartholomew made him resolve on a war for the purpose of exterminating them. He found three armies in the field, and had only to extend the scale of operations. Two of these, however, being commanded by princes of the house of Bourbon, the queen-mother thought it might lead to a revival of the importance of that family, and Marshal Bellegarde was appointed to command in Dauphiny, in the place of the Prince Dauphin. Bellegarde immediately commenced the siege of Livron; but without any prospect of success, for he was obliged to detach a part of his forces to oppose Montbrun, who ravaged Dauphiny uncontrolled.

Montbrun was a gentleman of Dauphiny, and one of the first who took arms at the time of the conspiracy of Amboise. He was nephew of Cardinal Tournou, who persuaded him to return to the Romish Church, and obtained for him the king's pardon.‡ But he afterwards rejoined his old friends, and his successful encounters gave him such confidence that he actually seized the king's baggage in passing to Lyons. Being summoned in the king's name to release the prisoners he had taken, he answered with astonishing effrontery:—"What! the king writes to me asking, as if I must acknowledge him as such. I wish him to know, that it would be very well in time of peace; but in war, when folks are armed and in the saddle, every one is equal." His good fortune at last deserted him; a few months afterwards he attacked some troops of Gordes, the governor of the province, when he got so entangled in a position between a mountain and a river, that his followers were completely routed, and himself wounded and taken prisoner: he was speedily executed, by order of the parliament of Grenoble.§

But embarrassed as the public affairs were at this period, Henry's disposition to gallantry prevented him from giving them his fixed and serious attention. Catherine encouraged this bias, which became so much security for the duration of her authority. Nothing could surpass the splendour of the court at Lyons; and it was a great misfortune for Henry to be so exposed, at a time when his affairs required such different pursuits. His mind, bent upon pleasure, here received the death-blow to all its energy; and his accession to the

* De Thou, liv. 58. Mathieu, liv. 7.

† Brantome, vol. iv. p. 75. Mezeray, *Abregé Chron.*

‡ Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. 28.

§ The Duke of Savoy availed himself of the opportunity to obtain a written promise that Pignerol and some other places in Piedmont should be given up to him: this disgraceful cession of territory caused a spirited remonstrance from the Duke of Nevers and Marshal Bourdillon.—See *Mém. de Nevers*, vol. i. pp. 1, and 68.

* Mathieu, liv. 7, p. 402.

† *Lui jurant par le Dieu qu'ils alloient recevoir*, &c.—Journal de Henri III.

‡ Fleury, *Hist. du C. Tournou*, p. 316.

§ Feb. 1575. Brantome, vol. x. p. 178. Davila, liv. 6. In his life, written by Guy Allard, (p. 90,) it is mentioned, that the king sent him a pardon, but the messenger arrived too late; he had then been executed two hours.

throne of France became the epoch of so complete a change in his disposition, that the Duke of Anjou could no longer be recognised in him. Flatteries and seductions of every kind fanned into dreadful activity almost every bad quality, while his unbridled passions made him a slave to licentiousness, to the destruction of his character as a man, and the loss of his dignity as a monarch.

Every attraction which female ingenuity could devise was put in practice at this time by the numerous beauties of the court, who aimed at the honour of being the king's mistress; but the charms of the Princess of Condé rendered their efforts unavailing; and though Henry's whole time was absorbed in gallantry and dalliance, he never formed any attachment. The princess had been the idol of his heart before he left France: while in Poland, he wrote to her with his own blood, to assure her of his affection; and when he returned, he renewed his correspondence with her. At last, finding her fixed on rejecting his suit, he proposed to marry her: a divorce, he represented, could be easily effected, on the ground of the prince's heresy, and the circumstance of her having had no child by him. The letter which contained this proposal was intercepted by the queen-mother, who took alarm at the idea of such a marriage, by which her influence would be inevitably destroyed. Her most ready method to prevent any result, was to write to the Prince of Condé, thinking that, jealous of his honour, and his wife's affection, he would speedily send for her to join him. But Condé had full confidence in the validity of his marriage, and in the virtue of the princess, and took no measures for removing her from a court where it suited his interests to have her remain.*

Catherine then persuaded her son how necessary it was he should marry, to preserve the kingdom from the horrors of a contested succession. She recommended several princesses, beautiful and accomplished, it is true, but not likely to excite him to act as a king, and to govern for himself, which the Princess of Condé would be sure to do. Henry appeared to assent to his mother's wish; and to deceive her more completely, he sent an embassy to Sweden to demand the hand of that king's sister; but Catherine was informed by her agents that he secretly took measures for effecting his object, and that he had arranged for speedily annulling the prince's marriage, that he might espouse the princess. This intelligence was closely followed by orders from the king, to prepare for his entry into Paris; but while the preparations for that entry occupied the attention of the court, the Princess of Condé died suddenly.† Henry's grief was extremely violent: he did not refuse to join in the general suspicion, that the death of the Princess of Condé was the effect of his mother's contrivance; at the same time, he entertained such a dread of her vindictive disposition, that he did not dare to reproach her with it. The condition of a country under such rulers cannot be too much deplored.

The court was soon after diverted from this subject by another demise; and Henry's grief was assuaged by the direction of his thoughts into a different channel: at the end of December the Cardinal of Lorraine expired, after a short illness.

The very prominent part he had taken in the government of France, during so many years, caused his decease to absorb every other idea for some days. The queen-mother was relieved from the fears which his intriguing ambition had frequently caused her; but his talents and resources had, at times, been of inestimable value. The cardinal had shown great ability as a statesman; but, unfortunately for his reputation, his ideas were framed on the doctrines of Machiavelli. As an ecclesiastic, he ranked high for his learning and eloquence, and he had a great reputation for piety; but, says Brantome, he was thought to avail himself of that for purposes of grandeur. The same writer states,* "That he had frequently heard the cardinal discuss the confession of Augsburg, and preach upon it, too, in order to win over the German princes, more than for any other reason." In his temper he was haughty, and in his disposition vindictive: with respect to his conduct, if, as it has been said, he was a libertine, he had sufficient prudence to avoid public scandal in his pursuits. He was liberal with his money, but his mind was too elevated for him to sink into common extravagance; and his chief expenditure was the employment of agents at every court in Europe, for obtaining early information of what was going on.† This rendered him formidable to his opponents, by his knowledge of their different manoeuvres; while his thorough skill as a financier made him highly valuable to an administration.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The Duke of Alençon escapes from court to join the malcontents—Defeat of the Reîtres at Dormans—Escape of the King of Navarre.

MARSHAL BELLEGARDE was still before the walls of Livron, the feeble garrison of which town defied his continued efforts: the king thought that his presence would have some effect upon the exertions of the besieging army, and went to the camp, accompanied by the queen-mother and the whole court. His arrival was no sooner known to the garrison, than the walls were crowded with men, women, and children, who said the most insulting things of him and his mother.‡ "Cowards!" they exclaimed, addressing the king's followers; "Assassins! what are you come for? Do you think to surprise us in our beds, and to murder us, as you did the admiral? Show yourselves, young minions! come, and prove to your cost, that you are unable to make head even against our women."§ Their insolence was the more mortifying to the king, as the courageous resistance of the garrison had wasted his army considerably; and the remains were so dispirited, that he ordered the siege to be raised, giving out as a pretext that he wanted the troops for his coronation.||

For that purpose he quitted Dauphiny in January, 1575. He was on the road to Rheims, when Fervaques approached him in the dress of a countryman, to give information of a plot against his life. He denounced the Duke of Alençon as the

* Matthien, Mezeray, and De Lussan, *Vie de Crillon*.

† *Vie de Crillon*. Mezeray, *Abrégé Chron.*

* Vol. viii. p. 149.

† Sully, liv. 1.

‡ Ibid. p. 148.

§ De Thou, liv. 60.

|| Mezeray, *Abrégé Chron.*

chief conspirator, and Henry was willing to believe the account upon the statement of Fervaques alone; but Catherine recommended an inquiry into the affair. Fervaques introduced a person, named by the queen, to the assembled conspirators, as a confidant of Alençon: relying on the honour of Fervaques, they threw off all reserve before the stranger, and convinced him that their intention was to kill the king, and place the Duke of Alençon on the throne. They were satisfied that nothing could be more easy, and complained of the duke, who had sent them no communications for a long time. The spy gave them some plausible reason, and returned to make his report.* It is unknown whether this conspiracy was altogether new, or merely a revival of that for which La Mole and others had suffered. The king immediately sent for his brother, and, in a menacing and angry manner, reproached him with the crime, of which he said he had sufficient proofs, and for which he deserved death. Alençon confessed that the plan had been proposed to him, but that he had never consented to be a party to it, and that he imagined it had been abandoned. The queen's influence and persuasion brought the king to hush up the matter; but it left such an impression on his mind, that he was always ready to encourage suspicions against his brother. As none of the accomplices in this plot were punished, it was thought at the time that the whole affair was got up by the queen-mother, to answer some of her intricate purposes, by alarming her son. Henry confided his safety to the King of Navarre, who acted as captain of his body-guards, and never quitted the door of his carriage.†

After various delays, Henry arrived at Rheims, where he was crowned by the Cardinal of Guise.‡ There were present so few persons of distinction, that De Retz performed the duty of constable: § the day following he married Louisa de Vaudemont, daughter of the Duke of Mercœur, a relation of the princes of Lorraine; a match which had been strongly recommended by the late cardinal, and very much increased the importance of his family.

The king returned to Paris towards the end of March, and in a short time received proposals of an accommodation with the confederates, who sent deputies for that purpose, when they heard of his arrival. Their demands, which were thought unreasonable by the court, were supported by the influence of the ambassadors from England and the Swiss cantons. The king was unwilling to grant the terms they desired; and even had his feelings been that way inclined, the remonstrances of the Catholic party were so violent, that he would not have ventured to slight them. The deputies quitted the court, leaving one of their number to keep open a chance of some arrangement. ||

Never was a court more curiously divided than that of Henry III. at this time. The Duke of Guise sought the friendship of the King of Navarre, and they lived in great harmony; but Guise discovered that he was deceived, and a mortal hatred arose between them. ¶ Guise considered that while Navarre lived he could never be safe; while he was well aware that Guise would never allow

him the privileges to which he was entitled, as first prince of the blood. The queen-mother, who had formerly been so partial to the King of Navarre, now entertained an equal dislike to him, and went so far as to ask her daughter Margaret if he had any defect, for in that case a divorce should be obtained.† The queen's hatred arose from an astrologer having predicted that he would be king of France. Her hopes had long dwelt upon another prediction, that her four sons should be kings, and she had made great endeavours to realise the idea. When Henry returned from Poland, she endeavoured to place his brother on that throne, but the diet had resolved on the election of another.‡ Alençon's ambition had therefore to fix upon a fresh object.

Navarre possessed the king's confidence and esteem; but Alençon was suspected on account of the numerous intrigues he had been concerned in: that prince was also despised by the whole court for his known bad qualities. His position in the state alone preserved his importance; and the valour of his friend and confidant, Bussy d'Amboise, protected him from many insults intended for him at the instigation of the king, who could no longer endure his presence, and was resolved to have him dispatched.

Soon after the king was dangerously ill, and the disorder principally affected his ear. He called to mind the prevailing opinion upon the death of Francis II., and considered himself poisoned by his brother's contrivance; he sent immediately for the King of Navarre, whom he informed of his suspicions, declaring that he should regret leaving his crown to such a detestable successor, and ordered him to dispatch the duke. The king's favourites longed for an opportunity of punishing a prince they so much detested, and prepared to assist the King of Navarre, who attempted to calm the king's mind by showing him the dreadful consequences of such an event. Henry became more enraged, and ordered it to be done directly, for fear it should not take place when he was dead. The King of Navarre at last persuaded him to ascertain that he was really poisoned before he took such violent measures, and observed, that it was to his interest, his honour, and his fame, to protect the life of the duke, as he would be open to much suspicion if any such thing occurred, on account of his then becoming first prince of the blood and heir to the crown.‡

Henry's recovery convinced him how wrongfully he had suspected his brother; and it was to have been expected that his angry feelings towards him would have given place to fraternal affection as the proper recompense for his ill-treatment. The king's hatred, however, appeared to increase; as he took every opportunity of showing his contempt, by encouraging his minions to insult the duke. It was at his suggestion that a plan was laid for murdering Bussy d'Amboise, the duke's favourite. As he was leaving the Louvre one evening, that person was attacked by a number of armed men, who fired at him several times: by a wonderful chance he escaped. It was generally believed that persons were sent to inform the Duke of Alençon that Bussy was being murdered,

* Matthieu, liv. 7, p. 410.

† Mem. de Nevers, vol. i. pp. 78—9. Prefixe.

‡ 15th Feb., 1575.

§ Brantome, vol. vi. p. 10.

¶ Davila, liv. 6, p. 38.

|| Mem. da la Vie de J. A. de Thou, liv. 3.

* Mem. de la Reine Marguerite, p. 183.

† Davila, liv. vi.. The diet chose Stephen Batori, a native of Hungary.

‡ Matthieu, Prefixe, P. Daniel, and Mem. de Nevers.

and that if he had gone to help him he was to have been killed also: this affair made a great noise at the court.*

Another circumstance occurred about the same time, which shows that Henry would consent to any atrocity, in order to be freed from those whom he disliked. Marshal Montmorency, who had remained in confinement ever since the attempt on St. Germain's, had been preserved from destruction by the influence of his wife, of whom the king was tenderly fond,† added to a dread of his brother's resentment, if any harm should befall him. As there appeared no chance of bringing him to trial, notwithstanding the complete proofs they had of his complicity in the late affair, those who had contributed to the severity of his confinement felt apprehensive that, whenever he obtained his liberty, he would surely take some sort of revenge: their object in consequence was to destroy him. A report was circulated that Marshal Damville was dead: all fear ceasing from that quarter, the king was easily persuaded to give orders for strangling Montmorency and Cossé in prison.‡ Their lives were spared by the postponements contrived by Gilles de Souvray, who was intrusted with the dreadful commission. The king had promised to make him governor of Vincennes, as a recompense; but either from attachment to Montmorency, or from pure motives of humanity, he caused repeated delays, and allowed time for the arrival of a courier with the news of Damville's recovery: the plan was then abandoned altogether. Some poison had recently been given to Marshal Damville, but good remedies applied with promptitude preserved his life: the king, however, received information that it had killed him, a fair ground for supposing his knowledge of its being administered.§

The friends of the captive marshals took the only revenge in their power: which was to stir up the discontented feelings of the Duke of Alençon, and thus increase the importance of the party. That prince was very indignant at being refused the post of lieutenant-general; and besides, considered the recent attack upon Bussy as a personal injury: he resolved to quit the court. His fondness for Madame de Sauve prevented him from keeping secret his intentions, and the king being informed of them, he found it difficult to execute his purpose. He succeeded by going one evening to the faubourg St. Marcel, to visit a lady who was known to receive great attention from him; and while his gentleman waited for him in the street, he slipped out by a private door, and immediately proceeded to the rendezvous of his confidential friends. Horses were ready, and without any loss of time they set out for Dreux, where he arrived before morning.|| The next day he published a manifest, explaining his reasons for quitting Paris. He enlarged on the improper manner in which he and many noblemen had been held in unmerited confinement; he complained of the advisers about the king, who

would effect the complete ruin of the kingdom; and demanded the calling of the states-general for putting an end to different abuses, and the assembling of a general council for religious affairs. This proclamation was chiefly distributed in those parts where the Huguenots were numerous, from which it would appear that the prince placed his hopes of support on that party.*

Alençon's escape was known at court a few hours afterwards, and the Duke of Nevers was sent in pursuit of him; but he was too far a-head to be overtaken. Henry's anger was kindled against his brother; he paced his room up and down, and gave vent to his passion in the most violent threats; he ordered every one to take horse immediately and bring back the duke dead or alive. Several of the courtiers pretended to obey the order, but others observed "That they would devote their lives for the king in any way; but to go against Monsieur, his brother, they were sure would bring his displeasure upon them at a future time."† A council was held the next day to consider what measures ought to be adopted. The queen-mother was of opinion that the affair should be accommodated on any terms whatever: as no price was too great for detaching the prince from the malcontents. The king took the same view of the subject, and the two marshals were released from prison, on the sole condition of contributing their aid in bringing about a reconciliation.‡ Circular letters were also addressed to all the princes of various houses of France, calling for their co-operation.§

The Duke of Alençon was soon surrounded with a number of persons of rank: Turenne and La Noue were among the first who joined him. The Prince of Condé was advancing to meet him with his foreign levies: he knowing Alençon's ambitious disposition, and considering the importance of his name, as brother of the king, would not dispute the precedence; and being sure that he possessed the confidence of the Huguenots and foreigners, he proclaimed Alençon commander-in-chief, satisfied with the real exercise of the authority, while he resigned the name of it. He made, however, one stipulation: that no peace should be concluded without his consent, and which did not secure for him the government of Metz, Toul, and Verdun.||

Thoré, a younger brother of the Marshals Montmorency and Damville, had contributed a large sum towards the equipment of the foreign troops; and was appointed to command a division, which was to precede the main body under Condé, consisting of more than twenty-five thousand men. Thoré considered the confederates were in need of help, and proposed traversing Champagne to join them, some time before the Prince of Condé could come up.¶

* Davila, liv. 6. D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 177. Mem. de Nevers, vol. i. p. 97.

† Mem. de Nevers, vol. i. p. 83.

‡ Davila, liv. 6.

§ A copy of this letter is inserted at length in the Mem. de Nevers, vol. i. p. 92; but it is dated 6th September, and speaks of the duke's flight as having taken place the day before: if the 16th be meant, it agrees with Davila; but if we take into account the alteration of the calendar (which occurred ten years after this event), we must add eleven days, which makes it the 17th; thereby confirming the date given by De Thou—a circumstance the more probable, as there is another instruction to governors, &c. on the same subject dated the 10th.

|| Davila, and Mezeray.

¶ Davila, liv. 6.

* Mem. de la Reine Marguerite, p. 211. Perefice, liv. 1.

† Madame de Montmorency was a natural daughter of Henry II. She was subsequently known as Diana, Duchess d'Angoulême. She went to Lyons in mourning on the king's arrival to intercede for her husband. De Thou, liv. 59. Brantôme, *Vie du Maréchal M.*

‡ Mem. de Nevers, vol. i. p. 81.

§ Brantôme, vol. vii. p. 175. De Thou, liv. 61. Mathieu and Mezeray.

|| 15th September, 1575. Davila, liv. 6. 16th, according to De Thou, liv. 61.

The queen-mother had heard of the approach of this army, and, immediately she knew of Alençon's flight, wrote to Thoré, saying, "That if he advanced, she would send him the heads of his brother and Marshal Cossé." He sent back word in reply, "That if she did as she threatened, there was not a spot in France where he would not leave traces of his vengeance."* He continued his march, and the queen, instead of displaying her angry feelings, set out to exert her persuasive talents in an interview with her son.

Meanwhile Thoré, passing through Champagne, endeavoured to avoid an action with Guise, who was pursuing him: he was overtaken at Dormans, and compelled to oppose his men, fatigued with long and continued marchings, to the fresh troops of the Dukes of Guise and Mayenne. The action was severe, and the loss on both sides was great. Thoré's troops were completely routed, and the cavalry were destroyed; the infantry, however, succeeded in effecting a very good retreat.† It was in this action that Guise received the wound in his face, which obtained for him the surname of the *Balafré*.

Alençon had proceeded to Berry; Nevers would have prevented his passing the Loire, but Catherine sent him an order signed by herself which stopped his pursuit. She feared lest any bodily harm should befall her son. She followed him from town to town, accompanied by the two marshals, through whose assistance she hoped to succeed in her projected negotiation. She did not fail to take with her a numerous train of damsels, upon whose co-operating influence she placed great expectations. At last, in the month of November, she overtook the duke at Champigny in Poitou, when a truce for six months was agreed to. Catherine returned to Paris quite satisfied with her success, as, before the expiration of the term, she might calculate upon the dispersion of the German troops; and from what she knew of her son's disposition, she anticipated his consent to much more favourable terms.‡

For a long time no person of consequence of the Huguenot party had been allowed to approach the King of Navarre: he was watched and guarded by bigoted Catholics, the greater part of whom had distinguished themselves at the massacre. He was besides surrounded with spies of both sexes, and of every rank, whose exclusive object was to prevent his escaping to join the Duke of Alençon. But that was not his intention: he had too indifferent an opinion of that prince to make common cause with him; and it had been Catherine's policy to keep alive a misunderstanding between them. She had soothed Navarre with the hopes of being lieutenant-general; and as his competitor had left the court in so offensive a manner, he made sure of the appointment. But the ladies De Sauve and Carnavalet, who were rather attached to him, put an end to his delusion, by showing him that if Alençon would return, the post would be made at once the price of a reconciliation.

Three faithful attendants however were with the King of Navarre—D'Aubigné, Armagnac, and Jonqueres, who endeavoured to rouse their master to activity. Wearied with their repeated efforts, which were rendered ineffectual by the seductive pleasures with which Catherine had surrounded

him, they were on the point of quitting his service, in order to join the Huguenots; but one night they overheard him lament the absence of faithful friends, as he repeated a verse in the Psalms. D'Aubigné took the opportunity of addressing his master in a firm and serious, but respectful manner: "You sigh, Sire, on account of the distance of your faithful friends, while they are lamenting your absence, and are endeavouring to procure your liberty. But you have only tears in your eyes, while they have arms in their hands; they fight the very enemies that you are serving." He roused his feelings by showing that his proper place was filled by Alençon; and concluded with the assurance, that so far from there being any probability of his having the post of lieutenant-general, the promise had become a public jest at court. The effect of this address was strengthened by the Queen of Navarre, who reported some violent expressions which the king her brother had made use of respecting him; and her physician declared that he had been ordered to poison him.*

It was at last decided, after repeated consultations, that the King of Navarre should leave the court in February, 1576; and that Mans, Chartres, and Cherbourg should be seized by persons in his confidence. The different parties took a solemn oath that nothing should make them relinquish the enterprise, and vowed eternal enmity to him who should betray them. To facilitate their purpose, the King of Navarre was to appear confident of soon obtaining the lieutenancy of the kingdom, and to have his liberty of hunting extended to a greater distance. To effect this he went into Guise's chamber before he was up, and got into the bed to him, for more confidential conversation. He talked of his approaching preferment, and so completely deceived the duke, that he went immediately after he was dressed to divert the king with Navarre's credulity. This morning visit proved extremely useful, for the court had resolved to deprive him of the liberty of hunting at a distance; but thinking him so willing a captive in consequence of his expectations, they made no infringement on his liberty.†

The King of Navarre went to hunt near Senlis, without any idea of putting the plan into execution so soon; but a circumstance had occurred which rendered decision necessary. Fervaques had on a former occasion preserved the king's person, by informing him of a plot on the road to Rheims: the merit of this action was destroyed by his afterwards confessing that he thought such a service would have secured his being made a marshal of France. A similar feeling induced him on this occasion to betray the King of Navarre and his friends. D'Aubigné observed the king and Fervaques whispering together, and suspecting the nature of their conversation, he retired without being seen. He staid near the gate of the palace, and when he perceived Fervaques coming out, he suddenly laid hold of him, saying, "Wretch! what have you been doing?" The traitor, taken unawares, confessed that his obligations to the king had made him betray Navarre; and added, "Go and save your master."

D'Aubigné went immediately to Navarre's stables and succeeded in getting out of the town with the horses and equerries, just before the gates were

* Mathieu, liv. 7. p. 423.

† Davila, liv. 6. Mem. de Bonillon, p. 137.

‡ Davila, liv. 6. p. 48. Amiraull, p. 177.

* D'Aubigné, vol. ii. pp. 183, et seq.

† Ibid. p. 187.

shut by the king's orders. They were met near Senlis by the King of Navarre, on his return from the chase, who inquired the reason of his horses being there. D'Aubigné informed him of the treachery of Fervaques, and recommended him to retire to Sedan or Alençon. The King of Navarre was quite decided; but he had two spies about him, and to be freed from them required address. He called one, and sent him to court with a message, stating that a report having circulated to his prejudice, that he was about to join the malcontents, he wished to know whether it was his majesty's pleasure for him to continue hunting, or to appear to clear himself. He dismissed the other on a pretence of having forgotten that the king was to go into the country, and sent him to meet his majesty in another direction. The King of Navarre then set out with a few gentlemen on whom he thought he could rely, passed the Seine at Poissy, and reached Alençon the following day.* Among his companions was La Valette, afterwards Duke of Espèron, who quitted him soon after, entirely on account of his religion.†

Soon after his arrival at Alençon he was joined by about two hundred and fifty gentlemen; and among others by Fervaques, who found it safer to trust to the prince he had betrayed and injured, than to him whom he intended to have served; especially as Henry III. was extremely angry with him, and appears to have appreciated his real motives; he swore that he would have him hanged, and that if any one informed the traitor, his life should answer for it. Crillon, a gentleman renowned for his bravery, ventured to caution his friend, who immediately set off for Alençon to join the King of Navarre. The flight of Fervaques was known in the morning, and Henry in a rage turned over in his thoughts the names of those who heard him resolve on punishing him. Crillon entered at the moment, and the king with fury in his countenance thus addressed him: "Fervaques has escaped from my vengeance, and leaves me only the hope of exercising it signally on him who has placed him beyond my reach: do you know who it is?" "Yes, sire!" said Crillon. "Well, then," answered the king with vehemence, "name him." Crillon acknowledged that he was the guilty person, and Henry was so struck with his candour and firmness, that he pardoned him, observing that as there was only one Crillon in the world, his clemency towards him could not be brought into precedent.‡

When Fervaques came to the King of Navarre, D'Aubigné accused him of treachery; he pleaded as his defence, that Madame Carnavalet had previously informed Henry of the whole affair, and that she had entreated him to confirm her account; which he did thinking that as it was known, his declaration was of no consequence. Navarre accepted his excuse: either from attachment to him, or through a consciousness of his own weakness, whenever his principles and his passions were in contact.

From Alençon the King of Navarre went to Tours, where he renounced popery, and protested against his abjuration in 1572, as compulsory.§ This step increased the boldness of the Huguenots,

and their troops in different parts amounted to fifty thousand men. But so formidable a force accomplished nothing, for the queen made use of her proposals and intrigues; and the Duke of Alençon finding his consideration eclipsed, became less zealous in the cause. A meeting of the confederate chiefs was held at Moulins, early in March, where they drew up the terms which they required, but which were such as the government was not likely to accede to. The Huguenots claimed a portion of the tithes for the support of their ministers; Alençon demanded an extension of his appanage to a degree which would have made him an independent prince; Condé desired the government of Picardy, with the absolute possession of Boulogne; and Navarre claimed the government of Guyenne, the free sovereignty of his paternal dominions, the payment of the pensions formerly allowed to his family, and the dowry of his wife. These demands, if granted, would have been the ruin of the monarchy, and they were therefore rejected.*

The King of Navarre made a sudden journey into Guyenne and Bearn; and as the people of those provinces were uncertain whether he was acting for or against the king, he was able to get possession of several important places; besides which, he was immediately joined by the ancient adherents of his family. This alarmed the court, and Catherine went again to the camp to see what she could do with her son. Alençon was easily persuaded to renounce his connexion with the Huguenots, and finding that his influence was reduced to nothing, by the importance of Navarre and Condé, (one of whom had the full confidence of the Huguenots, and the other of the Germans,) he was ready to consent to a peace on easy terms. A treaty was concluded, the terms of which were more favourable to the Protestants than those of any one preceding, although the demands made by the meeting at Moulins were considerably modified. The Protestants were allowed the free exercise of their religion, with a number of towns; and the attainders of Coligny, Briquemaut, Montgomery, La Mole, and others were reversed; while for the security of the Huguenots in the administration of justice, mixed commissions were established, composed of persons of both religions. The edict contained sixty-three articles, one of which (the thirty-second) is remarkable, as it declares that "the disorders and excesses committed on the 24th of August and following days, at Paris and in other towns and places of our kingdom, have occurred to our very great regret and displeasure."†

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Rise of the League—Estates of Blois—War of 1576

THE treaty which concluded the fifth civil war was attended with but little benefit, and produced an armistice, rather than a peace. The Protestants had obtained such favourable terms, that they could object to none of its conditions; but every one entertained doubts of their being carried into execution. They knew, from experience, that Catherine was never so lavish of her concessions

* D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 188. Sully, liv. 1. Mathieu, liv. 7.

† Girard, *Vie de Duc d'Espèron*, p. 8.

‡ Vie de Crillon, vol. i. p. 243. D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 189.

§ Sully, liv. 1. Cayet, liv. 1.

* Davila, liv. 6.

† The edict dated May, 1576, is given at length in the *Mém. de Nevers*, vol. i. pp. 117, et seq.

as when she was planning some great deception; and it is astonishing, that with so much knowledge of her perfidy, they could ever listen to any proposals, while she was at the head of the government.

The King of Navarre retired to Rochelle, where he was received with great distinction; the inhabitants however would not allow him to be accompanied by all his officers and gentlemen. They objected in particular to La Valette, and every one who had been concerned in the St. Bartholomew:* they further stipulated that, notwithstanding his position as their ostensible head, he should not assume the government of the city, neither were the keys to be presented to him, as that homage was limited to the king and his heir apparent. Navarre had the good sense to despise matters of mere parade, and wrote a letter which completely satisfied the citizens.†

It soon became evident that the edict of pacification would not be executed; and it seemed generally understood, that the promises had been made exclusively for detaching the king's brother from the confederates. The articles in his favour were fulfilled, but no others.‡ He assumed the title of Duke of Anjou, and entered on the enjoyment of an increased appanage; but the queen very soon convinced Navarre that he need not look for the full execution of the treaty: she even denied having promised anything to the Huguenots, who perceived that they must before long resume their arms.§

The Catholic party expressed great indignation at the favourable conditions granted to the Huguenots; and the principal object of the court being effected, the king took measures for stopping such complaints, by encouraging the attempts made to prevent the meetings of the Protestants, and by delaying, on a number of frivolous pretences, the establishment of the *Chambres mi-parties, or mixed commissions*; and when at last a nomination took place, the parliament of Paris being aware of the king's feelings, refused to admit the new counsellor.||

The Huguenots had been so often deceived, that they could not readily believe the king sincere in signing the edict, especially as the parliament of Paris was considered averse to the measure. Catherine perceived the necessity of removing such suspicions, and wrote to La Noue, assuring him that the report was false; invited him to court; and not only guaranteed his own safety, but promised that the king would be delighted to see him. La Noue indeed possessed the confidence of all parties, and was at this time consulted by the court, the magistrates of Bourges, and the citizens of Montauban and Rochelle: while on one side he was the adviser of Navarre and Condé, he was on the other entreated by Villeroy to obtain a favour of the Duke of Anjou. To win over such a man was worth some flattery on the part of Catherine de Medicis: but La Noue disregarded her promises of protection, and his biographer observes, that it was certain the court had no intention of observing the edict of pacification, nor of fulfilling its stipulations; and that was soon evident. The

king, wary and dissembling as he was, made use of an expression which discovered the wish of his heart. The Protestants of Rouen had resumed the exercise of their worship; and the Cardinal of Bourbon, accompanied by several counsellors, went to their place of meeting to prevent the service. He entered without difficulty; and mounted the pulpit, either to command or entreat them to desist: but the Protestants immediately withdrew, and left him alone. The king was soon after informed, that the cardinal had dispersed the Huguenots of Rouen with his cross and banner: on which he observed, "Would to God they could be as easily driven from the other towns, were it even necessary to add the holy water basin!"*

The Prince of Condé was the first who expressed his dissatisfaction: his government of Picardy was withheld, and he found that he should derive none of the advantages which he had expected from the treaty. He wrote in consequence to Prince Casimir, requesting him to remain near the borders of Lorraine, with the Reîtres under his command, until the peace was firmly established.† This step on his part was soon justified by the behaviour of the Catholics, who were not only disgusted with the treaty itself, but were indignant at the steadiness which the Protestants displayed in their resolution to maintain it. They called upon the king to revoke the edict, and altogether exterminate the heretics; the association formed for expressing this general feeling produced the *League*.

During the sittings of the council of Trent, the Cardinal of Lorraine had projected a similar thing, and many suppose that this was no more than the development of his plan. He had proposed that his brother should be the chief; and the measure met with the unanimous approbation of the council. But the news of Guise's death arrived about the same time, and the cardinal's penetration satisfied him how dangerous it would be for his family to see that important post filled by any but a prince of that house; the design was therefore abandoned for a time.‡

The idea was renewed in 1567, when an attempt was made to establish a society for the defence of religion and the state, under the name of the *Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit*! The king ordered Tavannes to enrol all good Catholics, and report their numbers to him; but the war which soon after broke out appears to have put an end to it, for the association is not subsequently mentioned in the accounts (public or private) of the affairs of France.

The endeavours of the government to suppress the public exercise of the reformed religion rendered such associations unnecessary, till the peace of 1573 gave proof that the Huguenots' strength increased with their persecutions; and that the St. Bartholomew had only served to widen the breach, and kindle a greater spirit of resistance among them. Added to which, the party of the *Malcontents* or *Politiques* had obtained for them the support of many Catholics, and there was a great prospect of those persons ultimately adopting the religious, as well as the political views of the Huguenots. The Cardinal of Lorraine again exerted himself to establish a league, as the only

* Sully, liv. 1. Preface, liv. 1.

† Arcère, vol. ii. p. 19.

‡ Davila, liv. 6.

§ Sully, liv. 1.

|| Davila, liv. 6.

* Amiraull, *Vie de la Noue*, p. 191.

† Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. i. p. 6.

‡ Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, vol. i. p. 20. Paris, 1683.

barrier against the alarming innovation: he died soon after, and another postponement took place.

When the peace was concluded in 1576, two circumstances were particularly favourable for its formation: the Duke of Guise was able to take his father's place, and the kingly authority had been so much disparaged by Henry's behaviour, that in the organization of such an union there was no fear of control from the court: full scope was therefore afforded for the ambition of the Lorrain princes, who aiming at the outset at no more than the chief share in the administration of affairs, were ultimately tempted to aspire to the throne itself.

Ever since his return from Poland, the king had indulged in the most ridiculous practices of Romish devotion. The journal of his reign mentions a number of his achievements of this description. In October, 1575, he ordered a general and solemn procession, in which he had the relics of the holy chapel carried; he followed the whole of the way, telling his beads with great devotion. The *true cross* had been stolen from the chapel of the palace, which caused a great sensation among the Catholics.* Henry contrived to supply the loss, and ordered a public notice in all the churches, that he had caused a new crucifix to be made, in which was inserted a *large piece of the real cross*, and that the people were to go to adore it during the holy week of 1576.†

In the month of August, the king went on foot through the streets of Paris, to gain the benefits of the jubilee, published by Gregory XIII.; he was accompanied only by two or three persons, and held a large rosary in his hands, muttering *Paternosters* as he walked along. The queen-mother had recommended him to do so, with a view of showing his attachment to the Catholic religion: but it failed of its effect; and the people losing all respect for his person, made upon him the most insulting lampoons: they parodied his titles, and turned into derision his encouragements of the religious orders.‡

The king's ill-judged behaviour convinced all thinking Catholics that his protection was of no use to their religion; against such a leader the Huguenots would be sure to succeed: they were induced, in consequence, to adopt the views of the league from principle. Some mingled other considerations with their religion, and thought the national welfare would be better secured if intrusted to the Duke of Guise, than to their imbecile and enervated monarch, who knowing that a treaty had put an end to the war, gave himself no further trouble about public affairs. He was surrounded by a number of young nobles of no reputation, whom he loaded with favours, and kept constantly in his company. The principal among them were Quelus, Maugiron, St. Megrin, Joyeuse, and La Valette: they had been chiefly introduced by Villequier, a man of detestable character. Their effeminate practices procured them the epithet of the king's minions; and their scandalous intimacy with the monarch gave rise to imputations, which certainly were justified by Henry's

general conduct.* "His manners," says Voltaire,† "were those of a coquette: he wore gloves made of a peculiar kind of skin, in which he slept, to preserve the beauty of his hands, which in fact he had finer than any lady of his court:‡ he put on his face a cosmetic paste, and wore a sort of mask over it." His conduct had completely obliterated the memory of his previous renown, and with the proper qualifications of a king and good opportunities for displaying them, he became the burden of the state which his arms had formerly sustained, while he scandalized the religion for which he had so much exerted himself.

Guise had at one time possessed a great share of Henry's friendship. The minions had succeeded in excluding him from the king's confidence, and then insulted him openly; a desire to resent such treatment made him the more ready to avail himself of so favourable a combination of circumstances. The nation was weary of being a prey to the minions; the princes of the blood were all suspected through their connexion with the Huguenots; the king was universally despised, and himself as generally beloved: he had moreover the powerful influence of Spain and Rome to support him, and a host of staunch and persevering adherents in the persons of the Catholic clergy.

A form was drawn up, and circulated secretly by his emissaries: it was presented to Catholics of known zeal, who signed it, and took a corresponding oath. The form declared the different objects of the association, which were the restoration of the Roman Catholic church, the preservation of the king's authority conformable to the conditions which might be set forth at a meeting of the states-general, and the restoration of ancient liberties. The parties mutually bound themselves to devote their lives to enforce the above declarations; to take vengeance on any who should molest one of their number, as well as on him who, having once joined them, should desire to separate from the association; ready obedience was also promised to the chief who might be chosen.§

At first there were but few persons of respectability who would sign the league; they wanted to know who was to be chief before they engaged themselves. The activity of the magistracy also presented great obstacles, which might have proved fatal to the association if Guise had not been assisted by Jacques de Humières, governor of Peronne, who was not only attached to the house of Lorrain, but was also personally interested in the revocation of the treaty of peace, for that stated, among other articles, that Peronne was to be surrendered to the Prince of Condé. His interest being so deeply concerned he published a manifest, justifying the nobles and gentlemen of Peronne in refusing to receive the prince, and declaring it was known for a certainty that he had resolved on abolishing the Catholic religion, and setting up Calvinism throughout Picardy.|| This

* He was very fond of masquerades, where he was usually dressed in female apparel.—*Journal de Henri III.* p. 17.

† In a note to the *Henriade*.

‡ Brantome, after praising the elegance of Catherine's hand, adds, "The king her son, Henry III., inherited a great deal of that beauty."—Vol. i. p. 49.

§ This declaration is so well known, and is given by so many writers, that I have considered its insertion at length unnecessary.

|| Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, vol. i. p. 38. Vie de Mornay, p. 35.

* Great exertions were made by the authorities to discover this relic, but in vain. It was generally thought the king had pledged it to the Venetians for a large sum. Dulaure, vol. i. p. 167—Edit. 1787.

† *Journal de Henri III.*

‡ Ibid.

was however decidedly at variance with the conduct of the Protestants; for at Rochelle, where they were independent of control, they permitted the free exercise of the Romish religion. A church was fitted up for that purpose, and the service celebrated with the usual pomp, in September, 1576.*

The king received early information of great importance, which if properly attended to by him might have saved France many years of civil war. A lawyer, named David, had either taken upon himself, or was employed by Guise to go to Rome and lay before the pope and cardinals the plan of the league.† He died on his journey, in what manner is unknown; but on examining his portmanteau there was found a parcel of papers, which described the object of this association. The principal document commenced by declaring that the papal benediction, especially that of Stephen II., which was given to the race of Charlemagne, did not extend to the family of Hugh Capet, usurper of the crown; and the princes of Lorraine being the true posterity of that emperor would have the assistance of heaven in bringing good out of evil, as all good Catholics would assist in restoring them to their rights from the extreme horror they felt at the late unfortunate peace. After a glowing description of the excellence of the Guises, the statement proceeded, "from the time that the children of Hugh Capet have seized on the throne, to the prejudice of that emperor's descendants, the curse of God has fallen upon those usurpers: some have lost their senses, others their liberty, or have been struck with the thunder of the Church. The greater part of them without health or strength have died in the flower of their age childless. During these unfortunate reigns, the kingdom has become the prey of heretics, such as the Albigenses, and the paupers of Lyons. The last peace, so favourable to the Calvinists, tends also to establish them in France, if advantage be not taken of this opportunity to restore the age of Charlemagne to his posterity. The Catholics united in the intention of supporting the faith have therefore agreed together respecting what follows, viz., that in the pulpit and the confessional such as are of the clergy shall exert themselves in opposing the privileges granted to the Sectarians, and shall excite the people to prevent their enjoying them. If the king show any apprehension lest the infraction of the peace in this important point should plunge him again into fresh troubles, they shall urge him to throw all the blame on the Duke of Guise; the danger to which this prince will expose himself, by thus braving the hatred of all the Protestants, will render him dearer to the Catholics. His boldness will encourage the timid to sign the league, and thus increase the party. All the confederates shall swear to acknowledge him for their leader. The priests of the towns and villages shall keep a list of those who are in a state to bear arms; they will tell them in confession what they will have to do, as they shall have learned from the superior ecclesiastics, themselves receiving their instructions from the Duke of Guise, who will secretly send officers to form the new levies.

"The Protestants have demanded the assembling of the states; they shall be convoked at Blois, a

town quite open. The chief of the party will take care to effect the election of deputies inviolably attached to the ancient religion and to the sovereign pontiff. At the same time, captains dispersed through the kingdom, will raise a certain number of determined soldiers, who will promise upon oath to do what may be commanded them, at any time or in any place. It will also be necessary to engage, by mild insinuations, the Duke of Anjou, the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and every noble who may be suspicious, to go to the states with the king. The Duke of Guise will not be there, both to avoid suspicion, and to be in a better condition to give his orders.

"Should any one oppose the resolutions which will be taken in the states, if a prince of the blood, he shall be declared incapable of succeeding to the crown; if of any other quality, he shall be punished with death; or if he cannot be laid hold of, a price shall be set on his head. The states will make a general profession of faith; order the publication of the council of Trent; place France under the immediate authority of the pope; confirm the ordinances made for the destruction of heresy, and revoke all contrary edicts. The king will thus be disengaged from the promises given to the Calvinists. A time will be allowed for them to return to the Church; and, during that interval, preparations can be made for destroying the more obstinate. The states will represent to the king, that to ensure success there must in future be only one person charged with the enterprise; and they will recommend the Duke of Guise, as the only skilful general who has had no connexion with the heretics.

"To give weight to this proposal, the soldiers levied privately in the provinces will appear around Blois on a certain day, strengthened with some foreign troops. They will carry off Monsieur, and put him on his trial, for having extorted from the king his brother such favourable conditions for the heretic rebels. The Duke of Guise will pursue the insurgents; make himself master of the principal towns; put under a strong guard all the accomplices of Monsieur, whose trial he will finish; and finally, by the pope's advice, he will shut up the king in a monastery for the remainder of his days, as Pepin formerly served Childeric."

When the discovery of this paper was made known, it was thought by some to be an invention of the Huguenots, in order to serve their cause by rendering the league odious to the nation, and the king himself treated it as a chimera; but, says Maimbourg, "It is certain that this lawyer, who mortally hated the Huguenots, (by whom he had been ill-treated, and had in consequence devoted himself entirely to the league,) undertook this journey to Rome, expressly to carry these memoirs, and present them to the pope in order to engage him in the cause. . . . Besides the Seigneur John de Vivonne, the king's ambassador in Spain, sent a copy, with the assurance that they had been shown to King Philip. Still there is great appearance that these memoirs had no other origin than the weak and troubled imagination of this mad lawyer, who put his furious reveries and chimerical dreams on paper, which no one can read without immediately discovering marks of a pitiable aberration of intellect."*

The object of David's journey being admitted by

* Arcère, vol. ii. p. 22.

† Cayet, liv. 1. p. 5. De Thou, liv. 63.

* Hist. de la Ligue, vol. i. p. 49.

such authority, it will appear very astonishing that a crackbrained individual could have laid out, so distinctly, the plan which the Guises afterwards followed. The journey may have been his own spontaneous idea; but the substance of his memoirs must have been suggested by some one well versed in the movements and resolutions of the party.

The states-general were held at Blois towards the close of the year.* All parties had concurred in the wish that they should be assembled. The king imagined that a desire of preserving the peace would influence every deputy; the Protestants thought the junction of the malcontents had ensured their success for ratifying the late treaty; while the league, conscious of the number of its members, calculated with certainty on revoking it. Henry appeared before the assembly with more majesty and splendour than was to have been expected from the general imbecility which had for a long time rendered him the ridicule of his people. His speech was good, both in substance and language; and his delivery of it is reported to have been very graceful.† He knew of the existence of the league, but was doubtful whether he should give any sign of that knowledge or not; his mother's policy was what he wished to adopt, if possible; he hoped to secure his own authority while the struggle lasted between the Protestants and the league; and it was not till he found it out of his power to keep aloof that he declared himself chief of a faction in his own dominions, bearing the title of the *Holy Union*.

Espinac, Archbishop of Lyons, was the orator for the clergy; the Baron de Senecy, for the noblesse; Versoris, for the commons. The clergy and the nobles contended that one religion alone should be allowed in the kingdom; the commons admitted the good effects of that uniformity, provided it could be effected by mild means. After a discussion of several days, it was decided,‡ by a majority of votes, that the king should be entreated to unite all his subjects to the Roman Catholic church, by the best means he could; to prohibit the exercise of the pretended reformed religion, both in public and private, and to banish all the Protestant ministers.§

The king certainly committed a great error in joining the league; but that step completely disconcerted the plans of the Duke of Guise, who, directly he heard of it, hastened to Blois, and called upon him to fulfil his duty as a member of the holy union, by immediately declaring war against the heretics. It was, however, desirable that, before the sword was again resorted to, an invitation should be sent to the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and Marshal Damville, calling on them to obey the king, and holding them responsible for the war if they refused.|| Each of them received a deputation from the three orders: there was, however, but little success to be expected, for they had protested against the assembly as a cabal of their enemies, directly its composition was known. The Protestants had been promised that the Estates should be called, unfettered by any influence; but when they did meet there were ten thousand soldiers around

Blois.* The Archbishop of Vienne addressed the King of Navarre in so pathetic a strain, giving such a picture of the horrors of civil war, that he brought tears into the eyes of that prince, inured as he was to combats. He replied, that he was not obstinate upon the article of religion, but, believing the Protestant to be the best, he would not purchase peace at the expence of his honour and conscience: the war, he said, with which he was threatened, was not the readiest way to convince him of his error; and he could not with any safety quit his party at a time when an edict so solemnly given was revoked. With a frankness, for which he was remarkable, he declared, "That if God opened his eyes that he might see his error, not only would he immediately abjure it, but he would contribute his utmost efforts for abolishing heresy altogether."† This declaration is highly characteristic of the epoch. He was at the time in arms for liberty of conscience, and yet declared his readiness to become a persecutor, if a change took place in his opinions.

The deputies to Condé and Damville received the following answer: "We only ask for peace; let the promises given us be fulfilled and all will be quiet; besides, we do not acknowledge your states, and we protest against every resolution there made to our prejudice."‡ Other deputations were sent with no better results. The king and his mother held several councils to devise some plan for averting the war; but the influence of the league predominated, and nothing short of a complete revocation of the edicts favourable to the Protestants could be admitted.

The original declaration of the holy union contained expressions which could not be justified in any manner; and as the king had joined that body, those terms which were obviously at variance with the royal authority were omitted in the new declaration, drawn up by Humières, who was chief of the league in Picardy. The new form was much less offensive: it preserved all the spirit of the league, but appeared to act entirely by the authority and for the service of the king.§ That faction had, however, received such powerful support, that it was able, not merely to defy the government, but to control its measures, and render its authority subservient to the union. Gregory XIII. secretly encouraged while he refused to countenance it openly: he esteemed it a very efficient check to the progress of Calvinism: the idea most terrible to the Vatican was the holding of a national council in France; and while the league existed that could never take place. Philip II. gave it his support: his fears were for the Netherlands, and he was certain that while France was torn with internal troubles, the Flemings could not expect any assistance from that quarter.

Henry, being unable to resist the league, consented to revoke the edict of pacification, and ordered two armies to be raised for subduing the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé. They in the mean time had made preparations for carrying on the war, by increasing their forces and taking possession of different towns, whenever they could do so without an open attack.

* D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 238. Duplessis-Mornay published a strong remonstrance on the occasion.—*Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 18.

† Mem. de Nevers, vol. i. p. 456.

‡ De Thou, liv. 63.

* Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 464.

* 6th Dec. 1576, Mem. de Nevers, vol. i. p. 166. That nobleman kept a journal of the sittings.

† Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. i. p. 9.

‡ 26th Dec. 1576.

§ D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 257.

|| De Thou, Le Grain. Preface.

The King of Navarre, being desirous of knowing the condition and feelings of the Huguenots in different provinces, ordered D'Aubigné to make a circuit and collect information, which might facilitate the raising an army if circumstances required it.

As D'Aubigné was known to have assisted Navarre in making his escape from court, the enterprise was dangerous for him, especially as it was a part of his instructions to go to Blois, while the states were being held, to speak to the Duke of Anjou and Marshal Cossé. Being disguised, he succeeded in speaking to the marshal, who recommended him to abandon the idea of addressing Anjou; but he persisted, and, finding no other means of approaching him, he went to a masked ball, at which the court would be present. One of the queen's maids of honour not only recognised him herself, but satisfied him that others had also, and pointed out two officers who were ordered to arrest him. He succeeded in making his escape from the room, and passed the river in a boat, after having changed clothes with his footman.*

On retiring from Blois to Chastelliers, he found La Noue preparing to receive the Duke of Mayenne. D'Aubigné succeeded in convincing that general that it was unsafe for him to remain where he was; and persuaded him to repair without loss of time to Poictou.† He arrived at Rochelle in January, when his advice was invaluable to the Huguenot chiefs.‡

The war was renewed at the end of March, 1577: Anjou was appointed to command one army, which marched direct to La Charité. Guise had solicited the lead of the other; but the king's jealousy caused it to be given to his brother Mayenne. He went at once into Poictou and Guyenne, and drove the Huguenots back to Rochelle; he then made a short truce with the King of Navarre: after its expiration, he waited in Poictou for further orders. Anjou attacked La Charité at the commencement of April, with a very strong force: the town having scarcely any garrison, and being taken by surprise, so that no assistance could arrive, capitulated after sustaining two assaults.§

This served as a notice for the inhabitants of Issoire, a strong and well-fortified town; and the royal army found that place a more difficult conquest than La Charité, for the garrison made a most obstinate defence. After sustaining a siege till the beginning of June, they were obliged to surrender at discretion, having suffered the greatest extremities in the defence of the place. The inhabitants were all put to the sword, the town plundered, and then set on fire: there remained nothing of Issoire but a heap of ruins.||

The affairs of the Huguenots were in a sad condition. The King of Navarre had wished to retain in his little court all the Catholics of his old party; innumerable jealousies and cabals were the consequence, in addition to the impediments which their operations sustained from it. Mayenne thought such a time favourable for attempting to reduce Rochelle; most of the surrounding towns had been taken or destroyed; but Brouage having a port from whence assistance might be sent, resolved on taking that first, as a means of ensuring success to his attack on the city.

The siege was commenced in June. Manducage, a gentleman of Picardy, was intrusted with the defence; but unfortunately his stock of provisions was very slender, and the blockade so strict, that no supply could arrive.*

The operations on this occasion were not confined to the land, for each party had a fleet; and an engagement took place in the channel, where the Huguenots were defeated. The land operations were equally unfortunate for them, and every reinforcement sent from Rochelle was either taken or repulsed. The King of Navarre was detained in defending Nerac and Castel-Jaloux, which were assailed by Villars, Admiral of France. Having succeeded in repelling that commander, he hastened to relieve Brouage, and ordered Turenne to bring on the rest of his army; before he could arrive the town had surrendered. The besieged being in great extremity, received intelligence of the fall of Issoire, and that Anjou's army was coming to join Mayenne. Fearing a treatment similar to the fate of that unfortunate town, they immediately offered to capitulate: while Mayenne, fearful that the honour of the achievement would be claimed by the Duke of Anjou, was quite willing to accede to very reasonable terms.

These events damped the spirits of the Huguenots, and subdued the obstinacy of their ministers: their affairs were never in so bad a state before, Damville having turned against them.‡ If they had been pushed at this crisis, the plans of the league might have been completed, so far as concerns the suppression of the Protestant religion in France. Damville was besieging Montpellier, commanded by Thoré, and the young Count de Chatillon, eldest son of the late Admiral Coligny: the place was reduced to great distress, but Chatillon quitting the town, returned in a few days with a considerable reinforcement, and was on the point of giving battle to the besiegers, when a courier arrived with the news of a peace having been concluded between the Kings of France and Navarre.§ Damville requested the king's permission to continue the siege notwithstanding the peace, and represented the importance of the place. But the king wished for peace, and the Protestants insisted upon the possession of Montpellier as one of the conditions.||

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Edict of Poitiers—Deaths of the king's minions—Treaty of Nerac—Attempt on Limoges—The Lovers' war—Taking of La Fere, Montaignu and Cahors.

THE treaty concluded at Bergerac, in September, 1577, was immediately followed by the edict of Poitiers; which was so favourable to the Protestants, that, considering the unfortunate results of their attempts during the campaign, we are astonished at the liberality of the terms. The edict contained sixty-four articles, and appears to have been drawn up with great care, and a desire for firmly establishing the peace.¶ The Romish religion was established in full predominance, but the

* Arcère, vol. ii. p. 42.

† Sully, liv. 1. Mezeray, *Abbrégé Chron.* Davila, liv. 6.

‡ Davila, liv. 6.

§ Mezeray and D'Aubigné.

¶ Marsollier, *Hist. du Duc de Bouillon*, liv. 2. p. 244.

¶ Davila, liv. 6. p. 109. Mem. de Nevers, vol. i. p. 290.

* D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 239.

† Ibid.

‡ Arcère, vol. ii. p. 31.

§ Hist. des Derniers Troubles. Mezeray, *Abbrégé Chron.*

¶ Davila, liv. 6, p. 106. Mem. de Tavannes, p. 160.

Protestants were secured in their right of public worship; there were a few places where this liberty was restrained; but as a compensation, their privileges in general were so well defined, that they could not be tricked by varied explanations of the articles. Several salutary clauses were inserted respecting baptisms, marriages, and burials; one especially gave great satisfaction by putting an end to the disputes and troubles occasioned by the marriages of priests, friars and nuns. The edict protected the parties from being questioned upon that subject; they were secured from molestation, but they were not allowed to claim any succession, direct or collateral; and their families could only inherit their personal property.

This edict contains a repetition of the declaration contained in that of 1576, respecting the massacre of the St. Bartholomew, as also the articles restoring the reputation of the admiral and others. It likewise attacked the league in a spirited manner: "All leagues, associations, and brotherhoods, made and to be made under any pretence whatsoever, to the prejudice of our present edict, shall be, and are annulled, and dissolved, &c."* Henry thought he had subdued his worst enemy, and spoke with exultation of *his* edict.

The edict of Poitiers is so much at variance with the declared object of the war which it concluded, that, to comprehend it, one must know the various circumstances which combined to regulate its composition, and which operated upon those who framed it. Three events materially influenced the king to grant such favourable terms: 1. The formation of the league in France had caused a counter-league to be projected; and Henry received information that the different Protestant powers had consented to support it:† 2. The fear of the English having possession of Rochelle; for when Brouage was pressed by the Duke of Mayenne, the Rochellese, fearful of falling into the hands of their Catholic enemies, had applied to Elizabeth for protection; and lastly, the great want of money under which he laboured, not merely to pay his own troops, but the different sums due to Prince Casimir, who threatened otherwise to march his Reiters back into France.‡ Henry had no troops that he could depend upon to send against him, for a general spirit of insubordination prevailed. The Protestants hailed the peace joyfully, and the Prince of Condé accompanied its announcement with a public illumination.§

In February, 1578, the Protestants held a synod at St. Foy, in Guyenne, when the King of Navarre was represented by Turenne. It was there decided, that four ministers should be deputed from the reformed churches of France, to an assembly to be held in August, at Frankfort. The Protestant princes of Germany, the Queen of England, and every state in which the reformation was received, were to send accredited agents to the meeting; the object of which was to establish a confession of faith, that should be generally adopted among them: the attempt however failed.||

Henry had at this time a good opportunity to establish his authority and restore prosperity to the kingdom: he had shown a proper spirit in giving

the edict of Poitiers, a vigorous execution of which would have been a blessing to France. His behaviour, however, was unfortunately the reverse of what it should have been; and the league, which escaped being crushed solely on that account, recoiled for a short time, ready to assail the throne with greater fury whenever a proper season should arrive. He resigned himself to luxury and the society of his minions; while to display his orthodoxy he continued to bestow his favours on the religious orders and to fulfil all the processional ceremonies of popery.

Still, if weakness had been all that was objectionable in Henry's conduct, he might have escaped a considerable part of his misfortunes; his minions, by their pride and insolence, completed the alienation of the public mind. We are informed by Le Laboureur, "That he took pleasure in having several favourites together: he liked them to be brave, provided they were daring; and witty, provided they were vicious; in fact, he refused them nothing, so long as they were magnificent and prodigal, and he was able to show a marked spite towards those who pretended that he owed something to their birth or merit."** His attachment to these favourites was particularly manifested on an occasion when two of them were killed. Quelus, the king's chief minion, had a quarrel with Antraquet, Guise's favourite: they agreed to settle the dispute with the sword, and went early one morning to an appointed place, near the gate of St. Antoine, each being accompanied by two friends.† They fought with such desperation, that two of them were killed on the spot: two died afterwards, in consequence of their wounds, and two recovered. Quelus lingered for four or five days. The king was constantly at his bedside, and promised the surgeon a recompense of a hundred thousand francs if he recovered: he died, however, says the journal of the time, calling on the king, "But making no mention of God or his mother."‡ Maugiron was one of those who were killed on the spot: both he and Quelus were tenderly beloved by Henry, whose grief was like that of a lover bereaved by death of the dear object of his affection. He paid the most absurd attention to their dead bodies, and had magnificent obsequies performed for them.

St. Megrin, another favourite, was murdered a short time after.§ The Duke of Guise had been informed of his too great intimacy with the duchess, and placed a band of armed men to kill him, as he quitted the Louvre in the evening. The king had his body interred by the side of Quelus and Maugiron, and erected a very superb monument over their grave.

The removal of these minions prepared the way for a reconciliation between the king and the duke of Anjou. Immediately after the conclusion of the last treaty, that prince had directed his attention to Flanders, where he made sure of being followed by a considerable number of the Protestants, who would cheerfully go to help their brethren. Anjou was so much insulted by those insolent courtiers, that, with his mother's approbation, he resolved to hasten his departure.|| Ca-

* Art. 56.

† Journal de Henri III.

‡ Mezeray, *Abbrégé Chron.*

§ Davila, liv. 6. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 1. p. 12.

|| Soulier, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, p. 183.

* Le Laboureur, vol. ii. p. 51.

† 27th April, 1578.

‡ Journal de Henri III. Brantome, vol. ii. p. 117.

§ 21st July, 1578. Journal de Henri III.

|| Davila, liv. 6. According to De Thou, liv. 66, he left the court the 15th February, 1578.

therine easily persuaded the king to consent to the plan; but no sooner was he alone with his corrupt advisers than they filled his mind with imaginary terrors, and made him adopt an opinion quite contrary. The difference between the brothers was serious for a time; but when Henry was no longer incited by the pernicious counsels of the minions, he was induced to encourage Anjou's views. In the meantime the effects of the treaty extended to but a very small portion of France. The news of the peace had prevented considerable bloodshed in Languedoc, as the messenger arrived at the instant the two armies were about to engage; but the troops there assembled remained under arms. Through the inexplicable conduct of Marshal Damville, hostile operations were incessantly carried on; and with such success on the part of the Protestants, that Damville's army was considerably reduced by their harassing attacks.*

The queen-mother anxiously perceived the ascendancy which the Guises had obtained: finding the pulpits resound with animated addresses in behalf of the League, she wished to win over the King of Navarre; and her late success in gaining Damville afforded her great encouragement. She resolved on a journey to Guyenne; and as Navarre had sent an envoy to court to demand his wife, Catherine availed herself of the pretext of conducting Margaret to her husband. The queen's retinue was numerous, and well supplied with syrens, who were trained by Catherine to entice persons of consequence from their party. The court was at Auch for some months, during which time persuasions and arguments, seductions and military surprises, were continually and simultaneously pursued. Ussac, an elderly personage, governor of La Reole, having fallen in love with one of the nymphs, was heartily laughed at by the King of Navarre and his companions: he felt so piqued at their ridicule, that he delivered the town to a governor of the court party.†

The King of Navarre took his revenge by seizing on another town in the following manner. During a ball given at court, he ordered several confidential persons to join him secretly at an appointed place, with their arms concealed under their clothes. Catherine, who fully thought that Navarre had slept quietly at Auch, was surprised to learn next morning that he had marched to Fleurance, and taken it by surprise. She laughed very heartily, and observed that she had got the best bargain; which, indeed, she had, as La Reole was a far more important place than Fleurance.‡

Catherine endeavoured to promote dissensions between Navarre and Condé, and amongst the different captains about them. She quitted Auch in the beginning of February, 1579, to be present at an assembly at Montauban; where a treaty proposed at Nerac was to be considered. As her voluptuous snares were not likely to succeed among persons of such austere morals, she adopted another plan; she made great professions of piety, and mingled texts of Scripture with her conversation. Although she was aided by the eloquence of Pibrac, the king's attorney-general, she was unable to produce any impression on the assembly.§ She

then returned to Nerac, and renewed the conference with Navarre. After concluding a treaty, the principal object of which was to explain and modify some articles in the edict of Poitiers, she returned to Paris at the end of February.*

Catherine's object had completely failed; and, instead of beguiling Navarre into concessions suitable to her views, she found that her own expedient had been turned against herself: her chief counsellor, Pibrac, became enamoured of the Queen Margaret, who persuaded him to consent to terms highly favourable for the Huguenots.†

Meanwhile the peace existed but in name. The numerous instances of Catherine's perfidy, and the known weakness of the king, prevented any confidence being placed in his promises or proclamations. Navarre not only refused to go to court, but kept his army on foot, and several enterprises were carried on, which display considerable dexterity and courage. A demand from the government to give up the cautionary towns, which the King of Navarre prudently refused to accede to, made both parties expect a renewal of hostilities: no opportunity, therefore, which presented itself was neglected.

A circumstance which occurred at Limoges presents features peculiar to a state of society torn by civil wars, and animated by religious differences. One Le Mas made overtures for delivering that town to the Huguenots, pretending some injurious treatment that he had received in being unjustly condemned to banishment. D'Aubigné was the person he communicated with, and, after several preliminaries were adjusted, a meeting was fixed for a future day, to decide upon their plan of action. When D'Aubigné went into the town, he had sufficient reason to see that the proposal to deliver up Limoges was only a stratagem for laying hold of some Huguenots of distinction. He observed that he was watched, and, with a presence of mind which never failed him, he took out his pocket-book, and pretended to draw a plan of the town; he then returned to the inn where he had left his horse. He was met by Le Mas, who entered into conversation with him. D'Aubigné, without displaying either coolness or anxiety, told him, that he was quite satisfied that the town might be taken in the way agreed upon, and concluded his remarks by saying that the Prince of Condé would be of the party. Le Mas, believing him to be completely duped, thought it would be wrong to lose so good a chance of having Condé in the snare: he made an excuse for leaving the room, and went to the soldiers on guard. A number of persons were collected at the gates, with the provost at their head; but Le Mas, informing that officer of what had passed, and the spy confirming the account of D'Aubigné's having drawn a plan of the place, they retired, and suffered him to escape. Notwithstanding the cogent reasons which D'Aubigné gave for abandoning the plan, two of his friends persisted in confiding in Le Mas. They went to the same inn where he had been: persons, pretending to be dealers, came to them, as they had previously gone to D'Aubigné.

* Benoit, vol. i. *preuves*, gives the articles of the conference at Nerac, and the edicts to which it gave rise.

† Mezeray, *Abregé Chron.* Guy de Faur, sieur de Pibrac, paid such attention to the study of the Scriptures, that his abjuration was expected by many. Duplessis-Mornay wrote him a letter on the occasion. Mem. de Duplessis, vol. i. p. 108.

* D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 333.

† De Thou, liv. 72. D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 335.

‡ Sully, liv. 1. D'Aubigné, *at supra*. Mem. de Bouillon, p. 16, (vol. xlix. of the collection of 1788).

§ D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 337.

Le Mas, in the mean time, having secured their swords, they were seized, and the next day were beheaded.*

The war which broke out towards the close of the year 1579 is generally called the Lovers' War. It certainly was kindled by female influence; but the original cause was the king's suspicious disposition. The Duke of Anjou placed great confidence in his sister Margaret, and she was greatly attached to him; a constant correspondence was maintained between them, during Margaret's stay at Pau and Nerac.† Henry feared the revival of the party of the *Malcontents*, and resolved to embroil Margaret with her husband: he also resumed his former distrustful behaviour to his brother, and caused the murder of Bussy, by procuring some letters he had received from Madame de Montsoreau, and showing them to the lady's husband.‡ The protestants in the Low Countries had formed an alliance at Utrecht, in the beginning of the year, and everything combined to promote Anjou's enterprise in that quarter; a deputation had been sent to offer him the government.§ He pressed the king to aid him in the attempt. Henry was afraid of offending the King of Spain, and opposed his brother's measures, while Anjou, supposing that a war would bring the king to any terms for the sake of restoring peace, pressed Navarre to recommence hostilities.

Henry wrote to the King of Navarre, informing him of the scandalous intimacy subsisting between Margaret and the young Turenne. Navarre informed the accused parties of the communication he had received; they both protested their innocence, rejecting the accusation as a calumny arising out of the king's malice. Turenne declared that it was only a pretext for withholding Cahors and other places of Margaret's dowry. The Queen of Navarre was indignant at the king's behaviour, and wished to re-kindle the war. She copied her mother's plans, and influenced a young girl (Navarre's favourite mistress) to exasperate him against the king and the Guises. She took similar means to win over the nobles of importance; and her views were promoted by the pressing letters of the Duke of Anjou.|| A war was decided upon chiefly for the foregoing reasons, but likewise in consequence of the overt acts of the government, whose troops had surprised the town of Figeac in Quercy, and held the castle besieged.¶

Arrangements had been made for commencing operations at the same time throughout France: however, out of more than forty expeditions which were planned, only three succeeded: La Fère in Picardy, Montaigu in Poitou, and Cahors in Guyenne. Condé seized upon La Fère the 29th of November, 1579, and having put it in a posture of defence, he went to Flanders, England, and Germany, in succession, in order to raise fresh means of carrying on the war. As he was returning into France through Savoy, he was stopped and plun-

dered without being recognised: he afterwards put himself at the head of the Protestants in Languedoc.*

Montaigu was held by a garrison that was little better than a band of highwaymen. De Pommieres, a Gascon, had formed an intimacy with some of them, and having communicated his ideas to La Boulaye and D'Aubigné, they concerted a plan for taking the castle. De Pommieres informed his friends of a good prize, and thus drew a considerable number, including their captain, out of the castle: they were suddenly surrounded by soldiers, and compelled to procure the opening of a postern gate for La Boulaye and his party. The castle was easily taken, but the town would have given them great trouble, if the inhabitants, ignorant of the numbers of their assailants, had not fled in every direction.

Their force was so inconsiderable, that, if any attempt had been made to recover the place, they were too feeble to resist; their company not exceeding thirty-men, for more than a fortnight. Their situation became dangerous, for the Catholics in the neighbourhood would approach the walls, and shake halts, to indicate their approaching fate. D'Aubigné and his friend La Valliere had wished from the first to take measures for increasing their numbers: that measure now became absolutely necessary. They went on a market day to Nantes and made some additions to their company. Their different expeditions were successful, and increased their reputation so much, that they were soon joined by sufficient numbers to defy an attack; and within ten days they had a force of fourteen hundred men.†

The attack on Cahors equals any exploit in ancient or modern history. The King of Navarre left Montauban in the spring of 1580, with about fifteen hundred men. The town itself is very strong, being surrounded on three sides by water: it was commanded by Vezins, a man of great intrepidity;‡ and the garrison consisted of two thousand veterans, a hundred horsemen, and a numerous body of armed citizens. The King of Navarre and his little army arrived about midnight, within a quarter of a league of the town. "We halted," says Sully, "in a grove of walnut trees, where there was a fountain, at which we quenched our thirst. It was June, and thundered a great deal, but did not rain."§

Every arrangement being made, the attack on the town commenced by the Viscount de Gourdon advancing with ten men, to force open the gates by means of petards. The noise which this caused soon brought a body of men to oppose them, and the tocsin was rung to alarm all the inhabitants. The people were prepared for an attack; and when the Protestants were in the town, they were assailed with stones from the tops of the houses, in addition to a sharp firing from the windows. The struggle in the town lasted five days and nights, every part being barricaded: Navarre fought like a private soldier. His friends entreated him to retire, as there was a reinforcement coming to assist the garrison; but he paid no attention, either to their suggestions, or his own wounds, and said—

* *Esprit de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 224.

† D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 346.

‡ The same who saved Resnier's life at the St. Bartholomew.

§ Sully, liv. 1. De Thou, however, states that the attack was made 5th May, 1580: *liv. 72*.

* D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 339.

† Anjou had returned to court 16th March. De Thou, liv. 68.

‡ There are several versions of this affair, which took place in August, 1579. The *Journal de Henri III.* states that Anjou consented to the plan for entrapping him; De Thou says that the king wished to be freed from the bully, and made use of some letters that were in his brother's possession.

§ Davila, liv. 6.

¶ D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 345.

|| Sully, liv. 1.

"What shall become of me on this occasion is decreed above. Remember that my retreat from this city without securing it to our party will be the retreat of my soul from my body. My honour is too much interested for it to be otherwise. Let no one therefore speak to me, except of victory or death." The example of their leader reanimated the assailants, but there is great probability that they would have been overwhelmed, if the captain Chouppes had not heard of Navarre's perilous situation, and hastened to join him with a hundred horsemen, and five hundred musketeers: this arrival of fresh troops enabled him to get possession of the town.

Notwithstanding the obstinacy of the conflict, the King of Navarre had only seventy of his men killed, but a great number were wounded. The inhabitants lost considerably more. Vezins, the governor, was killed in his shirt, at the first attack: he was so brave a man, that, if he had lived, the King of Navarre would have found his undertaking much more difficult, if not impossible.*

The king was no sooner informed of the Huguenots being in arms, than he ordered three armies to be raised: Matignon commanded in Picardy; Biron in Guyenne; and Mayenne in Dauphiny. Matignon signalized himself by retaking La Fère: he began the siege on the 22nd of June, and reduced it to capitulate, on the 31st of August, 1580. The sons of Mouy and Montgomery distinguished themselves in the defence of the place. Crillon, and La Valette, afterwards Duke of Epemon, were signalised among the assailants.†

The arrival of Biron in Guyenne with his forces prevented the King of Navarre from pursuing his advantages, and indeed if the three royal armies had pressed the Huguenots, their cause would have been reduced to a low ebb. Fortunately however for them, the Duke of Anjou returned from England about the same time that La Fère surrendered. That prince was desirous to set out for the sovereignty of the Netherlands, and tendered his mediation with the King of Navarre. The court was very desirous of peace, as the Reitres were expected every day to enter France, for the purpose of joining Condé; and consequently the terms proposed were very liberal. Anjou immediately set out for Guyenne, whither he was followed by the Duke of Montpensier and Marshal Cossé. By the end of November they had agreed to a treaty, which scarcely differed from the treaty of Nerac: the Prince of Condé willingly acceded to the conditions, and peace was restored to France for the seventh time.‡

In order to prevent this accommodation from taking place, and, by the continuation of the war in France, to hinder the Duke of Anjou from going to Flanders, Philip II. made an offer of assistance to the King of Navarre, if he would break the peace and make himself master of Guyenne. Navarre, to show his sincere intention of observing the treaty, informed the king of this offer.§

The excursions made by the garrison of Montau induced the Count de Lude to besiege it. Ten different attempts had been made to surprise

it since the protestants had been in possession. The siege lasted four months, during which time D'Aubigné had commanded in twenty-nine sorties. This kind of warfare harassed the besiegers, and both parties agreed to abide by the result of a combat between ten men of each side. The day was fixed for the fight, but in the mean time the Count de Lude received the news of the general peace.*

CHAPTER XXXV.

Ill-judged deportment of Henry III.—Death of the Duke of Anjou—Revival of the League—Notice of the Jesuits.

FRANCE had undergone so many, and such violent convulsions, that a treaty of peace was far from tranquillising the country. The lawless habits acquired during the civil wars had created a dislike to the ordinary occupations of life, and the kingdom was never free from bands of armed men, who were ready alike to promote the private views of some chieftains, or to support themselves by robbery. The king's forces, however, were too numerous to suffer anything which could be called a revolt; and Henry supposing it better to avoid noticing the existence of such petty feuds, had the benefit of more than four years of peace, in which time he might have restored dignity to his crown and happiness to his people. But he neglected to do what his duty and his interests equally demanded, and the melancholy conclusion of his reign was insured by his imprudent conduct at this period.

His brother's expedition into Flanders offered him additional facilities for restoring order, as a number of bold and adventurous spirits had quitted France to join that enterprize; but unhappily for his kingdom and for himself, he occupied the whole of his time in loose, trivial pleasures with his minions, or in acts of ridiculous superstition.

He erected the dukedoms of Joyeuse and Epemon into peerages for his two principal favourites, and spared no cost to gratify their wishes. Joyeuse married the sister of the queen consort, and Epemon received a large sum of money, to show that he was equally beloved by the monarch.†

Notwithstanding the alliance with the Guises, which Joyeuse had formed by marrying one of their family, they felt great jealousy, both of him and of Epemon. That feeling gave way to indignation when they found the first dignities of the kingdom were bestowed upon them; particularly that of Admiral of France, notwithstanding it had been promised to the Duke of Mayenne. Epemon wished Guise to resign the office of grand-master in his favour; but receiving a peremptory refusal, the king made him colonel-general of the infantry, a post which the Count de Brissac had depended upon having. The Guises now saw that they were treated precisely in the same manner that their family had treated the Bourbons and Montmorencies in the preceding reigns.‡

The king's demeanour, instead of allaying the resentments of the house of Lorraine, was calculated to excite them to activity: it even held out encour-

* Sully, liv. 1. D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 439. Davila, liv. 6.

† D'Aubigné, vol. ii. pp. 367, et seq.

‡ Davila, liv. 4, p. 139.

§ De Bury, *Hist. de Henri IV.* vol. i. p. 138.

* D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 382. † Mezeray, *Abregé Chron*
‡ Davila, liv. 7.

agement to their ambition. He was lowered in the public opinion by his conduct in the pursuit of his pleasures : while his superstitious acts destroyed the small remains of respect which had been entertained for him. He made solemn processions to Chartres and Lyons to propitiate the Virgin, whose influence he thought would procure him offspring.* He gave great encouragement to the monastic orders, and often joined in their processions. He established a new brotherhood called the Penitents, and walked in their procession, covered with sackcloth. †

For some time the king was in great odour of sanctity among the monks, who extolled his fervent piety. Edmond Auger, a Jesuit, whom he had taken for his confessor, declared in his sermons that France had not for a long time had so pious a prince. All accounts agree that he lived more like a Capucin than a king. ‡

Meanwhile the King of Navarre remained in his government of Guyenne : he employed a great portion of his time in reading, and serious occupations in general. Plutarch was his favourite author, and contributed considerably to his advantage, by displaying to his view the maxims and conduct of great men. § He had sufficient judgment to perceive that the League would never rest till the protestant religion was abolished ; and was also certain that Guise's ambition would impel him to further that object, as a means for advancing his own views. It was desirable therefore to have some confidential person at the court, who could inform him of the movements of the faction. Sully was the agent he employed : he had a good pretext for being there, as his two brothers were about the king's person : he was able to mix in the best companies ; and while he appeared to be occupied with the gaiety which reigned there, he was careful to inform the King of Navarre of all that passed. ||

Discontent was very general : Henry had been so lavish in his expenditure, that repeated edicts for raising money were required. These edicts at length roused the parliament to opposition, and the President de Thou refused to verify one of them, observing that according to the law of the kingdom, which was the public safety, it could not be done. ¶

All this contributed to swell the ranks of the League. The people were weary of the heavy contributions ; the clergy were disgusted with the tolerance of the reformed religion ; and all classes were angry with Henry's edicts, particularly that forbidding females to wear certain stuffs and ornaments.

Henry appears to have taken no particular pains to avoid giving offence to the King of Navarre. Margaret had passed some time at her brother's court, and had been among the most conspicuous in ridiculing his favourites, and his orders respecting women's apparel and ornaments : she employed some person to seize a messenger bearing his dispatches on that subject. Her intimacy with Guise had long caused his suspicion : this step on her part excited his anger : he reproached her with a detail of her infamy, and desired her to quit the

court, and return to her husband.* The King of Navarre had previously demanded her return, and Henry seemed to yield to the wishes of his brother-in-law. She had, however, made but little progress on her journey, when she was overtaken by the king's guards, who searched her litter, unmasked her and her attendants, and conducted them back to Paris, where her ladies were interrogated concerning the queen's deportment. When the King of Navarre was informed of this, he sent Mornay to court, to learn what his wife had done to subject her to such an affront ; and desiring the king to punish her if she deserved it, otherwise to efface the scandal. † This embassy procuring no satisfaction, D'Aubigné was sent to St. Germain with a remonstrance, which the king received with marks of displeasure. D'Aubigné perceiving that the King of Navarre would have no satisfaction, he renounced in his master's name the king's alliance and friendship. Henry did not perceive the consequences which would probably follow a rupture with the King of Navarre, and treated the affair in a cavalier manner ; but Catherine immediately made an attempt to prevent any disagreement, and had an interview with D'Aubigné respecting it. Henry had resolved to punish D'Aubigné for his temerity, and sent a party to arrest him on his return : but his good fortune enabled him to elude them, and he reached his master in safety. A reconciliation between the kings was effected by a subsequent deputation. ‡

An assembly of Notables was held in September, 1583, at St. Germain. The king had called it with a view of obtaining a present of some money ; but pretended that his object was solely to redress any grievances which might be complained of. The clergy took the occasion to demand the publication of the Council of Trent. § Joyeuse was sent to Rome about the same time to obtain the Pope's permission to sell some church lands, and brought back for answer, "that no further alienation of the church property could be granted, because the king did not carry on a war, or any other expense for the church." || Henry was thus compelled to continue his edicts for imposing taxes, which added to the public discontent, and which the parliament would not register without compulsion.

Philip II., fearing the loss of his possessions in Flanders, thought that his best chance of success lay in exciting some trouble in France, which would operate as a diversion. On the supposition that the affront offered to the Queen Margaret would render the King of Navarre willing to adopt his proposal, he sent an offer of men and money to help him in case he would renew the war. He further proposed that Navarre should be divorced from his unworthy wife, and marry the Infanta his daughter ; and that he should marry Catherine, the King of Navarre's sister. Duplessis-Mornay, who was charged to receive the proposals, was decidedly opposed to such a sacrifice of every principle. "You are not agreeable," said the Spaniards to him, "and yet you do not know what you are doing when you reject our offers, for the agents of the Guises only wait your refusal to

* Journal de Henri III.

† Ibid.

‡ There was at this time published an anagram of the king's name—*Henricus Tertius—In te verus Christus*. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. i. p. 13.

§ De Bury, *Hist. de Henri IV.* vol. i. p. 140.

|| Sully, liv. 2.

¶ Mezeray, *Abregé Chron.*

* *Letters de Busbec*, vol. iii. pp. 211, 230. D'Aubigné, vol. ii.

† Journal de Henri III. Vie de Mornay, liv. 1. p. 72.

‡ D'Aubigné, *Mém.* p. 98, and *Hist. Univ.* vol. ii. p. 414.

§ Mezeray, *Abregé Chron.*

|| Journal de Henri III.

accept our terms."* D'Aubigné and Segur were then appointed to conduct this negotiation. The Spaniards offered to pay two hundred thousand ducats to the King of Navarre, on his promising to renew the war; they also undertook to pay other sums at future periods; but while these conferences were pending, and before anything was decided, intelligence of the Duke of Anjou's death arrived, which put quite a new feature on the affairs of France.†

Francis, Duke of Anjou, after making a successful beginning to his enterprise, was compelled to retire: he went over to England, where he lost much time in the persuasion that he should obtain the hand of Elizabeth. After failing in an attempt on Antwerp, he quitted Flanders in June, 1583. He was at court for a short time in the early part of 1584, returned to Chateau-Thierry, and languished till the tenth of June, when he died.‡ As several attempts had been made to assassinate him, a report was circulated that he had been poisoned at the instigation of Philip II. This charge is unsupported by proof; but it is remarkable, that at the same time an attempt was made to murder Queen Elizabeth; and the Prince of Orange unfortunately fell a victim to the fanaticism of Balthazar Gerard, a Spanish emissary. The enterprise in Flanders opened a fine field for a prince of any character; but Anjou was not at all qualified for the post he filled. The King of Navarre speaking of him one day, is reported to have said, "I shall be deceived, if he ever fulfils the expectations formed of him: he has so little courage, and so much duplicity and mischief in his heart; so little grace in his looks, and such a want of skill in every kind of exercise, that I cannot persuade myself he will ever do any great thing."§

His death was of great importance, as the King of Navarre thereby became presumptive heir to the crown. His right was incontestable, according to the principles of the Salic law; and in spite of the violent character of the age, the nation was accustomed to revere the decisions of the parliament. The alarm which was created by the prospect of a Protestant wearing the crown threw many Catholics into the party of the League, and enabled that faction to act openly, and exhibit that additional power that it had gained by its secret operations; for the Duke of Guise knew his interest too well to stir about the succession before the last of the house of Valois was on the throne.||

But the League had not waited for Anjou's death to take measures for changing the succession. Henry's vicious habits had completely destroyed his constitution, and the leaders of the party were well aware of the improbability of either of the brothers having any issue. The Duke of Guise also took advantage of the existing discontent to enrol a number of partisans among the lower

orders; while Epernon's insolence was the cause of his being joined by many persons of distinction.

Nothing, however, contributed so essentially to establish the league as the co-operation of the Jesuits, who, though but recently organized, had become a numerous and influential body. They were a mongrel kind of clergy, being neither secular nor regular: when they attempted to establish themselves in France, they were asked to give some account of their institution and object, and neither the parliament nor the university could get any other answer than *Tales quales sumus*.* Their rules comprised every monastic regulation fitted to enslave the mind and destroy the principles of liberty; while they discontinued the hospitality, charity, and other practices of the monks and friars, which made them the friends of the poor and the stranger. Although it is well known that the society was founded by Ignatius Loyola, it may not be superfluous to give some account of that individual, as his personal character has had so powerful an effect on his companions and followers. He was born in 1491, at the village of Loyola in Guipuscoa. His mother was of such an enthusiastic turn, that she was delivered in a stable, in honour of the Virgin Mary.† Ignatius passed the early part of his life at court and in the camp: in 1521 he was severely wounded at Pampeluna, then besieged by the French: the valour which he had displayed in defending the place was remarkable, but his resolution afterwards was truly astonishing. A ball had broken his right leg: finding that it had been unskilfully set, he consented to a new fracture that he might have a perfect cure: there still remained a bone displaced near his knee; he had it cut out to prevent any deformity.‡

In the interval before his recovery he felt the necessity of occupation, and asked for some romances of chivalry; but his father's austerity excluding all such books from his collection, he was accommodated with one of a different character, entitled *The Flower of the Saints*. Its contents forcibly struck his imagination, and he resolved to consecrate his life to religion. Reflection inflamed his zeal, and he had no rest until he had devoted himself to the service of the *Mother of God*. Having in common with the young men of his country a taste for chivalry, he passed an entire night under arms before the altar of St. Mary; and, like a true knight burning with a desire to display his zeal, he sought an early occasion to evince the sincerity of his vow: it is related that he nearly killed a Moor for having asserted that St. Mary had ceased to be a virgin when she became a mother.§

Long abstinence and violent discipline, in which he aimed at surpassing St. Dominic, produced a great effect upon him; and during the remainder of his residence in Spain his conduct made many think him a maniac. His purpose, however, was unchangeably fixed; and although sincerely attached to a lady, who felt an equal esteem for him, he renounced everything in favour of religion, and undertook a voyage to the Holy Land.

After a residence of six years in France, during which time he had followed the study of theology,

* Pasquier, vol. i. p. 335.

† *Histoire Impartiale des Jesuites*, p. 8; a work which has been recommended by the Superior of Montrouge. 18mo. Paris, 1826.

‡ Ibid. p. 9.

§ Montglave, *Hist. des Conspirations des Jesuites*.

* Vie de Mornay, iv. l. p. 76.

† D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ.* vol. ii. p. 422.

‡ De Thou, liv. 79. p. 184, mentions that when his body was opened, the inside was found in a corroded state, and bearing symptoms of poison.

§ Sully, liv. 2.

|| Guise was recommended to make a movement in France, while the Duke of Anjou was in Flanders: he said on the occasion, "No, no, I will take care to do nothing openly, so long as the king has a brother; but if I ever see upon the throne the last of the house of Valois, I look forward to go to work so securely, that if I do not get all the cake, I will have a good piece of it." See Preface to *Memoires de la Ligue*, written in 1589: it is to be found in vol. ii. of the Edit. of Amsterdam, 1758.

he collected a few friends to whom he imparted the project which was uppermost in his ideas: they went to a subterraneous chapel in the church of Montmartre, and established the society, by making a solemn vow of chastity and poverty, after the celebration of the mass.* They were afterwards joined by three others, and went to Rome about Easter, 1538. At a meeting then held by them, Loyola, in a forcible speech, showed his brethren that their efforts in the cause they had undertaken would never be considerable, unless they so organized their society as to be able to increase their numbers at all times and in all places: he proposed also, that as they would combat the world under Christ's banner, they could take no more appropriate name than that of their Divine Redeemer. From that time they assumed the title of the Company of Jesus.†

The year following Loyola applied to Paul III. for his sanction of the new society, which the pope refused to grant: the petition was referred to a commission of three cardinals, who also objected to the institution. Loyola was indefatigable in his applications, and succeeded in obtaining permission for a certain number of his companions to be employed where the church had need of their labours. Their utility then becoming evident in consequence of the Reformation,‡ the pope consented to give a bull for their establishment, but not without great caution, for he limited their number to sixty.§ They had, however, sufficient influence to have that restriction removed in a short time.

Loyola was chosen general of the order in April, 1541: || he then made a public vow in that capacity, "promising to God, and to the pope his vicar, in the presence of the Virgin mother and the celestial host, that he would observe perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience."¶

Loyola and Lainez immediately occupied themselves in framing statutes for the society. The result of their labours exhibits an organisation so complete, that the society has been compared to a sword with its hilt at Rome and its point everywhere.** The basis of these regulations is the vow of obedience to the pope and their general: that is a fixed principle with the society; but, with that exception, their constitution is arbitrary, and depends upon circumstances of time and place.†† And as unqualified obedience is required from every one to those immediately above him in the

scale, the government is an absolute monarchy, administered with unparalleled order and system.

The entire world is divided by the society into a certain number of *provinces*, each of which is represented at Rome by an *assistant*, who is the medium of communication between the general and the Jesuits of his province. The different provinces are each under the authority of a *provincial*, who makes frequent reports to the general of what occurs, and from time to time travels through his dominion for purposes of inspection. The colleges are governed by *rectors*, who, as well as the provincials, are aided by a secretary and a counsellor.*

The members of the society are divided into three classes, according to the vows they may have made: those only are eligible to any office who have made the full vow of obedience to the general, *per omnia et in omnibus*, which binds them to further the objects of the society at all hazards, and at any cost; and, according to their institutions, every Jesuit must be ready to shed his blood for the general or the society,‡ and to esteem the orders of their general equal to the commands of God.§ This accounts for the numerous plots and assassinations with which the Jesuits were concerned at the close of the sixteenth century: their first generals were either Spaniards, or owed allegiance to the King of Spain; and consequently that monarch was assisted in all his plans by the influence of the society. Indeed the opinion which prevailed in France was, that the order was established solely for the advancement of Spanish affairs, and in the life of their founder it is declared to be their duty to pray earnestly for the King of Spain.§

They experienced great difficulties before they could gain a footing in France, and were opposed by the clergy, the parliaments, and the university. At last a decree was passed in their favour at the conference of Poissy in 1561, which, while it allowed them certain privileges in common with other orders, enjoined them to assume some other name than that of the *society of Jesus*, which it was said was applicable only to the universal church.|| This condition was never fulfilled on their part, but all the efforts to dislodge them were ineffectual; they were the champions of ultramontaniam, and in consequence obtained the full benefit of the pope's protection.

At the Council of Trent, in 1562, Lainez, their general, spoke with great animation for two hours, to prove, that in everything connected with the clergy there was not a spark of authority but what emanated from the pope. This discourse was warmly extolled by the pope's dependents, and as strongly censured by the others. The Bishop of Paris was confined to his chamber by illness, but addressed some prelates who called upon him. "This new doctrine," said he, "changes the celestial kingdom into a temporal tyranny, and converts

* 15th Aug. 1534, festival of the Assumption: the party was seven in number; viz. Loyola, Lefevre, F. Xavier, Rodrigues d'Azevedo, Lainez, Salmeron, and Bobadilla.

† An order of Monks, called *Jesuits*, was in existence long before, having been founded by St. John Colomban in the 11th century. That order was abolished by Clement IX. in 1668.

‡ Nothing can exceed the hatred of the Jesuits to the reformed religion. Ribadeneyra, in his work de *Principe Cristiano*, says, "The Queen of Scots has been called a martyr; nevertheless, there is a remarkable circumstance in her life, which has very much the appearance of being the cause of her miserable end: she suffered heresy in her kingdom, and would not consent to the death of the bastard Stuart, who was the supporter of it."

§ The bull (*Regimini militantis ecclesiæ*) is dated 27th Sep. 1540.

|| He died at Rome 31st July, 1566.

** Conspirations des Jesuites, &c.

†† *Cette épée dont la poignée est à Rome et la pointe partout*: this expression originated with a Polish writer, and is mentioned in *l'Anti-Cotton*, p. 169.

‡ Comptes des Institutions, &c.; rendus au Parlement de Normandie, 1762, p. 13.

* *Les Jesuites modernes*, par M. de l. Roche Arnaud. This account perfectly agrees with the different lists published by the society, and containing an account of the provinces, colleges, &c. There are several of them in Jouvencé's History.

† Comptes des Institutions, &c., p. 113.

‡ *Statutis vobiscum ipsi quicquid superior præcipit, ipsius Dei præceptum esse.* Reg. Soc. Jesu.—*Lyons*, 1607.

§ *Dies noctesque Deum nostrum placare atque fatigare precibus debemus, ut Philippum, &c.* Vita Ignatii, p. 169. Autwerp, 1587.

|| Comptes des Institutions, &c. p. 125. Pasquier, vol. i. p. 342.

the bride of Jesus Christ into a handmaid prostituted to the will of a man. To declare one bishop of divine right, and distributor of power to the others, was to say there was only one bishop, and that the others were his vicars, who could be dismissed by him.* The bishop then showed how the episcopal authority had been attacked by the institution of the mendicant orders in the twelfth century, and that the new order, which seemed constituted for troubling the peace of the church, attempted to abolish the episcopal jurisdiction altogether. The legates, finding that this discussion had kindled a violent feeling, were fearful of the results if the controversy should be taken up out of doors: they therefore ordered Lainez to give no copy of his speech; but he could not refrain from publishing what he thought did honour to the pope, and was calculated to conciliate the infant society.*

When war became necessary to the plans of Philip II. we find the Jesuits the most active agents of the league; and Henry Samnier, a Jesuit, was sent, in 1581, on a mission to several Catholic princes, to observe and learn their feelings and views. He traversed Germany and Italy, to excite the foreign powers against the King of France, whom he accused of favouring the Huguenots.† No one could be better qualified than he was for the task: he would appear according to circumstances dressed as a priest, a soldier, or a merchant, and could assume the language and manners of each class, as easily as their garments. Dice and cards were as familiar to him as his breviary; and he maintained there was no harm in his doing such things, as it was for a good work.‡

Father Claude Mathieu, also a Jesuit, was another very active agent for the league: he made four journeys to Rome on behalf of the faction. The curates were able to effect a great deal in recommending the holy union from the pulpit and the confessional, and most of the French clergy became outrageous leaguers: but their exertions being local, they could not have excited such a general spirit of revolt if they had been deprived of the omnipresent influence of the Jesuits, who regulated their movements, and formed a general communication, not only between the party and their chiefs, but with each other.

Two letters written by Claude Mathieu to the Duke of Nevers have been preserved, and substantiate the foregoing remarks. "I have sent," says he, "to M. de Guise one of our fathers, who has accompanied me during this journey. . . . The pope does not consider it right that any attempt should be made on the king's life, for that cannot be done in good conscience; but if his person could be secured, and those removed from about him who are the cause of the ruin of the kingdom, giving him servants who would give good advice and make him attend to it, he should approve of that."§ Nothing can more clearly show that the Jesuits were actively concerned in this attempt to dethrone the king.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Cardinal of Bourbon head of the League—Treaty of Philip II. with the League—Treaty of Nemours—Excommunication of Navarre and Condé by Sixtus V.

"THERE'S such divinity doth hedge a king," that in spite of the injury which Henry had inflicted on his dignity by his indiscreet behaviour, the faction that aimed at dethroning him was obliged to have recourse to libels and exaggerations, widely circulated, to prepare the public mind for any violent measure which ambition might induce the Duke of Guise to attempt.

The king was publicly spoken of with the greatest contempt, and every day produced the most insolent attacks upon his person and court: he was described as a Sardanapalus, a sluggard meriting the fate of Childeric, who was put into a monastery after he had been deprived of his crown.* Henry's device was three crowns, with the motto *Monet ultima cælo*, for which was substituted *Monet ultima claustro*; in allusion to the tonsure, or monachal crown, which he would receive whenever he should enter a cloister.†

The journal of the time informs us, that in November, 1584, a Huguenot gentleman, named Pierre d'Esguain, was seized with some defamatory verses and papers in his possession: he confessed they were his composition; was hanged at the Grève, and his body burned with the papers.‡ This shows that the leaguers were not the authors of all the libels which were circulated at this period; but it is remarkable, that out of so many persons who were liable to punishment for that offence, the only one who suffered should be a Huguenot. The magistrates were not backward in doing justice on this occasion, but the League was indebted to some powerful influence for protection. The Queen-mother had long entertained violent hatred for the King of Navarre, and by excluding him from the succession, there was a prospect of establishing the children of the Duchess of Lorraine, her daughter: if therefore she gave the League no positive assistance, her views would prevent her from joining in opposing it.

"The queen," says the Duke of Nevers, in his memoirs, "intended that the crown should descend to the children of her daughter, the Duchess of Lorraine, as the King of Navarre was a Huguenot, and the Cardinal of Bourbon old; and Guise was employed only as the servant of M. de Lorraine, for the morsel was never intended for him."§

The Duke of Guise performed his part with great address, with strong assurances of support from Spain: he saw that to obtain the crown of France was not altogether chimerical; but he did not blind himself to the dangers of his attempt, and was long entreated to act openly before he would acquiesce.

He won over the queen-mother by pretending to further her views: the clergy were already gained by the hope of annihilating the reformed religion; and the promise of such recompenses as success would enable him to grant had secured a

* F. Paolo Sarpi. *Hist. du Concile de Trente*, p. 597.

† Villeroi has preserved a document entitled, *Memoire du Conseil tenu par ceux de la Ligue*, &c. It embraced a general plan for creating a movement throughout Europe, and finding employment for such princes as they expected would oppose the league: among other projects was this, "Tachez par le moyen des Jesuites d'attirer en une Ligue le Roi d'Ecosse, qui se pourroit aider de l'esperance de l'armée d'Espagne, &c." *Mém. d'Etat*, vol. iii. pp. 112, et seq.

‡ *Hist. des Conspirations*, &c. p. 35.

§ *Mém. de Nevers*, vol. i. p. 657.

* *Hist. des Derniers Troubles*, liv. 1. p. 15.

† The following was placed one night on the door of the Louvre:

*Qui dedit anteduas, unum abstulit, altera nutat;
Tertia tonsoris est facienda manu.*

‡ *Journal de Henri III.*

§ *Mém. de Nevers*, vol. i. p. 163.

considerable number of the nobility. Preachers addressed the public, to inflame them by describing the horrors which would be consequent on the King of Navarre's succeeding to the crown. It was stated among other things that above ten thousand Huguenots and Politiques were ready to massacre all the Catholics in order to serve the King of Navarre.*

But as it was better to blind his real object for some time, Guise announced that the Cardinal of Bourbon was the lawful heir to the crown, his nephew being excluded on account of heresy; and it was immediately proposed to the cardinal to join the league. He being a very ignorant and bigotted man, was easily persuaded to consent: he was dazzled with the hope of a crown, which, according to the course of nature, he could never expect to have; for he was more than sixty years of age, while the reigning king was only thirty-four. Guise further suggested that he should obtain a dispensation to marry the Duchess of Montpensier: he was insensible to the ridicule, and consented to the proposal.†

Henry could not long remain ignorant of what was passing: he perceived that the best thing which could be done was to draw the King of Navarre to court; and as he acknowledged him to be the rightful heir to his throne, their interests evidently required a sincere reconciliation. He sent the Duke of Epemon to persuade him to return to the Catholic church, and to co-operate with him in subduing the league. Navarre received the messenger with great affability, and a long conference ensued, which however produced no effect on the Huguenots, who were too firmly grounded in their principles to be flattered into a desertion of them.‡ So far indeed was this meeting from producing good, that the leaguers made use of it as an argument for their cause: they announced that the king's declaring Navarre his successor would confirm him in his heresy; and indeed the account of the conference which was drawn up, and published by Duplessis-Mornay, represented the advantage of the discussion to have been entirely in favour of the Huguenots, and that the King of Navarre was more than ever confirmed in his sentiments.§

Notwithstanding, the King of Navarre was so far persuaded, that he had determined on an interview with the King of France. His little court was not exclusively Huguenot, and the entreaties of his Catholic friends were not without effect. It was principally by the recommendation of M. de Segur that he had been influenced; and D'Aubigné, whose zeal for the Protestant cause was unbounded, considering that the only way to prevent the king's intended journey was to alarm his advisers, resolved on the following expedient. He took an occasion when he passed through a saloon, in which there were some young gentlemen of the court, to lead Segur aside to a window, which looked upon a steep precipice: he then told him, that he would be compelled to take that leap the day the King of Navarre set out for the court of Henry III. Segur, astonished, asked—"But who

will dare do that?" "If I cannot do it alone," said D'Aubigné, "here are some gentlemen who will assist me." The young men perceiving they were alluded to, immediately cocked their hats, and assumed a determined air, although they knew nothing of what was passing, which had such an effect on M. de Segur, that the journey was abandoned.*

In the mean time the Duke of Guise was busily occupied in negotiations with the King of Spain. For greater convenience, he had retired to his government of Champagne, and at the close of the year a treaty was concluded between the envoys of Philip II. and the Cardinal of Bourbon, who had assumed the title of the first prince of the blood and presumptive heir to the crown. The treaty declared, that to preserve the Catholic religion in France, in the event of the king's dying without children, the Cardinal of Bourbon should succeed him, as next heir to the crown, from which should be for ever excluded all heretics, and encouragers of heretics; that the cardinal, being king, should banish all heretics from the kingdom, and cause the decrees of the Council of Trent to be observed; the King of Spain on his part undertaking to supply the league with money, which was afterwards to be repaid to him, by aid in subduing the revolted Flemings, and by the cession of the town of Cambray.†

The pope's public approbation appeared indispensable for an union, the object of which was the advancement of the Romish faith: but in vain did father Mathieu travel from Paris to Rome to claim the protection of his holiness; for although the Cardinal Pellevé used great influence, he could make no impression on Gregory XIII. That pope could not clearly comprehend the object of the league, nor would he openly sanction an enterprise against a king so decidedly Catholic, and entertaining so much veneration for the church of Rome as Henry III. He took time to reflect upon it, and summoned several experienced cardinals to examine the propositions of the league: their answers were far from removing his doubts, and he decided upon refusing the least thing which might be considered an approval of the league; but in dismissing Father Mathieu, he recommended the union to watch incessantly over the interests of religion, and to aim at the extirpation of heresy.‡

Philip II. in the mean time became impatient at such delays: an embassy had arrived in Paris, intreating the King of France to become the protector of the new states, and the Spanish agents sent word that Henry was inclined to listen to their proposal. Some decisive measure therefore was urgent: he called upon Guise to act openly, and informed him that he would otherwise send their treaties to the King of France, and abandon

* D'Aubigné, *Mem.* p. 101.

† De Thou, liv. 81. Davila, liv. 7.

‡ As these communications were *viva voce*, it is not surprising that there should be variations in the accounts of them. Legrain, in his *Decade*, says (liv. 3. p. 141), "Couriers were sent to Rome to obtain the pope's sanction to be *parrain* of the league; but he said that he did not know the mother of the beast." On the other hand, De Thou (liv. 81.) relates a conversation with the Duke of Nevers, who declared that the Jesuit Mathieu had received the pope's promise of a bull in favour of the league directly Guise was able to act.—See also Davila, liv. 7. Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, liv. 1. *Mem. de Nevers*, vol. ii. p. 77.

* *Procès-verbal de Nicolas Poulain.* This document is to be found in the 1st vol. of the *Journal de Henri III.* Edit. Coligne.

† De Thou, liv. 81.

‡ There is an account of this conference in Villeroy, vol. iii.

§ Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, vol. i. p. 76.

the league to his resentment.* Guise found himself compelled to continue the course into which he had entered, and preparations were made for taking the field. The Cardinal of Bourbon left Paris for his diocese of Rouen, whence he passed into Picardy, and foreign levies were hastening to the frontiers, while experienced captains were employed in collecting the nobility and gentlemen of the party.† The Jesuits proposed a plan to get possession of Boulogne for the convenience of receiving supplies from Spain.‡

The Cardinal of Bourbon issued a manifesto,§ declaring the object of the league; and very soon after the emissaries of the faction seized upon towns in different parts of France. Guise fixed his head-quarters at Chalons, anxiously waiting for the arrival of reinforcements, but tolerably certain that the king would not attack him. In spite of the exertions that had been made, his army amounted to no more than four thousand infantry, and fifteen hundred horse; a force that might so easily have been dispersed, that Nangis meeting Guise at Chalons, asked him how he should act if the king sent any troops against him. Guise answered, "Retire as quick as possible into Germany, and wait a more favourable opportunity."||

Henry was unable to decide upon the best measures to be taken at such a crisis; and, unfortunately for him, his advisers were by no means unanimous. Epernon, the Chancellor Chiverny, D'O, and De Retz, recommended him to join the King of Navarre and the Huguenots, who would cheerfully serve under him, against their avowed enemies. Joyeuse, Villequier, Villeroy, and Bellievre condemned the idea of the most Christian king availing himself of the services of the Huguenots, whose friendship would disgrace him: they urged that the chiefs of the league should be satisfied, and that then it was to be hoped the party would dwindle away.¶ The best plan would have been to send an army at once against the Duke of Guise; Marshal d'Aumont strongly recommended it, and prepared to march with a few regiments hastily collected.*|| His loyalty, however, was frustrated by the queen-mother's representations: she was on good terms with Guise, and wished also to remain at peace: by her advice the king published a declaration†† in answer to the manifesto of the league, in which he appears to justify himself, rather than to condemn his rebellious subjects: to make use of the language of a contemporary, "forgetting the arms which nature and necessity presented to him, he had recourse to pen and paper: he made a declaration, but so tamely, that you would say that he did not dare to name his enemy, and that he resembled a man who complains without saying who has beaten him."‡‡

The league succeeded in surprising several towns, but failed at Metz, where Epernon had a good garrison: at Bordeaux, where Matignon, by his activity, counteracted a plot for overthrowing

his authority; and at Marseilles, which one Dariez, a person in authority, had undertaken, in concert with a man named Chabannes, to deliver to the Duke of Nevers, the intended future governor. The inhabitants were, however, persuaded to take arms, and they succeeded in capturing Dariez and his confederate: they were immediately tried, condemned, and hanged. The king was much pleased at this spirited affair, and told the deputation sent to convey the news, that he could never sufficiently reward their fidelity.*

When fear chills the heart of a sovereign, his dignity and majesty is lost; for the audacity of revolt increases in the proportion of its impunity. Could Henry have again exhibited the conqueror of Jarnac, he would have soon settled the affair; but, wishing to appease the revolt, rather than quell it, he entreated the queen-mother to meet the Duke of Guise, and, while she assured him of the king's friendship, to offer him the full extent of his wishes, rather than disturb the peace of the kingdom. Guise presented a request, signed by himself and the Cardinal of Bourbon, which called for an edict for the extirpation of heresy, and the expulsion of the Huguenots (by force) from their cautionary towns; the king was also to renounce the protection of Geneva, and to become a partisan of the league.‡ Such a request could not be granted without some consideration; and while the subject was under discussion, the King of Navarre made a declaration, copies of which were sent to all the powers of Europe.‡ When the league had shown a hostile disposition, the Huguenots were pleased to witness such a division in the camp of their enemies: but when it became apparent that Henry was in danger of succumbing, he sent an offer of his services, urging him to lose no time in preparing for the storm which was ready to burst over him. The king wrote in reply that he should not yet take arms. "Let the Guises strike the first blow," said the king, "in order that you may not be accused of breaking the peace, and that it may appear that they are the cause of the war."§

As a treaty was all but concluded between the king and the League, the King of Navarre foresaw that whatever occurred would be to the injury of the Protestants: he therefore took the opportunity of answering the various calumnies against him, in the above-mentioned declaration, which may be called his appeal to the world. He declared that he bore no ill-will to the Catholics; that, with respect to his changing his religion, he had been compelled at the St. Bartholomew to make a profession of Catholicism, but that he could not renounce the faith in which he was educated, unless its errors were clearly pointed out, and that, in his case, they had always tried to destroy, rather than instruct him. He contradicted several assertions which had been made respecting him, and concluded by entreating the king to allow him and Guise to decide the quarrel between them in single combat, or with two, ten, or twenty combatants on each side, offering to fight in any place which his majesty might choose in France; or, if the

* Mezeray, *Abrégé Chron.*

† Davila, liv. 7.

‡ Procès-verbal de Nicolas Poulain, p. 139. Davila, liv. 8.

§ Dated 13th March, 1585: it is to be found in Davila, liv. 7. and De Thou, liv. 81.

|| Mémoires de Beauvais Nangis.

¶ Davila, liv. 7.

* Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, vol. i. p. 107.

‡‡ Given at length by Davila.

‡‡ Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. i. p. 20.

* Davila, Mezeray, and Mathieu.

† Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 1, p. 22.

‡ Dated Bergerac, 10th June, 1585. It was written by Duplessis-Mornay.

§ Esprit de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 270.

Duke of Guise preferred, he would meet him out of the kingdom.*

This declaration produced a great effect on the minds of the nobility, who were equally pleased with its reasonableness, and the generous wish to avoid bloodshed. It was publicly said that Guise could not refuse such a challenge; but he would not suffer the cause of the league to appear connected with a private quarrel, and sent a message to that effect.†

The queen's conference with Guise ended in the conclusion of the treaty of Nemours.‡ The dishonourable terms therein extorted from the king were worse than any war; for the success of the faction on this occasion encouraged them to still greater attempts, and was the cause of many persons joining the party. By the treaty, Henry bound himself to forbid in his dominions the exercise of any other religion than the Romish, under pain of death. The Calvinist ministers were ordered to quit the kingdom within a month, and in six months all other Calvinists who would not abjure: heretics were declared incapable of holding any office, and the mixed commissions were to be abolished. The king agreed to pay the sums which might be due to Guise's foreign levies, and to give a number of considerable towns as places of security.§

The king was forced to declare war against the Huguenots; and measures were discussed for attacking them immediately, in all parts of France. The leaguers persuaded Henry that a few days would settle the affair, and that the report of the first enterprise would frighten the King of Navarre into submission.|| The Huguenots assuredly were in a dreadful dilemma; for the King of Navarre had been kept inactive by Henry's promises and declarations, and Condé's army was very much diminished.

The King of Navarre was aware of the desperate state of his cause; and, speaking subsequently of the king's joining the league, he declared that his regret was so great, and his apprehension of its fatal results so sensible, that the news of it bleached half of his mustachios.¶ However, his energy was not to be paralysed by a dread of danger, and he took measures for employing what resources he had, and for negotiating for assistance abroad. It was some consolation for him to know, that the additional power which the Guises had acquired would be the means of raising friends for him, particularly the Montmorencies, Biron, and Matignon.

While the Huguenots complained of the late edict as a cruel persecution, the Catholics were murmuring at the king for having given them so much time as six months. The complaints reaching the king, he sent one morning ** for the president of the parliament, the provost of the trades, and the dean of the cathedral. Money was what he required, and therefore he called upon them for it, as otherwise he could not accede to the public wish, by declaring war against the Huguenots. He told them that he was pleased at the good counsels

they had given him, and confidently expected a favourable result. After telling them that he should require three armies, one in Guyenne, another near his person, and a third to protect the frontier, and prevent any invasion of Reîtres, he added, "It is against my own opinion that I have undertaken this war: but no matter, I am resolved to spare neither care nor cost for its success; and, since you were unwilling to believe me, when I advised you not to think of breaking the peace, it is at least fair that you should help me to carry on the war: for, as it is by your advice alone that I have undertaken it, I cannot think of being the only one to bear the burden. Mr. Chief President, I applaud your zeal, and that of your colleagues, who have so highly approved of the revocation of the edict;* but I am desirous you should know that war is not to be carried on without money, and that, so long as this lasts, it will be in vain to come and tease me about your salaries being stopped. You, Mr. Provost, must be persuaded that I shall not do less with regard to the annuities of the Hotel-de-Ville: therefore call together the inhabitants of my good city of Paris, and tell them that, since the revocation of the edict has given them so much pleasure, I hope they will not be averse to furnishing me with six hundred thousand livres, which will be requisite for carrying on the war." Then, turning to the Cardinal of Guise, who was present, the king coolly observed, "That he hoped for the first month to be able to avoid troubling the clergy, for he would rather empty the purses of the other classes; but that for the subsequent months, so long as the war lasted, he intended applying to the church, without waiting for the pope's consent; for, as it was a religious war, he ought, in conscience, to make use of the church revenues. "It is," said the king, "especially at the solicitation of the clergy that I have burdened myself with this undertaking: it is a holy war, and, therefore, the clergy must support it."

Henry then waited to hear their reply, and, finding they were for remonstrating against his proposal, he cut them short, by saying, "You ought, then, to have listened to me, and kept the peace, instead of deciding on a war in a shop or a church; and, really, I apprehend, that while we think to put an end to *preaching*, we may endanger the *mass*."† The king's aversion to the war was thus made known: the populace were taught to suspect him of duplicity, and when the news arrived of the successes which the King of Navarre had obtained in Guyenne, Dauphiny, and other provinces, they declared that it was owing to Henry's treachery, and charged him with being connected with the Huguenots by a secret treaty.

The insolence of the league received an additional stimulus from the open encouragement afforded by Sixtus V.‡ That pope had succeeded Gregory XIII., who died in April, 1585. Having been bred up a Franciscan, and filled the office of grand-inquisitor, he would naturally incline towards a persecuting faction; and we find that, immediately after his election, he gave the league the benefit of his influence. Being less scrupulous than his predecessor, he consented to give a bull,

* Cayet, liv. 1. p. 8. Mem. de Duplessis, vol. i. p. 503.

† Davila, liv. 7. Perefice, p. 50. G. Leti, *Vita di Sisto V.*

‡ Dated 7th July, 1585. Registered in parliament 18th.—

Mem. de Nevers, vol. i. pp. 686—692.

§ Davila, Pasquier, and Mathieu.

|| Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 2. p. 24.

¶ Mathieu, liv. 8. p. 501.

** 11th August, 1585.

* That of Poitiers, which was favourable to the Protestants.

† Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 2. Davila, liv. 7. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 8. De Thou, liv. 81.

‡ Felix Peretti, well known as Cardinal Montalto.

declaring the Bourbon princes a bastard and detestable race, and excommunicating the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé as incorrigible heretics, who had forfeited all right to everything in reversion, as well as in possession, and particularly to the succession to the crown of France.*

The arrogance of this act of pontifical authority created a ferment amongst all classes who were independent of the league; and when published in Paris, the parliament made a strong remonstrance against it.† One of the counsellors recommended to the king to throw it into the fire, in the presence of the assembled clergy, and to order the attorney-general to prosecute those who had brought it from Rome.‡ It was easy to show how the king was interested in this bull, for if the pope could nominate a successor to the throne, he could easily extend that power to the dethronement of a reigning king, a thing which Pope Zachary had done to Childeric III. But Henry had such a dread of the league, that notwithstanding the repeated exhortations he received from faithful advisers, he never would allow proceedings against the publishers of the bull, contenting himself with refusing to give it his sanction. The insulted princes, however, would not so quietly submit to the pontifical audacity: they drew up a protest against the bull, appealing to the peers of France, and the decision of a future council, and declaring Sixtus *soi-disant* pope to be a liar and Anti-Christ. This was publicly put up in all the streets of Rome and the houses of the cardinals, and even on the doors of the Vatican.§

The league in the mean time became clamorous for the war, and Henry was compelled to prepare three armies. But before that was ready which was destined to oppose Navarre, and which the Duke of Mayenne was to command, he sent a deputation to that prince, entreating him to return to the Catholic church, or at least to suspend the public exercise of Calvinism for a few months, to give time for an amicable adjustment. The deputies were Leoncourt, afterwards cardinal, and the president Brulart, accompanied by some doctors of the Sorbonne. They were unable to make any impression on Navarre, who told them that he was ready to be instructed according to the decisions of a council freely chosen, and not with a poniard at his breast.||

Every attempt at persuasion proving ineffectual, the King expressed his concurrence in the wish of the league: he published an edict authorising the governors of the provinces to pursue the Huguenots, without waiting for the expiration of the six months fixed in the treaty of Nemours. Navarre forbade the edict being executed where he possessed authority; treated as enemies the people of all towns that adhered to the league; and confiscated their property for the support of his army.¶ The flames of civil war were once more kindled in this afflicted kingdom.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Unsuccessful attempt of the Duke of Mercœur against the Huguenots—Siege of Brouage—Enterprise on Angers—Capture and defence of Oleron—Conferences between the Queen-mother and the King of Navarre—Renewal of the War—Battle of Courtras.

THE renewal of the war made it necessary for the King of Navarre to hold a consultation with the Prince of Condé and Marshal Montmorency. They decided upon a plan of action, and made exertions to supply their different towns with provisions and ammunition. Their party had recently been joined by the Duke of Thouars, of the family of Tremouille, whose sister was shortly to be married to the Prince of Condé.

The Duke of Mercœur began the campaign by suddenly quitting his government of Brittany, to attack the Huguenots in Poitou.* With only two thousand men, he expected to perform some great achievements, relying on his activity to make up for the deficiency of his numbers. He had begun to lay waste that province, when the news of his arrival reached Condé, who had lately quitted St. Jean d'Angely, with a little army he had collected. He lost no time in marching direct, to give battle to the Duke of Mercœur; but he, being sensible that the prince's force was superior to his own, resolved on retreating to Fontenay, a town held by the Catholics, and there await the arrival of the royal army under Mayenne. But the inhabitants of that town being more attached to the king than to the league, refused to admit him within their walls, under the pretence of having no orders from the king to that effect. He was therefore compelled to take his quarters in the suburbs, and make exertions to procure provisions, as the inhabitants refused to supply him. In this condition, he was attacked by the Prince of Condé. The battle was severely contested, the Catholics having the benefit of position, and their assailants that of numbers. When night came, Mercœur perceiving that, if the fight should be renewed the following day, he would almost certainly be defeated, resolved on decamping as secretly as possible, which he did in the middle of the night. Condé followed him the next day, and so harassed his march, that his men had no time to take refreshment. At last he succeeded in crossing the Loire, after leaving behind, not only the plunder acquired at the commencement of his expedition, but the greater part of his own baggage: several parties of his men also fell into the hands of Condé.†

The Huguenots were very successful in several affairs which followed this, and Condé considered himself equal to the siege of Brouage, then held by St. Luc, with a considerable garrison. The people of Rochelle were desirous of retaking Brouage from the Catholics, and contributed their assistance to the enterprise. The town was invested completely at the beginning of October, 1585, and being attacked by sea, as well as by land, its fall was confidently expected, when a circumstance occurred which called off the Prince of Condé, and caused such a change of affairs, that Marshal Matignon had time to raise the siege. The citadel of Angers had been seized upon by three captains in

* The bull, dated 9th Sept. 1585, treats both princes as already degraded. *Quondam Navaræ regem, et olim principem Condensum.* A spirited work was published on the subject, in which the defects of popery are cleverly exposed. It is entitled, *Brutum fulmen Papæ Sixti V.,* &c. editio 4., without date or name: attributed to Hotman.

† Le Grain, liv. 3. p. 145.

‡ Journal de Henri III.

§ Leti, De Thou, Davila, and many others.

¶ Davila, liv. 7. Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, liv. 1.

¶ Hist. des Derniers Troubles, p. 27.

* Cayet, liv. 1. p. 10. Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 2.

† Davila, liv. 8. Le Grain, liv. 4. p. 147. D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 435.

a treacherous manner: they were of different parties, but had acted in concert on this occasion. Their names were Du Halot, a royalist; Frosne, an enemy of Brissac, the governor of Angers; and Rochemorte, a friend of the King of Navarre. They entered the town on a friendly pretence, and while Frosne was at dinner with the officer left in charge of the place, his companions murdered the soldiers, who were not of their faction. The commanding officer was killed soon after, and the castle was in the power of the confederates. But instead of retiring into the castle, Du Halot went into the town and declared that he had acted in the name and on the behalf of the king: that however had no effect on the people, who arrested, and soon after hanged him. The inhabitants immediately attacked the castle, which the confederates perceiving, drew up the bridge before Frosne could enter: he tried to climb by the chain, but was wounded by the assailants, and falling into the moat, was killed by a stag that was kept there. Rochemorte, alone remaining, was demanded for whom he held the castle? He answered "For the King of Navarre." Preparations were then made for a regular attack, whenever the Duke of Mayenne should arrive. A few days after, Rochemorte himself was killed by two musket balls striking him while at one of the windows. There then remained sixteen persons in the castle, but as they had lost their leaders, they proposed to capitulate.*

Condé had been informed of the surprise of the castle; and learning at the same time that the place required assistance, he dispatched D'Aubigne with eleven hundred men to secure the town to his party. D'Aubigné, aware of the importance of the place, lost no time in executing his commission; but unfortunately he was countermanded. Some persons had persuaded the prince that such an undertaking was worthy of himself: eleven days were lost in preparing for his departure: he relinquished the siege of Brouage, which was on the eve of completion, leaving only a small portion of his army to mask the town, and when he arrived at Angers, on the twenty-first of October, he found that place occupied by six thousand of the enemy.†

Condé advanced to attack the faubourgs, but soon discovered that the castle had fallen into the hands of the enemy. The object of his journey was thus completely foiled; great confusion ensued in his army, and he experienced such difficulty in making his escape that this expedition nearly caused his ruin. An army was ready to cut off his retreat in every direction: Mayenne, Epernon, Joyeuse, and Biron were each at the head of armies opposed to him; and La Chastre had undertaken to prevent his crossing the Loire, every bridge and ford of which was occupied. His numbers in the mean time constantly diminished, as the alarm made many seek their safety by flying separately. The Duke of Rohan persuaded Condé to retire privately from the army, and escape by passing through unfrequented routes: he followed this advice, and went through Brittany into Guernsey, whence he passed over to England. After the prince had quitted the army, his followers divided into small parties, and succeeded in making their escape by sacrificing their baggage: some of them, however,

were so unfortunate as to be discovered, and were put to death by the Catholics.*

Doubts were entertained for some time of Condé's safety, and the Protestant party was depressed in the same proportion as the league was encouraged by the rumour. The king was loudly called upon to annihilate the party; the Catholic generals placed garrisons in all the towns around Rochelle and St. Jean d'Angély to prevent assistance reaching them, and reinforcements were sent to the army in Guyenne to ensure the defeat of Navarre, and, if possible, to make him a prisoner.†

At the commencement of the following year the King of Navarre published several declarations, in which he laments the miseries which a war inevitably inflicts upon a country, and shows that he is not to be blamed for the present struggle. Addressing the clergy, he says, "If war delights you so much; if you prefer a battle to an argument, and a conspiracy to a council, I wash my hands of it, and the blood which may be shed shall be on your heads."‡

At this time the King of Navarre's forces were far inferior to those opposed to him, and he considered it necessary to prolong the contest and avoid a general engagement. He selected the flower of his army to make a flying camp of two thousand musqueteers, three hundred cavalry, and a few of the nobility: the rest he placed in different towns, and by his activity and courage he effected such operations that the Catholic army was paralysed. Navarre being well acquainted with the country, surprised detachments, intercepted convoys, and kept his adversaries in continual alarm. Mayenne in the mean time found his army thinning by sickness and desertion; and the siege of St. Jean d'Angély, which he had resolved upon, was obliged to be abandoned.§

The Prince of Condé returned to Rochelle in February, 1586, and the affairs of the Huguenots resumed a smiling aspect. Several places in that quarter were taken by Condé's captains; among others the Isle of Oleron, in which D'Aubigné distinguished himself. But the glory he obtained in taking the island was very soon eclipsed by the brave defence which was directed by him. In the beginning of April, St. Luc, governor of Brouage, attacked him with five thousand men, assisted by some ships of war: a most obstinate struggle was maintained for twenty-four hours, in which the assailants were driven out of the town after they had succeeded in effecting a lodgement. St. Luc was at last obliged to retire with the loss of four hundred men and a great part of his baggage.||

St. Luc's forces being divided on account of this expedition, the Prince of Condé availed himself of the opportunity to attack one division, commanded by a gentleman named Tiercelin. Condé fell in with him near Saintes,¶ and an engagement ensued, which ended in favour of the Huguenots. But their victory was dearly purchased, many of their captains being wounded. and two of them

* Davila, liv. 8. Sully, liv. 2. De Thou, liv. 82. Mem. de Bouillon, p. 73. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 2. p. 29. Mathieu, liv. 8. p. 507.

† Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 31.

‡ Mem. de Duplessis, vol. i. p. 566. Dated Montauban, 1st January, 1586.

§ Davila, liv. 8.

¶ Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 2. D'Aubigne, vol. iii. p. 15.

¶ 7th April, 1586.

* Davila, liv. 8. Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 13. Sully, liv. 2. Cayet, liv. 1. D'Aubigné, vol. ii. p. 440.

† D'Aubigné, vol. ii. pp. 442-6. Davila, liv. 8.

mortally, the sons of the late Andelot: another son had lately died at St. Jean D'Angely, and their elder brother, the Count de Laval, was so afflicted, that he died of grief within eight days.*

The king in the mean time was anxious that the war should be finished. He was unable to prosecute it for want of means; and it was out of his power to stem the torrent of faction which had forced him into hostilities. The clergy, encouraged by the pope's nuncio, had importuned him to publish the decrees of the Council of Trent; but having obtained a bull from the pope to sell some church property (most probably granted in the hope of gaining his consent to the other measure), they raised such a violent opposition to his making use of it, that he was obliged to have recourse to bur-sal edicts.†

A fresh difficulty was impending over Henry; the Protestant states of Germany were preparing to send relief to their brethren in France. Navarre had sent agents to intreat the different princes to take into consideration the persecuted condition of the Huguenots; and their extreme danger at the close of 1585 had aroused the zeal of Beza, who, although advanced in years, traversed Germany, and with powerful eloquence addressed all classes in behalf of the suffering Calvinists. His preaching excited great feelings, and a sort of crusade was prepared.‡

But the German princes being on terms of friendship with the King of France, considered it necessary, before they marched any troops into his dominions, to send an embassy to make complaints of, and claim satisfaction for, the breach of promises made in favour of the protestants; and to entreat his majesty to restore tranquillity to that persecuted people. Great preparations were made to add splendour to their mission; but when they arrived in Paris they had the mortification of finding that the king had gone to the south of France.§ It is thought that his sole object in going from the capital at such a time was to avoid receiving these ambassadors; nor could he fix any time for his certain return, as he had engaged his mother to confer with the King of Navarre upon a plan which appeared to his refined and scheming policy to offer a sure way to save the government and crush the league. This plan consisted in forming a private treaty with Navarre, who should renounce his religion, be divorced from his wife, and marry the daughter of the Duke of Lorraine: his title as presumptive heir to the crown was then to be publicly recognised; and the nation being biassed in favour of the direct succession would be easily drawn away from the league to full obedience.|| Catherine undertook the commission, relying upon her usual method of intriguing. The weight of years did not prevent her from making so long a journey, but no sooner was her departure known than Henry was beset by the league upon the subject of her mission. He assured them that the negotiation was only a manœuvre to delay the arrival of the Germans, and that it would in the end prove beneficial to the holy union.¶ This declaration being made public, and the Huguenots

knowing that his dissimulation was unbounded, they encouraged suspicions and apprehensions in each other's minds, and the King of Navarre was thus rendered less likely to accede to his proposal.

The military operations of this interval presented nothing of importance: a desire to signalize himself beyond what the Duke of Mayenne had been able to do, made Biron resolve on besieging Marans, a town very essential to the possession of Rochelle. This movement brought Navarre from Guyenne to reinforce that place and strengthen the fortifications, in doing which he personally joined in the work, to encourage his followers. Biron was roughly handled when he commenced his attack, and was wounded by a musket ball, which carried off one of his fingers: he afterwards found that the place was likely to offer a long defence, and carried on his plan of attack with more coolness. Before the siege could be concluded, the Abbé Gadagni arrived from the court with orders to suspend hostilities preparatory to the conference between the queen-mother and the King of Navarre. Biron agreed to withdraw his troops beyond the Charente, and Navarre promised to meet her majesty as soon as he had settled affairs in Rochelle.*

The ambassadors were indignant at being detained so long, and two of them quitted Paris. Couriers were continually sent to the king, entreating him to return and give them an audience; but he delayed as long as possible, in hopes of receiving a favourable account of his mother's conference with Navarre. At last he was induced to come back by the intelligence that the whole body had resolved on following the example of their companions: he arrived at St. Germain in the beginning of September, and gave the long-expected audience. Henry's manner of receiving the deputation sufficiently evinced his displeasure with their mission. He expressed his surprise at such interference with his government, and told them they need wait no longer, for he should give them no other answer.† This insult offered to their deputies excited the indignation of the German princes.‡

The king returned to Paris the following day: his cool reception of the ambassadors was generally known, as well as his continued preparations for carrying on the war: still he had the mortification to find the popular feeling more furious than ever against him. The pulpits resounded with abuse; and the leaguers had circulated a report that he favoured Navarre and the Huguenots. It was said that he endeavoured, in secret, to secure the succession to the crown for one, and full liberty of worship for the other.§ An additional cause of discontent was to be traced to the Duke of Mayenne, who having failed to answer the great expectations which had been entertained of him and his army, was desirous of saving his reputation in any way. He loudly complained of having been deserted, betrayed, and prevented from destroying the Huguenots of Guyenne; which he declared he should certainly have done, if he had been properly seconded, and supplied with provisions and ammunition. The leaguers repeated these complaints,

* Davila, liv. 8. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 31. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 20. Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 53. The siege of Marans lasted from 1st June to 4th August, 1586.

† Davila, liv. 8.

‡ Mem. de Nevers, vol. ii. p. 38.

§ Mem. de Nevers, vol. ii. p. 322.

* Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 173. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 2. Davila, liv. 8. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 16.

† Journal de Henri III.

‡ Davila, liv. 8. Lett. Vita di Sisto V.

§ Cayet, liv. 1. p. 23. Davila, liv. 8. p. 380.

¶ Davila, liv. 8.

¶ Ibid.

and called upon the king to dismiss Biron, who was not sufficiently zealous in the cause.

A new faction arose in the midst of these complaints: it was called the League of the *Sixteen*, and while it fully co-operated in all the plans of the original league, it pushed its audacity in Paris to an inconceivable point. It was composed of the most violent leaguers of the middle and lower classes, and originated with a shopkeeper named Rocheblond, who, being carried away by a blind zeal for religion, proposed to form an association in Paris, to prevent the King of Navarre from succeeding to the crown. Upon communicating his plan to some ecclesiastics, he was soon joined by Prevost, curate of St. Severin, and Boucher, curate of St. Benedict; the latter of whom became the most conspicuous and furious of all the leaguers. They then added to their numbers several attorneys, and persons of intelligence and activity; the most celebrated of whom was Bussy-le-Clerc, who distinguished himself afterwards as governor of the Bastille. They were called the *Sixteen*, on account of their confederacy being managed by that number of persons, one of whom superintended each of the sixteen divisions of Paris.* The faction had worked undeclared for some time, having been established at the beginning of 1585; and when it was organised, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Bourbon were apprised of the powerful auxiliary which had arisen for them. But the king was informed of the movements of the *Sixteen*: one Nicolas Poulain had been introduced to their meetings, and revealed everything to the Chancellor Chiverny, who communicated the intelligence to the monarch. He contented himself however with placing troops in the arsenal, the Bastille, and other places; and suffered the conspirators to continue their meetings without making any attempt to arrest the leaders, although he was aware that they had more than once deliberated upon an attempt to assassinate him.† Henry's conduct is inexplicable; and he appears to have wanted firmness on every occasion, except when he displayed a hatred of the Protestants: then, and then only, he was decided and vigorous.

An original letter, in the handwriting of Henry III., has been preserved: it is addressed to Hillier, governor of Bayonne, and proves that the king was by no means inattentive to public affairs.‡ After adverting to other matters, he says, "I have heard that the bishop of my town of Bayonne has recently procured a list of all the inhabitants of that place, by means of the priests whom he has chosen for the Easter confessions, and has particularly inquired of those of the new opinions, what they thought of the success of the affairs of my kingdom, in the event of my decease, representing to them the doubtful condition of the state, &c. &c. And as such discourses cannot but appear suspicious to me, not knowing by whom the said Bishop of Bayonne is so prompted, I beg you to ascertain of him if he has held such language, for such *curiosities* are of a dangerous and pernicious consequence; and I find it very strange that this conduct of the bishop has been communicated to me by another than

yourself." We have not the contents of Hillier's reply, but Poulain's notice, combined with the information which had reached him from Bayonne, was quite sufficient to have roused the king to activity; yet he contented himself with preparing against a surprise, when he should have displayed his authority, and crushed the spirit of rebellion.

Still the placing of the troops in the places intended to be the first objects of their operations confounded the conspirators, and prevented them from taking any measures at that time. Mayenne, who was to have superintended their operations, was anxious to retire from Paris; and Henry permitted him to have an audience previous to his departure, when he rallied him in a manner that showed he was fully aware of his connexion with the conspirators: Mayenne notwithstanding assured them of his resolution to support them.*

It is probable that if Catherine had been at Paris at this juncture, she would have recommended some measure which would have awed the league; but she was occupied during the remainder of the year in arranging conferences with the King of Navarre, and using all her influence to bring him back to the church of Rome. A considerable time was taken up in deciding where they should meet, and how each party should be attended. The castle of St. Bris, near Cognac, was at last agreed upon: Catherine went there attended by Montpensier, Nevers, and Biron; Navarre was accompanied by Condé, Turenne, and several chiefs of his party.† The queen-mother soon discovered that her influence was no longer so irresistible, and in vain had she taken with her a train of lovely young women;‡ the princes had been so often deceived, that they stood firm to their proposal of a national council; and the recollection of the deceptions practised prior to the St. Bartholomew made them constantly on their guard, not only as to any treaty they might conclude, but also for their personal safety. Cayet informs us "that they would never all three enter the queen's apartment at once: when Navarre was there, the prince and Turenne kept guard at the door."§ Turenne is also stated to have said to her—"It is no longer possible, madam, for us to be satisfied with your bare promise, when your most solemn edicts have been violated."||

Catherine, without consulting the King of Navarre, had published a truce: he considered it a scheme for stopping the march of the Germans who were coming to join him, and insisted on the publication being revoked, as an indispensable condition of continuing the conference. The queen's advisers were at a loss what to recommend, and appeared astonished; but she being always ready to consent to any barbarity in furtherance of her plans, told them to send some musketeers from Niort, to attack and destroy two Huguenot regiments at Maillozais. "Go, and cut them in pieces," said she, "and the truce is at an end without further trouble." Her cruel orders were in-

* *Esprit de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 310.

† 14th December, 1586.

‡ Catherine, tired of importuning the King of Navarre, said to him, "What is it that you would have?" He looked round on the young ladies, and said, "Nothing, madam, that I see here."—*Perefixe*.

§ *Cayet*, liv. 1. p. 32.

|| *Lettre d'un Gentilhomme François à un sien ami à Rome, contenant le discours du voyage de la Reine, Mere du Roi*. This piece is inserted in vol. ii. of *Mem. de la Ligue*.

* Cayet, liv. 1. p. 12.

† *Proces verbal* of Nicolas Poulain, and Davila, liv. 8.

‡ The letter, dated 23d May, 1586, is in the possession of Prince Polignac, a descendant of Hillier's. I am not aware that it has ever been printed; and am obliged to the Marquis de Fortia for the use of a MS. copy of it.

stantly obeyed : many of the Huguenots perished, and the rest were made prisoners.*

At length the conference commenced : the queen declared her regret at Navarre's obstinacy in refusing to change his religion, and absenting himself from court, by which he compelled the king to wage war against him. The King of Navarre complained, that notwithstanding he fully obeyed the king's orders, and scrupulously attended to the edicts, the king had broken the peace out of compliance to the Guises, and other enemies of the public tranquillity. He complained of the king's bad faith towards him, in ordering him to remain quiet, while he suffered the league to make advances ; showing that he had hazarded his life by not taking arms sooner, and that in order to satisfy those who wished to reduce him to extremities, he had neglected to look after his own preservation. "Madam," said he to the queen, with emphasis, "you can only accuse me of too much fidelity."† The proposal for a divorce from Margaret, and a marriage with the Duke of Lorraine's daughter, was developed in a second conference. But an offer of marriage from Catherine de Medicis was ominous for the Huguenot prince. He requested two days to consider of it, and his reflections only made him more resolved to refuse the offer. He felt, besides, a great reluctance to have the appearance of frequently changing his religious opinions, and could not have deserted the Protestants at such a time without disgrace.‡

The conference was afterwards renewed at Fontenay, when Catherine declared that the king would make no peace nor treaty with him, unless he became a Catholic. Navarre made his invariable reply, that he would submit to the decision of a council freely chosen. The queen argued that the change would make his condition more secure, more free, and more suitable to his rank ; as he would then enjoy the king's favour, which would be better than staying at Rochelle, where he could not do as he wished. To which he answered that no private gratification, nor even the possession of thirty crowns, should make him disgracefully renounce a religion which he had followed thirty years ; and that as to Rochelle, he could do what he would there, because he desired nothing but what was right.§ Their conversation was very protracted ; the queen would not consent to a treaty of peace unless Navarre promised his abjuration ; the king of Navarre wished for an arrangement which would ensure the settlement of the affair by a council. She would not consent even to a truce, unless he countermanded the approach of the Germans ; while he would not yield that point, unless he were sure that the truce would produce a peace.|| The queen at last lost all patience, and said with an imperious tone, that no further deliberation was necessary, for the king, who wished to be absolute master in his kingdom, was also determined that there should be only one religion in France. Upon this Turenne said with a smile of contempt—"Well, Madam, we are quite

agreeable, provided it be ours ; otherwise we will fight hard for it." And without waiting any reply, he made a profound bow and retired.*

The conference had been kept open on account of the uncertainty and indecision of the queen-mother : she would not make a concession unnecessarily, for fear of offending the league ; and therefore wished to appear forced to accept the terms under discussion. The intelligence which she received was besides very contradictory ; and she was alternately alarmed by the success of the Huguenot party, and cheered by accounts of their desperate situation. Her wishes inclined her to place more reliance on the latter version, and she encouraged the hope of concluding a peace which would satisfy the king. †

Catherine then made haste back to Paris, where her son had great need of her assistance ; for in addition to the conspiracy which had lately been brought to light, Cardinal Pellevé was discovered to have so much injured the king, by his representations to the pope, that Henry confiscated all his property ; ‡ but notwithstanding the distressed state of his treasury, he is said to have given the value to the poor, instead of applying it to carrying on the war,—a proof alike of the sincerity of his devotion, and of his complete unfitness to govern a nation.

While the negotiations had been carried on between the queen-mother and the King of Navarre, the Duke of Epemon, assisted by Crillon, had been engaged in subduing the Huguenots of Provence, under Lesdiguières. Seyne, a town placed in an almost inaccessible situation on the frontier of Dauphiny, was taken in September, 1586 ; the garrison of La Reole offered a long resistance, and capitulated in November ; and the town of Tarascon declared for the king without sustaining any attack. §

Bellievre was sent to London in December, 1586, avowedly to intercede in the king's name for Mary, Queen of Scots ; but Mendoza the Spanish ambassador informed the Duke of Parma that the real object of the mission was to obtain Elizabeth's influence with Navarre and Condé towards the conclusion of a peace. ||

The court passed away the winter in balls, routs and masquerades, in which the king cheerfully participated ; his time being divided between such amusements and the ceremonials of the different monastic orders under his protection. It was with regret he found himself forced, as the spring advanced, to prepare for carrying on the war with vigour. The Germans were about to join the King of Navarre, and it was absolutely necessary that something should be done to prevent such an occurrence.

The league in the mean time had endeavoured to persuade the king that his honour and welfare depended on his heartily joining that party as the only means of suppressing the Huguenot faction, and saving his kingdom from being a prey to foreigners. The queen's letters in December, which announced Navarre's obstinacy, had raised his angry feelings ; and on the first day of the new year, in an assembly of the knights of the Holy

* Brantome, vol. i. p. 66. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 24.

† D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 23. Davila, liv. 8. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 2. p. 33. Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 80.

‡ Davila, liv. 8.

§ Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 2. p. 34. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 23. Le Grain, liv. 4. p. 149. Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 81.

|| Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 2. p. 34.

* Cayet, liv. 1. p. 32.

† Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. pp. 82, et seq.

‡ Journal de Henri III.

§ Vie de Crillon, vol. i. p. 306—321.

|| Strada, de Bello Belg. liv. 8.

Ghost, he publicly made a solemn oath that he would never suffer in his dominions any other religion than the Roman.* But all this fervour of bigotry availed him nothing: his oaths and promises had been so prostituted, that the Catholics placed no reliance on him; while the Huguenots were only the more convinced that their case would be desperate, unless they were successful in the field.

In the month of May, 1587, Guise met the king at Meaux, when he made a long complaint of the infractions of the treaty of Nemours. He said that the resolution to make war against the heretics had been so feebly acted upon, that it was not at all surprising the result should be fatal to France: in spite of the edict, the heretics had been allowed to remain in their houses, and enjoy their property in quietness; and instead of confiscating their goods, those of Cardinal Pellevé had been seized, for having virtuously defended in the consistory the justice of the catholics taking arms against the heretics.†

Henry answered these complaints, by observations which seem to indicate a better understanding than he has the reputation of having possessed, and by showing the numerous cases in which the leaguers had violated the treaty to their advantage. This unfortunate king was in a great dilemma; nothing could reconcile Navarre and Guise: if he granted suitable terms to the Huguenots, he feared the resentment and violence of the league; and if he made war against the King of Navarre, he dreaded the invasion of fifty thousand foreigners. He entreated Guise to think of peace, and to join in preserving the country from a common enemy. Guise, however, was decided upon a war, and boldly told the king that he would not consent to a peace before the Catholic religion was secured from danger.‡ His real motives are clearly represented in an intercepted letter from the Duchess of Lorraine: "Go on," says she, "for there never was a finer opportunity for your placing the crown on your own head."§

Finding he could not avoid carrying on the war, the king resolved to take measures for assailing the league as well as the protestants. He therefore sent a strong army into Poictou, under Joyeuse, who would be able by that means to bear down all before him: a second army was sent under Guise against the Germans, which being composed of inexperienced troops, would probably suffer a defeat and allow them to advance: the third, as a reserve, he proposed to keep near himself, to be able to oppose the Germans, who would endeavour to join Navarre after having defeated the Duke of Guise. This scheme was calculated to give him such an advantage over both parties, that he expected to be able to dictate his own terms. His plan was frustrated by the valour of Navarre and Guise respectively, and the war of the *three Henri's* produced results very different to what had been expected.

Joyeuse began his expedition by taking La Motte,|| the garrison of which place was too weak to defend it; but by an extraordinary display of

bravery, they maintained the town much longer than could have been expected. At last, under the pressure of famine, they were induced to rely on the promises of the duke, who had the barbarity to murder the whole of them in cold blood. What renders this cruelty more revolting is, that when D'Aubigné was employed to convey some communication to Joyeuse, he asked what inducement the catholics could have had to act so inhumanly? The answer he received was, "That it was the only way to gain applause from the pulpits of Paris."*

The King of Navarre recommenced the campaign early, and was tolerably successful in his enterprises. The summer passed away without any event of importance; news arrived in September of the Germans having entered France by Lorraine. The King of Navarre marched in that direction to meet them; and Joyeuse, determined to arrest his passage, attacked him at Courtras, in Perigord, on the twentieth of October.†

The two armies exhibited a remarkable contrast; that of Joyeuse consisted of many young nobility, and a considerable number of volunteers: their accoutrements, all new, were elegantly ornamented with plumes and gold; and their horses were of the finest kind, and in good condition: they were armed moreover with the strength of the king's name and authority, but although animated with great spirit, they were very much in want of experience. Navarre's army, on the contrary, was clad in plain armour which had grown rusty in repeated campaigns; his men, however, were the veterans who had fought at Montcontour and Jarnac.‡ The Catholic force consisted of five thousand infantry, and about two thousand five hundred cavalry: the Huguenots had about four thousand infantry, and between twelve and thirteen hundred horsemen. This difference of numbers was trifling compared with all the previous battles in these wars; but if Joyeuse had consented to delay the battle till Marshal Matignon's arrival with his army, it would have been scarcely possible for the King of Navarre to have escaped destruction. The marshal had sent word to Joyeuse, requesting him to post himself at Courtras and wait his arrival.§ The King of Navarre, however, had already taken that position, and the two armies were so situated that a battle could not well be avoided.

Joyeuse, however, could not be restrained from attacking the Huguenots. He had learned that he was declining rapidly in his master's favour, and wished to do something which would preserve him from disgrace. Henry had told him publicly that he was considered a coward by the court, and that he would have some difficulty in removing that impression.|| No wonder, then, that he should wish so ardently for battle; and he informed the king that he should soon present his majesty with the heads of Navarre and Condé. His sanguine disposition made him feel certain of a victory, and when he found the King of Navarre was posted between the rivers Ile and Drome, he said to his officers—"We hold the enemy so shut in by

* Davila, liv. 8. Cayet, liv. i. p. 35.

† Hist. liv. 1. p. 36.

‡ Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 2. p. 37. L'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 61.

§ Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 213.

|| La Motte-Achard, in Poictou. (Vendée.)

* D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 44.

† Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 239.

‡ Prefixe, p. 61. Davila, liv. 8.

§ Brantome, vol. ix. p. 168.

|| Davila, liv. 8.

these rivers, that it is impossible for him to escape us: let everything then be ready for attacking him to-morrow at break of day." * He gave orders that no quarter should be given to the enemy, and that death should be the punishment for saving the life of a Huguenot, even if it should be the King of Navarre.†

Navarre prepared to receive him; for although it was hazardous to fight where a retreat was impracticable in case of defeat, it was still more so to give time for Matignon's arrival. He arranged the divisions of his army; and after communicating his plan to Condé, Turenne, and the Count de Soissons, he addressed all around him upon the calamities inseparable from civil war. After recapitulating his various endeavours to preserve peace, he exclaimed with an animated voice—"Perish the authors of this war, and may the blood which is going to be shed be upon their heads!" He then called upon Condé and Soissons, his cousins, to show themselves worthy of their relationship to him.‡

When the King of Navarre had finished his address, Duplessis-Mornay stepped forward, and in a solemn manner reminded that prince of the great injury he had done to the Protestant religion by his flagrant incontinence; and particularly to the family which he had afflicted, by the seduction of a young lady of Rochelle. Mornay advised him to make public reparation for that misconduct, lest his army should be defeated as a judgment upon him.§ Henry may have felt influenced by religious apprehensions, which the appeal of Mornay had excited; but it is probable that he considered the ardour of his soldiers would be still more animated, if their minds were freed from any stigma on their cause; he consented to make a public avowal of his fault in the church of Pons, and to do the same the first time he should be at Rochelle. Henry afterwards knelt down beside the minister Clandieus, who offered a prayer for divine help; and the whole army immediately did the same. This spectacle, instead of raising suitable feelings in the mind of Joyeuse, only added to his confidence: he exultingly called out—"See how they tremble! The day is ours!" Laverdin, his lieutenant, observed to him that he was mistaken in the men, who always went to prayer when they had made up their minds to conquer or to die.||

The battle began about nine o'clock with a cannonading on both sides. Navarre's artillery created great confusion among his opponents: while their's, being badly directed, had hardly any effect. Laverdin perceived that no time was to be lost in coming to close quarters, as the only means of avoiding the effects of the inferiority of their gunners. He immediately gave the signal for advancing to the charge. The shock was very violent, but the victory was soon decided; and in less than an hour the brilliant army of the Catholics was completely routed. Joyeuse himself was killed; not in the fight, but after he was taken prisoner: the person who shot him declared that it was done to revenge his cruelty at La Motte. The Catholics lost three thousand men, including many persons of distinction: the loss of the Huguenots was trifling,

not more than two hundred of them being killed, and very few wounded.* The cannon, baggage, &c. as a natural consequence of such a rout, fell into the hands of the King of Navarre, who is admitted by writers of every party to have added splendour to his victory by his clemency to the vanquished. He set at liberty nearly all his prisoners, and returned to several their arms and standards.† But his moderation had no effect upon his enemies, who at first treated the affair as an insignificant skirmish; and when the truth was made known, the court, disappointed in the hope of crushing the King of Navarre, looked forward to retrieve the misfortune by successful operations in other parts.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Tumult at St. Severin—Defeat of the Germans at Vimory and Auneau—Increased insolence of the League—Meeting at Nancy—Death of Condé—The Barriades.

THE only result of the battle of Courtras was the preservation of the Huguenot party from destruction, by placing the Bourbon family in safety. Different reasons have been assigned for Navarre's measures after the battle: he had a choice of two plans; to march at once to meet the Germans, or to make himself master of Poictou and Saintonge. He adopted the latter line of action, and then set out for Bearn, with a small body of cavalry, leaving Turenne with the command of his forces. Some writers accuse Navarre of omitting to pursue his advantage, through his desire to visit his mistress, the Countess of Guiche;‡ another opinion is, that he wished to avoid an irremediable rupture with Henry III., being desirous of keeping open a chance of his return to court, which was so essential to his ultimately succeeding to the crown;§ while a third, and perhaps the real reason is, that the Huguenot army was considerably diminished after the battle, by a great number of persons returning to their houses. Navarre obtained their promise to meet him again, on the 20th of November, to join the Germans: but circumstances occurred in the interval which disappointed his hopes in that quarter.||

The German army, consisting of nearly forty thousand men, with twenty mounted pieces of artillery, had entered Lorraine under the command of the Baron Donau or d'Othna, a Prussian: he was aided by the Duke of Bouillon, his brother the Count de la Mark, and the Count de Chatillon.¶ The Duke of Guise had not received the reinforcements which the king had promised him when at Meaux, but still he hovered about the enemy, and was so unwearied in his attacks upon their flanks, that his operations caused great astonishment.

* Davila, liv. 8. Cayet, vol. i. p. 38. Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 303. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. pp. 56-57.

† Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 243.

‡ Vie de Mornay, p. 111. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 58.

§ Perefex.

|| Sully, in the 3rd book of his Memoirs, accuses the Count de Soissons of fanning Henry's passion for his mistress with the intention of keeping him back from pursuing his advantage. He treacherously aimed at supplanting the King of Navarre in his possessions, by marrying the princess his sister: the league then appeared certain of succeeding; and from their hatred of Navarre, the count imagined he could easily effect his object. Sully also charges Condé with a design of dismembering France, and establishing an independent sovereignty.

¶ Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 212.

* Davila, liv. 8.

† D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 48.

‡ Perefex and Mathieu.

§ Vie de Duplessis-Mornay, liv. 1. p. 103.

|| Journal de Henri III. Mathieu, P. Daniel, and D'Aubigné.

Great dissatisfaction soon pervaded the foreign army; they had calculated on being met on their arrival by the King of Navarre, or the Prince of Condé; they were only joined from time to time by small parties of Huguenots, who added to their dissatisfaction by relating the difficulties they had overcome in reaching them; while hunger, forced marches, and the continual loss of some of their baggage, made their situation very distressing.

Henry's plan had been to remain quiet till the Reitres should have advanced to a certain point; but the clamours of the league compelled him to march to Guise's help. The clergy carried their insolence beyond all bounds; and, on one occasion, a sermon preached at the church of St. Severin contained such abuse of the king, that the preacher was sent for to the Louvre. Immediately a report was spread that all the preachers were to be arrested, and Bussy-le-Clerc armed a company of leaguers, and placed them in ambuscade near the church, to prevent the individual from being taken.* When the authorities arrived they were not allowed to enter, and the civil officer sent for help to force his way in. The whole quarter was in a tumult, and the officers were unable to execute their orders. The Duke of Epernon and the chancellor recommended the king to send a strong force, and make Le-Clerc and his party prisoners; but others dissuaded him from doing so; and Villequier having given Le-Clerc information of what had been proposed, he and his friends concealed themselves for a time: but though their plans were carried on in secret, they never lost sight of the objects which had been proposed by the Sixteen.†

After a painful march, the Germans arrived before La Charité on the 15th of October. The fruits of France, in which they had indulged, had introduced diseases among them, and, to complete their disasters, they found the king had come in person to oppose them with a strong force. They were unable to take La Charité, and returned towards Montargis, taking up their quarters at Vimory. It was the king's army evidently that prevented the progress of the foreigners; and Guise, by allowing them to pass the frontier, had committed an unpardonable error: but the league could see no fault in their champion; they not only became more insolent than ever to their sovereign, but were actually taking measures for seizing his person in the camp.

The leaguers consulted upon taking possession of Paris during the king's absence; and Guise had informed them, that he would seize the king himself in the country. Those in Paris waited to ascertain the result of Guise's attempt, and sent several couriers to Estampes, where he then lodged, to ascertain if it had succeeded. But Guise did not consider the undertaking safe, on account of the strong force in the neighbourhood, and he put off the design, to the great regret of the Sixteen.‡

Guise was at dinner, with the different princes of his family, when he received information that some of the Germans were at Vimory. He mused for a few minutes, then gave orders to sound to arms, and desired that the troops should be ready to march within an hour.§ The Duke of Mayenne

asking for what object he gave those orders, Guise answered, "To attack the enemy." But as the disproportion between his force and theirs was so great, he could scarcely believe his brother was serious. They arrived at Vimory at midnight, when Guise entered the town secretly with a select corps, the other chiefs remaining around, to make prisoners of those who should attempt to escape. Everything being ready, they set fire to several houses, and shot all who came out on hearing the noise. Scarcely any of the Germans could escape. The Baron Donau, their commander, being at the opposite end of the town, took horse with a hundred followers, and got into the adjoining plain. Mayenne was there, and prepared to charge upon him. Donau received the charge with firmness, and, springing forward, he attacked Mayenne himself: he discharged a pistol in his face, which stunned him; but the strength of Mayenne's vizor protected him from harm. The Baron Donau continued the fight some time; but his followers being nearly all killed, he availed himself of the darkness to cut his way through the opposing squadron, accompanied by no more than fourteen companions. The slaughter in the town was dreadful; and the Catholics returned loaded with plunder; but the Reitres fought so well, that above two hundred of their assailants were killed, above forty of whom were gentlemen of distinction.*

This event threw the Germans into great dismay, and their Swiss companions sent an offer of submission to the king; but about the same time the Prince of Conty arrived with news of the victory at Courtras,† and, by his exhortations and entreaties, they were persuaded to wait for intelligence from the King of Navarre, before they made any agreement with the King of France. The Prince of Conty's arrival made them forget their past difficulties; they took up their head-quarters at Auneau, in the Orleanais, and indulged themselves in the good cheer which that province afforded.‡ The object of the chiefs of this army was to pass beyond the Loire, and several of them wished to proceed at once, but, unfortunately, their departure was put off till the 24th of November, and they experienced a second disaster in consequence. This event was the more vexatious, as the Duke of Guise came up with them on that very day, by means of a forced march.§ He attacked Auneau in the same manner as Vimory: but, on this occasion, he publicly performed his devotions, and left instructions for prayers to be said for the success of his enterprise. He was, indeed, so determined not to fail for want of a sufficiency of religious exercise, that he ordered three masses to be performed during the night: "A thing," says Maimbourg, "which is contrary to the regulations of the church of Rome, except on Christmas-eve; but the good priests, who were not then so well informed as they are now, devoutly obeyed him without any scruple."||

* Davila, liv. 8. Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 219. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 2. p. 42.

† This is Davila's version; but in the *Mémoires de la Ligue* it is said that the news was brought by a messenger who had been sent on purpose by the Count de Chatillon; and also that the Prince of Conty arrived at the camp on the 20th of November. Vol. ii. p. 225.

‡ Davila, liv. 8.

§ Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 227.

|| Hist. de la Ligue, vol. i. p. 295.

* 3rd. Sept. 1587. De Thou, liv. 87. Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 210.

† Procès verbal de Nicolas Poulein, p. 152. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 43.

‡ Procès verbal, &c. p. 152. § 26th Oct., 1517.

The town, surprised in the night, fell an easy prey, and the assailants committed great havoc, with scarcely the loss of a man. Excepting the Baron Donau, and about ten others, none that were in the town escaped. The other divisions of the army that were placed in the neighbourhood rallied at the distance of a league. Donau urged the chiefs to return to Auneau, and attack the Catholics, who, being intent upon their plunder, would be an easy prey. But his exhortations were in vain; the Swiss separated from the Germans, and, having accepted the terms offered by the king, they set out for their own country. The rest of the army was with difficulty kept from disbanding. Conty, Bouillon, and Chatillon undertook to guarantee the payment of their arrears, and conducted them to the forest of Orleans. But the season of the year exposed them to great sufferings; and, finding themselves at a distance from the King of Navarre, ill-treated by their French companions, deserted by the Swiss, beaten by the league, and pursued by the king, they met in December at Marsigni, and accepted the king's terms, which had been communicated by the Duke of Epernon.*

The French chiefs made great efforts to prevent their German friends from accepting these terms, and undertook to conduct them to the King of Navarre's army. Finding, however, that, instead of listening to them, the foreigners had an intention of arresting them, to ensure the payment of what they had promised, they separated secretly, and took different routes to make their escape. The Prince of Conty went into Maine with fourteen horsemen; the Duke of Bouillon, with only five hundred horsemen, passed through the Lyonnais to Geneva, where he soon after died. Chatillon, declaring that he would surrender his standard to none but the King of Navarre, set out with one hundred and twenty horsemen, and, with great resolution, made his way to Languedoc. Mandelot, governor of the Lyonnais, and the Count de Tournon, both opposed his passage with their armies, and the tocsin resounded in the different towns; but he cleared every difficulty, and safely reached the Vivarais, of which he was governor.†

The unfortunate Germans, however, found that the pursuit of the royal forces was not their only misfortune; for, after submitting to the Duke of Epernon, they were exposed to the attacks of the peasantry, who slew many of them as they took their road homewards. Guise complained of the terms which had been granted them; and on the ground of Epernon's having acted solely out of enmity and spite to him, he refused to observe the conditions: he followed the main body to the frontiers, making a terrible carnage among them. The Swiss shared no better fate: marching southward, towards Sarry, they were attacked near the Isere by La Valette, Epernon's brother. This made them resolve on an effort to join Lesdiguières, who was at the head of the Huguenots in that part: they sustained a total defeat in Dauphiny, and, with a few exceptions, all perished. Lesdiguières himself was obliged to take refuge in the mountainous parts soon after.‡

The king returned to Paris the 23rd of December, and made a public entry, dressed in full armour, as if he had defeated the enemy in person. The people ridiculed his pretensions to military renown, and saluted him with shouts of, "Saul has slain his thousands, but David his ten thousands."* A pamphlet was also circulated at the time, which, though publicly directed against the Duke of Epernon, was known to be levelled against the king himself. It was entitled "The Achievements of the Duke of Epernon against the Heretics;" but the title-page was the whole of the work, all the other leaves being blank.† Henry found that the spirit of sedition had very much increased during his short absence from his capital. The clergy threw off all restraint, and publicly announced that the king himself had invited the foreigners to help him to suppress the league.‡ The doctors of the Sorbonne had recently held a meeting, when they passed a decree to sanction the dethronement of all princes who did not govern properly, on the same principle that authority might be taken from a suspected guardian.§ But, instead of resenting such behaviour in a proper manner, by punishing the authors of such a doctrine, he merely sent for Boucher, the leader among the doctors of the Sorbonne, and remonstrated with him upon the impropriety of his conduct in calumniating his lawful sovereign against the precepts of Scripture. He added, that he should be justified in following the example of Pope Sixtus V., who had sent some monks to the galleys for having made allusions to him in their sermons; but that though he refrained from such severity on this occasion, he would surely punish in an exemplary manner any repetition of such seditious and wicked conduct.||

Such a line of policy only tended to encourage the insolence of the league; and, from being accustomed to discuss the propriety of dethroning their king, they at last grew impatient for an opportunity. Guise's resentment was kindled at being excluded from a share in the appointments made vacant by the death of Joyeuse. He demanded the post of admiral for Brissac; and was the more vexed at being refused, as his hated rival Epernon was invested with that office, as well as with the governments of Normandy, Angoulême, and Saintonge.¶ Soon after, Guise and five others went in disguise to Rome, where he made himself known to no one but Cardinal Pellevé, with whom he was in communication a whole day and night: after staying there three days he returned. The nature of his business at Rome may be inferred from the circumstance of the pope's sending him a sword, with flames represented upon it. This sword, and some other arms, were sent by the hands of the Duke of Parma, who announced that Henry of Lorraine alone was entitled to bear arms for, and to be the defender of the church.**

Henry soon after learned that the Lorrain princes had convoked a meeting at Nancy at the end of January, 1588, when it was resolved to call upon the king to join the league more decidedly

* Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 306. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 2. p. 43.

† Brantome, vol. x. p. 320

‡ Cayet, liv. 1. p. 37.

§ 16th Dec. 1587. Journal de Henri III.

|| Journal de Henri III. Hist. de la Ligue, liv. 2.

¶ D'Aubigné, Mézeray, and others.

** Journal de Henri III. Leti, Vita di Sisto V.

* Davila, liv. 8. Mathien and D'Aubigné in loc.

† Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 236. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 67. Brantome, *Discours sur les belles Retraites*. Davila, liv. 8. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 2. p. 43.

‡ Davila, liv. 8. p. 416. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 42.

and openly; to dismiss all obnoxious persons from his service; to publish the council of Trent, and establish the holy inquisition, with several other clauses in unison with them.* He then felt pleased that the King of Navarre had gained the victory at Courtras; and regretted that he had contributed to drive away the Germans, who would faithfully have served him against a faction that now avowed an intention of dethroning him. And besides being now more interested in Navarre's preservation, from the demonstration that he had no other barrier to oppose to the league, he was charmed with the moderation of the Huguenot prince, who being asked what terms he would require after gaining such a battle, answered—"The same I should ask after losing one,—a confirmation of the edict of Poitiers, for as I took arms only upon the breach of that treaty, I shall lay them aside when it is renewed."†

Navarre had retired to Rochelle when he heard of the overthrow of the Germans: he soon after received the news of another event which was highly discouraging to his party. The Prince of Condé died on the fifth of March at St. Jean d'Angely, under the strongest suspicion of having been poisoned;‡ his wife was brought to trial for being accessory to the crime, and would have been condemned to death, if she had not been pregnant. Being afterwards delivered of a son, who succeeded to his father's title, the proceedings were dropped, and the King of Navarre, after his entry into Paris, ordered all the papers respecting it to be burned.§ When he heard of the prince's death, he declared that he had lost his right hand.|| The Cardinal of Bourbon on bearing the news to the king, and being either so far plunged in the depths of superstition and ignorance, as to entertain such thoughts, or thinking the monarch sufficiently weak to be affected by his exhortation, he said, "See, Sire, the effects of being excommunicated: for my part, I think his death is to be attributed to nothing but the thunderbolt of excommunication which has fallen upon him."¶ It is highly probable the more crafty leaguers thought that, by operating on the monarch's fears, they should make him more subservient to the church. They found, however, by his reply that his eyes were beginning to be opened respecting them and their objects; and from that time they took measures for his dethronement.

When the plan for seizing Henry in his camp had failed through the extreme caution of the Duke of Guise, the Sixteen were only rendered more determined, and became more impatient for an opportunity. They were in constant communication with Guise, and informed him repeatedly of their being sufficiently strong to execute the enterprise; but instead of coming to Paris, he sent them a letter stating that they should wait for a good opportunity, and that when one offered he

would not let it pass.* No occasion was omitted in the mean time for publishing invectives and false accusations against the king, from the press as well as the pulpit. But the efficacy of these means was nothing compared with the advantage derived from the confessional. The confessors (many of whom were Jesuits) abused the influence of their ministry, sparing neither the king nor his adherents, and filled the minds of their penitents with alarm. They urged the propriety of joining religious associations, and persuaded all they could to join the league, denying absolution to those who refused. Complaints were made of these seditious confessors, but they would not desist; they only became more circumspect, and fortified themselves with a new dogma, "That the penitent who reveals what his confessor tells him, is as bad as the confessor who reveals the communication of his penitent.†"

"On the fifteenth of April, 1588," says Poulain in his declaration, "calling on Le-Clerc, he informed me, that Guise was soon coming to assist them, and that then they would fight for the Catholic faith."‡ Bussy-le-Clerc then told Poulain that, on the first Sunday after Easter, a certain number of armed persons were to enter Paris by night, through the Port St. Denis, the keepers of which were devoted to the league: their first care would be to kill the Duke of Epernon, who superintended the patrol of the city, and who would be sure to present himself if he heard the noise of horsemen. From thence they were to attack the Louvre, and master the king's guards, the captains in the town at the same time defending their several quarters by barricades. Le-Clerc himself was to move about with a select body, to seize strong houses and important posts. This intelligence would not allow of any delay, and Poulain demanded an audience of the king, where he gave a full account of the danger which threatened his majesty.

The king immediately sent for arms and armour to be lodged in the Louvre: he also ordered a division of four thousand Swiss to approach the city, and take their quarters in the neighbourhood. This showed the conspirators that they were discovered; still they would not desist, but sent repeated letters entreating Guise to come to them. Henry was advised to act with energy, and he might have overwhelmed the faction, which then trembled with apprehension, in consequence of his being informed of their plot. A display of authority at this time would have sufficed; but being prepossessed with an idea that without their chief the league could do nothing, he sent Bellièvre to Soissons to forbid Guise coming to Paris.§ While Bellièvre was thus employed, the Duchess of Montpensier, Guise's sister, threw herself at the king's feet, and with tears implored his permission for her brother to come and justify himself: but at the same time she was treacherously employed in placing an ambuscade to surprise Henry on his return from Vincennes. Directly they had seized the king's person, they were to convey him to Soissons, and some of their party were to give an alarm in Paris, accusing the Huguenots of having carried off the king: this alarm it was ex-

* Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. pp. 269, *et seq.* De Thou, liv. 90. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 44.

† D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 57.

‡ The report of the surgeons who examined his body is in Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 305. See also De Thou, liv. 90, and the Mem. de Duplessis, vol. i. p. 841.

§ Mezeray, *Abregé Chron.* According to Davila, liv. 14, the princess was absolved by the parliament in 1595, on her promising to be a Catholic, and engaging to educate her son in that religion.

|| Peretice.

¶ Journal de Henri III.

* Proceß verbal de N. Poulain, p. 153.

† De Thou, liv. 86. vol. ix. p. 652.

‡ Proceß verbal, &c. p. 156.

§ Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 315.

pected would give rise to another massacre. Poulain's information preserved his sovereign from this danger: the king sent into Paris for a hundred and twenty horsemen, and thus foiled the intentions of his enemies.*

Poulain, however, began to be suspected by the leaguers of having given information to the court, as he had been met coming out of the Louvre by some of their spies. To counteract his assertions, and throw discredit on his statement, it was insinuated to the king that he was a Huguenot: while Villequier maintained that his account was all false, and that some of Guise's enemies had suborned him to say such things. Poulain offered to remain prisoner, and gave the names of several persons with whom he desired to be confronted; and that then he would make good his charges or forfeit his life.† The council took the affair into serious consideration; the Duke of Epernon left Paris for his government of Normandy to secure Rouen and Havre, and measures were taken for holding Paris in check, by the possession of the surrounding towns. This plan was adopted at the suggestion of the queen-mother: the bold manner in which the populace had defended the Curate of St. Severin convinced her that it would be useless to make any attempt to seize the leaders of the league in Paris, until the King had received a considerable addition to his force. She made use of an Italian proverb, "Before you irritate a wasp, take care to shield your face."‡

But the Duchess of Montpensier had written to her brother, that Henry meditated some design against him, and that if possible he should anticipate the movement.§ This, added to the entreaties of the Sixteen brought Guise to Paris: he entered by the Porte St. Denis on the afternoon of the 9th of May, and went straight to the dwelling of the queen-mother, accompanied by seven gentlemen. Nothing can adequately describe the enthusiasm of the Parisians on seeing their champion once more among them. The streets resounded with shouts of "*Vive Guise! Long live the pillar of the church!*" and a young woman, in the Rue St. Honore, exclaimed in an audible voice, "Good prince! now that you are come to us we are safe."||

Catherine received the duke with an observation of some ambiguity, purporting, that though she was glad to receive him, she would have had more satisfaction in seeing him at another time.¶ The Queen had secretly desired him to come to Paris, and most probably had wished his party success, until the rebellion became too glaring: she had told Bellièvre when he was sent to forbid the duke's coming, "Unless he come, the king is in such a rage, that a great number of persons of distinction are lost." Bellièvre in consequence did not deliver the king's commands in a sufficiently peremptory manner; and Guise, who was not at a loss for a pretext, told him "That he would come privately to justify his conduct to the king; for his sole aim was to serve the religion and the state; and that he would not disobey the king's commands." But after dismissing Bellièvre with an idea that he

would wait at Soissons till he again heard from the king, he ordered his horses and set out for Paris, avoiding the high roads, as he knew he should meet persons bringing orders for him to keep away.*

The news of Guise's arrival, and the display of the popular feeling, made Henry summon his counsellors to the Louvre. The king had of late been a great deal with the Abbé d'Elbene; and he was one of the first who was consulted. The Abbé recommended strong measures. "Strike!" said he, "strike the shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered." But the dangers of such a measure were demonstrated by the other counsellors. The queen-mother in the meantime had sent Louis Davila† to inform her son that Guise was coming with her to the Louvre. Time pressed, and some decision was necessary in consequence. The unhappy king despatched a messenger to urge her to delay the visit as long as she could; but she was already at the gates, and further deliberation was impossible.‡

Catherine was in a chair: the duke walked by her side, and the populace crowded around them in countless multitudes. Guise was greeted as he went along, and might say, that there was hardly a man among them present who was not devoted to him; but his conscience told him he was guilty of rebellion, and a circumstance occurred on entering the Louvre, which shows he experienced some dread of incurring his sovereign's wrath. Crillon commanded the guards before whom he passed: Guise saluted that officer, but instead of receiving from him a return in unison with his flattering reception elsewhere, a stern look was coolly fixed upon him, at which the champion of the league and the idol of the Parisians turned pale. His uneasiness was increased as he passed through a double line of Swiss soldiers; and when he found archers and gentlemen placed in every quarter of the palace. A princess is said to have whispered to him that his death was then being discussed in the cabinet.§

On entering the king's chamber, the duke made a most respectful bow, and Henry said indignantly to him—"I sent you orders not to come to Paris." Guise, in a submissive tone, assured the king "That he had thrown himself into his majesty's arms to demand justice, and to free himself from the calumnies of his enemies; but that, notwithstanding, he certainly would not have come if he had received more clear and positive orders from his majesty." The king turned to Bellièvre to know what he had said from him, but, before he received a reply, he told Guise "That he did not know whether he had been calumniated or not, but that his innocence would be manifest if no interruption of the public tranquillity arose out of his arrival." It required all the persuasion of the queen-mother and the Duchess of Uzez to restrain the king from inflicting vengeance on Guise: they satisfied him that the time was unfavourable for such a step, and the duke was allowed to retire to his hotel in the Rue St. Antoine.||

The following night was occupied by both parties in consulting upon the measures to be taken;

* Davila, liv. 9. Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 315.

† Brother of the Historian.

‡ Davila, liv. 9.

§ Davila, liv. 9. Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 23.

|| Davila, liv. 9. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 58.

* 5th May, 1588. Proces verbal, &c. p. 158.

† Proces verbal, &c. p. 163. Davila, liv. 9.

‡ Davila, liv. 9. *Bisogna coprirsi bene il viso, innanzi che si stuzzichi il vespaio.*

§ Proces verbal, &c. p. 165.

|| Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 2, p. 49. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 43. Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 317.

¶ Davila, liv. 9.

and the next day Guise visited the queen-mother at her hotel. But he would not again trust his person to the king's vengeance, and took care to be accompanied by some resolute and trusty captains. The king was there to meet him, and the prevailing opinion in Paris was, that it was intended to have Guise dispatched.* Whether the king did contemplate such an act or not we cannot ascertain; subsequent events show that he was capable of that kind of revenge; and when Guise had entered the queen's garden the door-keeper tried to close the gate immediately; but St. Paul, a zealous friend of the duke's, forced his way in, accompanied by several friends, and swore that if there was anything to be done he would be in it.†

The king, the queen-mother, and the Duke of Guise conversed at length, but without coming to any agreement. Henry was determined to expel from the city all those who had lately arrived from the country, and who were come solely at Guise's instigation. This measure was necessary before he could attempt to bring any of the Sixteen to justice; and notwithstanding the circumstances which had followed the arrival of the Duke of Guise, the king remained firm to his resolution.

Villequier and D'O were charged by the king to expel the strangers from the city: they were occupied in so doing the whole of Wednesday, the 11th of May, but to no purpose, for the leaguers concealed them in their houses. Those gentlemen informed the king, that to expel them without violence was impossible, and it was at once decided to use force. The Swiss troops were ordered into Paris, and they entered early on the morning of the twelfth.‡ Biron had the disposing of the military, but the arrangements he made do not show him to be an experienced soldier; at least not in operations of this kind, when his only point was to prevent the populace from becoming masters of the city. As he knew that Guise was the life and soul of the sedition, he should have taken possession of all the avenues to his hotel, such as the Rue St. Antoine, the Place de la Bastille, &c.; instead of which he posted bodies of men at the burying-ground of the Innocents, on the different bridges, and at several markets and open places. A strong guard of gentlemen, archers, and musqueteers, was at the same time placed at the Louvre, with orders not to stir out.§

There were great numbers of persons in Paris who had been forced into the prevailing habits of sedition, but who, in their hearts, would have rejoiced to see the king succeed in mastering his enemies. Still they were angry that, in order to punish a few insolent rebels, he should fill Paris with troops, and subject them to all the dangers of a town taken by assault. The Sixteen turned such fears to their advantage, and circulated a report that the King had resolved to put to death one hundred and twenty of the most considerable catholics; and a list was made out of the intended victims, which began with Guise, and included all the preachers and deputies of the league. The troops being posted at so many points at once

confirmed the fears of the people, and it was in vain they were told that the king had given orders, forbidding the least insolence to any of the inhabitants on pain of death: the alarm had gone forth, and it was impossible to allay it. The tradesmen refused to open their shops; and thus added force to the panic, while the monks mounted guard in front of their convents.*

The queen-mother wished to learn what the Duke of Guise was doing, and very early on the 12th sent Louis Davila to pay him a visit upon some trifling pretence: he was desired to be particular in looking about him while at the duke's hotel. On his arrival he was surprised to find the house close shut up. He was obliged to enter by a little door; and, when he got in, he found the court filled with armed gentlemen. When he had delivered the queen's complimentary message, Guise (who was fully aware of her motive) took Davila by the hand, and led him into the garden. He showed him a prodigious quantity of arms of every kind, and pointed out to his notice a number of places full of soldiers. They parted very civilly, and Davila went back to the Louvre to make his report.

By that time the whole city was in ferment, and it was clear that instructions had been circulated to regulate the proceedings. Orders were sent to march some troops to the Place Maubert, where some people had assembled. Crillon commanded the detachment employed, but he was compelled to retire. The moment was too late to be effectual; for Bois-Dauphin, with a number of young men from the university, and the boatmen from the river, had thrown up a complete defence. Chains were placed across the streets, and the different approaches were blocked up with large pieces of timber, the stones of the pavement, and casks filled with rubbish. As Crillon was returning, he found himself shut in by a body of men under Brissac, who was the most active person on the occasion. The alarm bells were rung; cries of *to arms* resounded; the barricades were made in every direction, even up to the entrance of the Louvre; and in a short time the king's troops, who were brought into Paris to suppress the revolt, were all prisoners of the mob: the word was given to fall upon the Swiss, and a terrible butchery ensued.†

Brissac exerted his influence to save a considerable number who had thrown down their arms and called for quarter: he led them to the Marché Neuf, where they remained his prisoners. He had been very much incensed against the king, who had said of him that he was fit for nothing by sea or by land; and, in addition to the insult, he had refused to make him admiral. When therefore he surveyed the barricades, which he had first suggested, and saw the king's troops in his hands, he exclaimed with exultation—"The king shall know to-day that I have an element, and that if I am good for nothing by land or by sea, I can do something on the pavement."‡

Until the success of the barricades was certain, Guise remained in his hotel, with everything arranged for assisting his flight, if it should be necessary. When however it was ascertained that the

* Felibien, on the authority of the *Mémoires de Godefroy*, states that the king asked Alphonso Ornano what he should do. He replied, that if his majesty pleased, the duke's head should be laid at his feet. The king, however, was for different measures.—*Hist. de Paris*, vol. ii. p. 1166.

† *Hist. de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 27.

‡ Cayet, liv. 1. p. 47.

§ Davila, liv. 9.

* Davila, liv. 9. *Hist. des Derniers Troubles*, liv. 2. p. 50. Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 334.

† Davila, liv. 9. *Mém. de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 310, *et seq.*

‡ D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 74.

only chance of safety for the king was in an obstinate defence of the Louvre, he sallied forth on horseback, and rode from quarter to quarter, recommending the people to act only on the defensive, and to rely upon him. Persons had called upon him earlier in the day to stop the tumultuous proceedings: he coolly answered, that it was beyond his power to restrain them, as they were like wild bulls broken loose, and that those alone were to blame who had called in the military.* He afterwards set at liberty the Swiss. It is probable that he anticipated a more favourable result from negotiation, than could be expected from pushing his advantage. It was his interest for the present to have Henry in his power, rather than to dethrone him altogether; and until the Bourbons were formally declared incapable of succeeding to the throne, it was not the interest of the Guises to attempt his life.

The people of Paris at this time were very angry with the Queen of England for having executed Mary Queen of Scots; and Guise pretending that they contemplated an attack on the English ambassador, sent Brissac to his house with the offer of a guard. The ambassador, in thanking Guise, refused to have any protection beside that of the king. Brissac then asked the ambassador if he had arms to defend himself with? The question was deemed such as could not be put to an ambassador, and no answer was given; but afterwards being asked as a friend, he said that he had none, except the public faith and the law of nations. Brissac urged him to fasten his doors; but was told, that an ambassador's house should be always open.† The Duke of Guise was anxious that a favourable account of the affair should be sent to England, and was desirous of appearing to protect the ambassador: if he could not hope for support from the Queen of England, he might succeed in persuading her to remain neutral.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Flight of Henry III. from Paris—Deputations to Chartres—Edict of union—Attack on the Duke of Epemon—States-general of Blois—Death of the Duke and Cardinal of Guise.

As usual, the settlement of the dispute was left to the queen-mother, who went to Guise's hotel on the afternoon of the day of the barricades. The leaguers would not allow their defences to be removed for her coach, and she was compelled to go in a chair: so great was the difficulty in passing, that two hours were occupied in going to the hotel.‡ Guise dictated the most humiliating terms to the unhappy king: he demanded for himself the post of lieutenant-general, with the same authority which his father had possessed under Francis II.; in return for which he undertook to give so good an account of the Huguenots, that very soon the Catholic should be the only religion in all the kingdom: he asked for a number of places of security, and funds to pay their garrisons; the

Bourbon princes were to be declared incapable of succeeding to the crown; Epemon, D'O, Biron, and several others were to be dismissed from their employment, and their property confiscated in favour of noblemen that he (Guise) should name: the post of admiral was demanded for Mayenne, and Brissac was to be governor of Paris, with the charge of colonel-general of the infantry; besides a number of appointments for his friends; the whole to be confirmed by the states-general, which should be held in Paris without delay: the king in addition was called upon to dismiss his guard of forty-five gentlemen, a new institution which the enterprises of the league had rendered necessary for his personal safety.*

To consent to such proposals would have been equivalent to an abdication; still the queen-mother would not leave Guise without hopes. She returned to the Louvre, and showed to the king that his only chance was to leave Paris: measures were taken in consequence to mislead the Duke of Guise. For that purpose she went again the next day to renew the conference, notwithstanding her great age, and the extreme inconvenience of the transport. While her chair was being lifted over one of the barriers, a citizen, under pretence of assisting, told her in a whisper that fifteen thousand persons were going to attack the Louvre on the side next the country. She sent one of her gentlemen to tell the king, and continued her route. When she arrived at the duke's she was more obstinate than before, in order to prolong the conversation. In about two hours' time Meville, one of Guise's friends, came to tell him that the king had escaped. Guise exclaimed, "Madam, I am a dead man! While your majesty is amusing me here, the king goes away to ruin me." Catherine coolly replied, "That she did not know his determination," and returned to the Louvre, where she gave orders for the court and the guards to make haste to join his majesty.†

On hearing the message which the queen had sent him, Henry, pretending to take a walk in the garden of the Tuileries, went to the stables, where he equipped himself for his intended journey, and immediately set off on horseback, accompanied by fifteen or sixteen gentlemen. When he arrived at Chaillot, he stopped a few minutes to look at Paris. He is said to have poured out a malediction upon it and its inhabitants, and swore that he would re-enter it only through the breach. He was met by some of his court at St. Cloud, and arrived at Chartres the next day.‡

The Swiss troops were on the point of joining the league; the brave Crillon, however, made an effort to prevent it, and was successful. He went to the place where the Swiss were quartered, and addressed the colonel upon the report which had reached him. "Remember," said he, "the brave Pleiffer, your predecessor, who protected Charles IX., and brought him in safety from Meaux to Paris, in sight of a rebel army; and can you consent to abandon a king who honours you with his confidence?" Crillon declared his conviction of their innocence, although the charge was but too well founded: he then called upon them to choose

* Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 2. p. 51. Davila, liv. 9.

† Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 322. De Thou, liv. 90. Mathieu, liv. 8. p. 549. It appears from the records of the State Paper Office that Sir Edward Stafford was ambassador at Paris from 1583 to 1589.

‡ Davila, liv. 9.

* Davila, liv. 9. Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 41.

† Davila, liv. 9. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 48. Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 319.

‡ Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 321. Mathieu, Mezeray and Maimbourg.

their alternative, which was either to fight with him and his loyal followers, or to renew their oath of fidelity, and follow the king to Chartres. They all consented to follow Crillon, who had the satisfaction of calming the king's mind by the presence of an armed force which was equal to the protection of his person and court.*

The king's friends had great difficulty in escaping from the fury of the populace, who became enraged against them, when the king's flight was known. Many of them left Paris in such haste that they had not time to put on their boots. They would have had no chance of escape if the Parisians had not been so taken by surprise, that they were undecided whether to pursue those who had escaped, or to fall upon those that remained.†

The king's escape completely foiled Guise's plans: he thought he should be able to enforce the conditions he had already dictated. But by a sort of fatality he committed the same fault which Henry had previously done. The leaguers were dissatisfied with him on that account, and some recommended that the enterprise should be abandoned.‡ Pasquier observes upon this subject, "Since the duke had the imprudence to come with only six friends, the king should have arrested him: he could have done so on the Tuesday and Wednesday, because he had then all the magistrates, the respectable inhabitants, and four thousand Swiss, besides his guards; the populace therefore would not have stirred. Even on Thursday morning he could have enclosed him with his troops, if by a false policy he had not in a manner tied the hands of his soldiers, by forbidding them to fire on the people when they began the barricades. But since Guise had overcome all these dangers, he ought not to have suffered the king to escape. He should have remained close to him, and then he might have obtained from him any declaration he pleased."§ The probable fact was that he could not conceive it possible for Henry to act with so much decision.

The pope, Sixtus V., was quite concerned at the great encroachments on the authority and dignity of the French crown: he had written at the beginning of the year to Henry, exhorting him to sustain with courage the honour of his throne, and to repress with firmness the pride and insolence of his rebellious subjects. He told him in his letter, "that he should apply fire and sword to an inveterate evil; and that he should not spare the blood of his subjects, which overflowed in their veins."|| But though Henry refused to follow this recommendation, Sixtus could not conceive that he would patiently be bearded on his throne. "Oh, what a rash and imprudent man!" he exclaimed, when he heard that Guise had come to Paris, and placed himself at Henry's mercy; "Oh! what a weak prince!" he exclaimed still louder, when he heard that Henry had suffered the rebel to escape.¶ We are not informed of the exclamation he made, when he heard that Guise in turn

had suffered the king to leave Paris; but may fairly presume that it was not less characteristic of his violent and sanguinary disposition.

After some deliberation, Guise seized upon the Bastille, the Hotel-de Ville, the Châtelet, Arsenal, &c. Bussy-le-Clerc was made governor of the Bastille, and a new municipal administration was formed. Guise wished the parliament to be assembled, in order to confer importance on his arrangements by the approbation of that body. On addressing himself to the president Harlay, he was told with a severe look, "That it was much to be regretted when the valet drives away the master." Guise insisted on the necessity of certain measures which the parliament should adopt; to which Harlay replied, "When the majesty of the prince is violated, the magistrates have no longer any authority." The president Brisson was more complacent; and either through weakness, or a secret attachment to the league, he consented to the duke's proposal. The barricades were taken down in a day or two; St. Cloud, Vincennes, Charenton and other places around, submitted to Guise; and the public peace was restored. The chiefs of the league addressed circulars to their friends in the provinces, and Guise addressed several letters to the king, probably with the hope of drawing him back to Paris. The king on his part published an account of the occurrence, which, by its humble tone, forms a striking contrast to the bold language of the Duke of Guise.*

The queen remained in Paris to treat with Guise: she availed herself of the mediation of the Duchess of Montpensier, whom she lured with the hope of marrying the Cardinal of Bourbon. They persuaded Guise to be reconciled to the king; and the leaguers went in solemn procession to Chartres, to express their regret at what had occurred, and to induce the king to return to his capital. A procession of persons, in the habit of penitents, was made, to pray God to soften the king's heart: they set out afterwards for Chartres to address the king. "At the head of it," says De Thou, "appeared a man with a great beard, dirty and greasy, covered with hair-cloth, and wearing a broad belt, upon which hung a crooked sabre; at intervals he sent forth some harsh discordant sounds from an old rusty trumpet. After him marched fiercely three other men equally filthy, each of them having on his head a greasy pot, instead of a helmet; bearing coats of mail upon their hair-cloth, with brassards and gauntlets: their arms were rusty old halberts. These three braggadoccios rolled about their wild and savage eyes, and bustled a great deal to keep off the crowd collected by this spectacle. After them came brother Ange de Joyeuse, that courtier who had turned capucin the year before. He had been persuaded, in order to move Henry, to represent in this procession the Saviour going up to Calvary: he had suffered himself to be bound, and to have his face painted with drops of blood, which appeared to flow from his thorn-crowned head. He seemed to drag with difficulty a long cross of painted pasteboard; and at intervals he threw himself down, uttering lamentable groans. At his sides marched two young capucins clothed in white robes; one representing the Virgin, the other the Magdalen. They turned their eyes devoutly towards heaven, shedding false tears; and every time bro-

* Vie de Crillon, vol. ii. p. 4.

† Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 3. p. 61. Davila, liv. 9.

‡ The following is an extract of a letter from the governor of Orleans: "Notre grand n'a su exécuter son dessein; s'étant le Roi sauvé à Chartres, par quoi je suis d'avis que vous vous retirez, en vos maisons, le plus doucement que pourrez, sans faire semblant d'avoir rien vu; et si n'y pensez être sûrement, venez ici."—*Mem. de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 313.

§ Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 340.

|| Lett. Vita di Sisto V.

¶ De Thou, liv. 90.

* Davila, liv. 9. Mathieu, liv. 8. Cayet, liv. 1. *Mem. de la Ligue*, vol. ii. pp. 313—342. Villeroi, v. 7.

ther Ange fell down they prostrated themselves before him in cadence. Four satellites, resembling the three former, held the cord which bound brother Ange, and gave him blows with a scourge, which were heard at some distance. A long train of penitents closed this ludicrous procession."

When this pious masquerade passed before the court at Chartres, Crillon, who stood by the king, called out to those who scourged brother Ange, "Strike in good earnest; whip away! he is a coward, who has taken the frock that he may bear arms no longer." The king was disgusted with the indecent spectacle, and seriously reprimanded his former favourite for turning into a farce the sacred mystery of the redemption. He told him also that they had abused his credulity in persuading him to put himself at the head of the rebels, under the pretext of religion; "And I know," said Henry, raising his voice, "there are many rebels in this procession."*

Soon after this burlesque, a deputation waited on the king: it consisted of the most respectable inhabitants of Paris; and their address was in the most humble style of contrition. When the speaker had concluded his harangue, he respectfully presented a statement of their request, comprising five articles: the extirpation of heresy by the united forces of the king and the league; the banishment of Epemon and La Valette, his brother; a full amnesty for the disturbance in Paris; the confirmation of the new appointments to offices since the barricades; and the revival of the old ordinances of the kingdom, restoring to the parliaments the right of verifying new edicts, and remonstrating upon them. The king, in reply, told them, that he fully intended assembling the states-general, as the most complete as well as the safest remedy for the disorders of the kingdom; that there he would not neglect the fears entertained by the Catholics of falling under the dominion of the heretics; that as to the particular complaint against the Duke of Epemon and his brother, he would show that he was a just and equitable prince, who would injure no one, and would prefer the public advantage to every other consideration.†

The parliament was unwilling to appear forgetful of the sovereign, or to countenance revolt by omitting any display of loyal homage: that body also sent a deputation to express to his majesty the regret they experienced at the misfortune which had forced him to quit Paris, to claim his clemency for the offenders, and to entreat him to return to his capital. Henry told them that he would treat them as children, not as slaves, and sent them away. But in the afternoon he sent for them again, and charged them to threaten the Parisians with the removal of the royal courts, if they persisted in their factious behaviour. "I know," said the king, "that some persuade them, that, having offended me as they have done, my indignation is beyond the power of reconciliation; but I wish you to inform them that I have neither the wish nor the humour to ruin them; and as God does not desire the death of a sinner, neither do I, his unworthy image on earth, desire their destruction." His speech was rather lengthy: he appealed to the history of his life, and said, "It is absurd to make a pretext of religion: you should adopt some other

plan: there is not in the whole world a more Catholic prince than myself; and my actions and my life have sufficiently testified it." He concluded with a short exhortation, and dismissed them.*

In the mean time the nation seemed to shudder at the recent insult offered to the monarch. Not only a large proportion of the Parisians, who already perceived the injury their affairs would suffer from the absence of the court, and such of the nobility as considered the barricades too bold a measure, but several large towns, sent addresses, inviting his majesty to repair thither to receive their warm greetings, and accept of their faithful services. Lyons, in particular, had sent deputies for that purpose, but it was so distant from the centre of operations that Rouen was preferred. The king, on arriving at that city, was received with unusual demonstrations of joy.†

During the king's stay at Rouen there was a constant interchange of couriers with Paris: the queen being in correspondence with her son, and Guise with his agents. Henry was never absent from the consultations of his ministers; but he heard their discussions with indifference, and employed the intervals in light pastimes, apparently as a relief for his painful reflections.‡ An edict was at last produced, which was announced as the Edict of Union, but which is more generally known as the second Edict of July.§ The Leaguers testified great joy at the articles agreed upon between Guise and the queen-mother; and with reason, for every item was in their favour except one, which stipulated that the Bastille should be given up to the king: that article was never executed. The league considered they had gained a victory, and Henry confirmed that opinion by publishing an order for the states-general to meet at Blois, in the month of October. Guise was named commander-general of the gend'armerie; an appointment equal to that of constable: he met the king at Chartres with great cordiality. The Cardinal of Bourbon was declared, by edict, the first prince of the blood, and next in succession to the crown.||

Still the king refused to return to Paris; and we are told by Mathieu, that he signed the edict with tears in his eyes.¶ Two armies were raised to send against the Huguenots; but the command of one was given to the Duke of Nevers, who was at variance with the Duke of Guise; the king's confidants were D'Aumont, Rambouillet, and others, who were by no means friendly with him; and a complete change in the administration took place, by the dismissals of Chiverny, Villeroi, Bellièvre, and others, who had advised the reconciliation with the league: their places were filled by persons recommended by Nevers, who had deserted the Holy Union.**

Whether it formed a part of the king's policy to deprive the Duke of Epemon of the government of Angoulême, or that Villeroi acted with

* Cayet, liv. 1, p. 67. De Thou, liv. 91. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 3. p. 89. *et seq.* Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 362.

† Cayet, liv. 11 p. 69. Davila, liv. 9.

‡ De Thou, liv. 91.

§ It was agreed upon the 15th, signed by the king on the 16th, and registered in parliament the 21st July, 1588.

|| The letters-patent for Guise were dated the 14th of August; the edict for the Cardinal of Bourbon the 17th of August, 1588. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 74.

** Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 3. p. 102.

¶ Davila, liv. 9. Maimbourg, Hist. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 68.

* De Thou, liv. 90.

† Cayet, liv. 1. p. 62. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 3. p. 86—9. De Thou, liv. 91.

treachery towards him, and surreptitiously obtained the king's signature to the instrument, is uncertain; but orders were sent to that town to refuse him admittance.* Epemon, however, had quitted his residence at Loches earlier than the court expected, and arrived at Angoulême before the orders were received. The mayor of the town was a zealous leaguer, and resolved on seizing him in the castle. He entered the place with ten men well armed; and the duke's attendants being quite off their guard, they succeeded in penetrating to the antechamber of his apartment. A violent struggle ensued; several were killed on both sides; but the noise brought other persons to the duke's assistance. The alarm spread through the town, and the populace having been inflamed by various statements, injurious to the duke, followed the example of the Parisians, and made barricades in every direction. But Epemon having the citadel with the garrison for him, in addition to those troops stationed at the chateau, or governor's residence, was able to suppress this tumult, though not without considerable danger and exertion. The duchess had just before left the chateau to go to mass, and fell into the hands of the leaguers. That however did not prevent him from valiantly defending the place, and declaring that he would give no quarter to any that fell into his hands. After thirty hours' fighting, the arrival of some gens-d'armes made the people wish to settle the affair; and, by the mediation of the bishop, an accommodation was brought about. The nobles attached to the league quitted the town, and the Duke of Epemon remained governor: he had shown great personal courage in defending himself, and his moderation afterwards was equally great, for he took no measures whatever to resent the attack upon him, except refusing the customary honours at the funeral of the mayor, who fell in the fray.†

The court arrived at Blois on the 27th of September. The king was desirous of giving every importance to the assembly about to be held; and ordered a magnificent procession for the Sunday following the 2nd of October. On the 9th, the sacrament of the eucharist was administered to all the deputies present; the king and Guise receiving it together at the hands of the Cardinal of Bourbon, with the appearance of the most perfect reconciliation. It was not till the 16th the estates were opened.‡

The meeting was held in the great hall of the castle: the majority of the deputies were leaguers, and Guise reckoned on certainly obtaining the full extent of his wishes: he opened the session as grand master of the king's household. "The deputies having entered," says the historian Mathieu, "and the door being shut, the Duke of Guise, seated in a chair, clothed in a dress of white satin, the cape thrown across, his eye piercing into the very thickest of the assembly to recognise and distinguish his servants, and with a single glance to strengthen them in the hope of advancing his designs, his fortune, and his grandeur, and silently to tell them, 'I see you,' rose, and after making

a reverence, followed by two hundred gentlemen and captains of the guards, went to fetch the king, who entered full of majesty, wearing his grand order at his neck."*

The speeches made at the opening of the states-general contained nothing remarkable; the second sitting was on the Tuesday following, when the Archbishop of Ambrun, representing the clergy, the Count de Brissac, the noblesse, and the advocate Bernard, the *Tiers Etat*, solicited the king to swear anew the oath of union. Henry found fault with such distrust; "For having already sworn it at Rouen, there was," said he "no occasion to renew the oath:" notwithstanding, to satisfy the league, he consented, and the sitting commenced with his taking it. Silence being proclaimed by a herald, the king said, "That in the former sitting he had testified his desire to see all his subjects united in the true Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion; and having given an edict in the month of July last, to effect that object, he wished it to be read publicly, and receive the solemn assent of the assembly." The edict was read by Beaulieu, the secretary; and the Archbishop of Bourges seriously exhorted the meeting upon it: after which the king and all the deputies swore to observe and to maintain it as a fundamental law of the kingdom. So great was the joy of all present at the king's piety, that shouts of *Vive le Roy* resounded from all parts; and the assembly followed him to church to sing a *Te Deum*.†

Thus far the king and the states-general were in union; but Guise had expectations of being proclaimed lieutenant-general of the kingdom by the assembly, who would at the same time exclude the Bourbon princes from the succession. The death of the king would then leave him a free course for his ambition, even on the supposition that he would be satisfied with waiting for his death. The king had received information of Guise's ambitious schemes, and therefore is thought to have practised great dissimulation when he made a public protestation of having forgotten the past, and sent an assurance to that effect to the people of Paris.

After the treaty of July, 1588, between the king and the league, Guise received a letter from the Archbishop of Lyons, containing advice for his government and conduct. The prelate described the prudence of Charles Martel, and showed how necessary it was for him to be either lieutenant-general or constable, and to have the majority of the courtiers dependent upon him: he thus concludes—"This is what I wish to see, in order that we may afterwards consider what you should do to attain your object," &c.‡

Soon after a circumstance occurred which alarmed the whole court, and might have produced results of a serious nature. Its only consequence, however, was to display the devotedness of Guise's followers and the animosity which prevailed among all ranks, connected with either the king's party, or the league. On the night of the 4th of November a quarrel arose between a servant of the *Guisard* party, and the Duke of Montpensier's page. The servant was killed; and both parties took arms, collected their friends, and began a

* Mem. d'Etat, vol. i. p. 80. Villeroy, of course, insists upon having done no more than he was commanded.

† D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 121. De Thou, liv. 92. Cayet, liv. 1, p. 80. Davila, liv. 9, Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 3, p. 107.

‡ Davila, liv. 9.

* Mathieu, liv. 8. p. 631.

† Cayet, liv. 1. p. 95. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 4. p. 120. Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 508. Davila, liv. 9.

‡ Villeroy, vol. iii. p. 124.

terrible conflict. The Guisards had the advantage, and drove their opponents back into the king's residence.* The arrival of the military quelled the tumult, but the king was alarmed until the affair was cleared up: he was persuaded that it was a plan of Guise's to attack him; and this proof of the hatred between the parties, and the readiness of the duke's followers to proceed to extremities, was an additional cause of disquiet, as it held out so much encouragement to his ambitious schemes.

But Guise's audacity in a certain degree prevented his own success: ambition had blinded his prudence; and as he had escaped unhurt from the interview at Paris, he fancied it beyond the king's power to molest him. His haughtiness had destroyed the friendship which many of the nobles had entertained for him; and their coolness being converted into jealousy, they informed the monarch of various circumstances which called for the greatest energy on his part. The Cardinal of Guise gave scope to the most licentious raileries on the king, and frequently said that he ought to be shut up in a monastery, and that he should feel extreme pleasure in holding his head while he received a capucin's crown. The Duchess of Montpensier was furious against the king: she constantly exhibited a pair of scissors, which she said she kept ready to give Henry a monachal crown, whenever he was confined in a convent;† and one of the deputies of the clergy called the barricades a holy and blessed event, even in the king's presence.‡ These things, added to the hostile operations of the Duke of Savoy, who was strongly suspected of acting in concert with Guise, made Henry resolve to adopt some strong measure towards this insolent subject. The Duke of Savoy had seized upon the marquise of Saluces; and the general feeling of the states-general was to lay aside domestic quarrels, and attack the stranger: Guise was opposed to this, and said that the war with Savoy need not make any difference in the war with the Huguenots—at the same time taking measures for making the war impracticable, by spreading a report that the king himself had concerted the invasion of the Duke of Savoy, in order to prevent the execution of the edicts against the heretics.§

Guise, in the extent of his influence, and the importance of his functions, resembled the ancient mayors of the palace; and Henry's mind was alive to that resemblance, as well as to the parallel conclusion, which was contemplated. Every day, during his residence at Blois, he was informed of some fresh insult on the part of the Guises. Among others, Marshal d'Aumont informed him of the duke's proposal to join in compelling his majesty to deprive the Duke of Montpensier of the government of Normandy, and promising to confer it on him as a reward.|| This desire to remove a prince of the blood from his post inclined the king to give more credit to a communication sent by the Duchess of Anjou, informing him of the intended attempt to seize his person, and confine him in a convent, at the same time advising him to anticipate the blow. Letters were also received from the Dukes of Mayenne and Epemon, stating that an attempt upon his person was under discussion.¶

* Davila, liv. 9. † De Thou, liv. 93.

‡ Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 362.

§ Davila, liv. 9. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 97.

|| De Thou, liv. 93.

¶ Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 4. p. 142. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 149. Mem. de Nevers, vol. ii. p. 63.

We know not the precise time when these communications were made to the king; but the journal of the time informs us, "That, on the 4th of December, the king swore upon the sacrament at the altar perfect reconciliation and friendship with the Duke of Guise, and forgetfulness of all past quarrels; and which he did apparently quite freely; he even declared, in order to amuse that party, that he was resolved to leave the management of affairs to his cousin of Guise and to the queen his mother, in order to occupy himself entirely with prayer and penitence."* What a dreadful display of impious perfidy! It is true that he did not finally resolve on putting Guise to death till the eighteenth;† but it is also known that, previous to the meeting of the states at Blois, he had contemplated some strong measure. Both he and Guise were trying to surprise each other, and each was aware of the other's design.

When the king was convinced that it was absolutely necessary for him to strike the fatal blow, or consent to be struck, he consulted with Marshal d'Aumont, Beauvais-Nangis, and two others, but without calling in the queen-mother. After detailing the injuries he had received from Guise, he asked for their sincere opinions upon the conduct he should follow in his dangerous situation. The first who gave his sentiments recommended the arrest of Guise and his chief partisans, and that they should be tried by the parliament; but upon consideration it was judged impracticable, on account of the number of his friends, and the influence of his party. It was then agreed upon that his guilt of high treason and rebellion was clear; that as he was above the control of the laws, he could be punished without the formalities of justice, and that there was no other way to prevent him from carrying into effect the design which he was known to be planning against the king.‡

The measures being decided on, Henry looked around for a person capable of executing it, and fixed his eye on Crillon; he considered a refusal from him very improbable, for the Duke of Guise had demanded his banishment as one of the conditions of reconciliation. He sent for him, and, after exposing the Duke's crimes, he said, "Do you think he merits death?" "Yes," answered Crillon. "Well, then," said the king, "you are the man I have chosen to punish him." Crillon was delighted at the honor of being the champion of his sovereign, and said, "I will meet him, and my sword shall pierce his heart, even if I receive his in my own bosom, and die with him." "Stop," said Henry, "I do not wish to get rid of the chief of the rebels by exposing the life of my friend; your existence is dear to me; we must strike him without compromising you." Crillon shuddered with horror at the proposal, and felt inexpressible regret that the king should have thought him capable of such an act: at the same time to prevent any fear of his betraying the secret, he offered to remain in custody. His word, however, was sufficient for the monarch. Loignac, captain of the guards, called the *Forty-five*, undertook the commission: the whole of that body were devoted to

* Journal de Henri III.

† Davila, liv. 9.

‡ Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 4. Davila, liv. 9. Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 366.

Epernon, and in consequence were enemies of Guise.*

In the mean time Guise's friends became alarmed for his safety, and urged him to retire from Blois. The king's patience had excited their suspicions, which were in a great measure confirmed by their anxious inquiries. But Guise paid no attention to their entreaties, and the day before that which was intended for his assassination, he found on sitting down to table a note in the folds of his napkin, containing a caution against an intended attack upon him. He merely wrote upon it with his pencil, "They would not dare attempt it," and threw it under the table.†

On the 22nd of December the king sent word to Guise, that as he purposed going to Notre-Dame de Cléry to pass the festival of Christmas, he should hold his council early the next morning. Loignac at the same time received his instructions; he had entered by a private door, accompanied by thirteen of the most resolute of his company. Henry addressed them in a few words, and promised them great rewards. He gave each of them a poniard and said, "This is the greatest criminal in my kingdom, and the laws, both human and divine, allow me to punish him; but not being able to do so by the ordinary ways of justice, I authorise you by my royal prerogative." He then placed them in an antechamber, through which the duke would pass.

The Duke and the Cardinal of Guise consulted with the Archbishop of Lyons on the propriety of retiring from Blois. They considered the advantage which Henry's friends would gain over them if they withdrew from the conclusion of the states-general; and things had proceeded so far, that the retreat of one party was certain victory for the other. These considerations, added to the most complete contempt for the king, made them pay no further attention to the warnings which they continued to receive till the last moment: Guise passed the night with the Marchioness of Noirmoutier,‡ who had come to Blois on purpose to persuade him to remove, but nothing could induce him to change his opinion.

Early the next morning he went to the council, and when he had entered the castle the gates were shut. Pericard, his secretary, observing this, wrote a note and sent it to the duke folded in a handkerchief: the note contained another warning, but the bearer was not able to obtain admission. Guise being in the hall was observed to look pale: different reasons have been assigned for it, but the most probable is, that, on finding himself surrounded by soldiers of the *Forty-five*, and none of those persons being present who were usually in attendance, he called to mind his repeated warnings, and too late regretted his blind presumption. Presently he was summoned to the king's presence, and as he approached the door one of the assassins stabbed him in the breast; the others did the same; and the duke before he died had only time to make a short exclamation, the substance of which is not known with any certainty.§ The Cardinal of Guise hearing the noise immediately

suspected that it was an attack upon his brother: he and the Archbishop of Lyons ran to the door to give the alarm, and call their friends; but the Marshals d'Aumont and De Retz arrested and placed them in a small room under a strong guard. At the same time were arrested the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Prince of Joinville, then become Duke of Guise by his father's death, the Dukes of Elbeuf and Nemours, and the Duchess of Nemours, Guise's mother. The principal leaguers in the town were also taken into custody, and among them Pericard, the duke's secretary, by which means the king obtained a number of letters and papers, which showed that he had received considerable sums from Spain to promote his enterprise.*

When the door of the ante-chamber was thrown open the king came out of his apartment with his suite: many of the courtiers made jesting remarks upon the *King of Paris*, and Henry himself is said to have kicked the dead body of his enemy.† The king then went to his mother's chamber to inform her of what had taken place. She was ill in bed, and had asked several times what was the cause of the noise and bustle, but no one had dared to inform her of it. The queen having informed her son that she felt rather better, he answered, "And so do I, for this morning I have become King of France, having put to death the King of Paris."

"You have killed the Duke of Guise," said Catherine; "God grant that this death do not make you king of nothing. Have you considered the consequences? Two things are necessary for you, diligence and resolution:" she also recommended him to send Cardinal Gondy to inform the legate.‡

After hearing mass, the king had a long conversation with Cardinal Morosini, the legate. He endeavoured to convince him of the necessity in which he had found himself placed to save his crown and his life by that method; concluding by a request that he would inform the pope of all those reasons before the misrepresentations of his enemies should raise an unfavourable opinion of him in the mind of his holiness.§ Morosini, perceiving the necessity of humouring the king to prevent his thinking of a peace with the Huguenots, answered him with great address; while Henry was so anxious to preserve the pope's friendship, that he swore to the legate that if Sixtus would co-operate with him, he would make still greater exertions to exterminate the heretics from his kingdom, in which he was resolved to suffer none but the true religion to be exercised. The legate was well aware of all the circumstances respecting Guise's death, and Henry's communication taught him nothing fresh on that subject; but the king's principal aim was to have his sentiments respecting the Cardinal of Guise, whose death he had also contemplated. The legate, however, avoided that subject, and pretended not to know that the Cardinal and the Archbishop of Lyons were in prison: he continued his familiarity with the king, went with him to mass, and gave him marks of particular confidence. This line of conduct was interpreted by

* D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 151. Davila, liv. 9. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 4. p. 147. Cayet, liv. 1. pp. 105—110.

† Journal de Henri III.

‡ Davila, liv. 9. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 153. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 4. p. 149.

§ The correspondence with Cardinal Joyeuse, then at Rome, throws great light on the projects of the Guises. It is given at length by Villeroy, vol. iii.

* Davila, liv. 9. Vie de Crillon, vol. ii. p. 24.

† Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 4. p. 146. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 151.

‡ She was well known for her gallantries as Madame de Sauve.

§ Some say it was *Dieu ayez pitié de moi!* Others, *Ah! trahit-il roi!*

the king's friends as a silent approbation of his vengeance, and made many think that the pope was previously informed of his intentions.*

The king, finding the cardinal's imprisonment did not create any opposition from the legate ; and being informed of the violent threats he had made on hearing of his brother's death ; and the dread of his revenge, if he lived, operating on many of the king's advisers, his death also was decided on.† But a fresh difficulty arose : the assassins, who had murdered the duke without scruple, refused to stain their hands with the blood of an ecclesiastic. At last four soldiers were found, whose objections were overcome by a promise of four hundred crowns. They proceeded, on the morning of the twenty-fourth, to the room where the cardinal and his companion had passed a troubled night. On opening the door, they called forth the archbishop, telling him the king wanted him. The two prisoners received each other's confession, and were both in expectation of being murdered : as the archbishop quitted the chamber, they mutually exhorted each other to think of God. After conducting the archbishop to another room, Du Guast, who commanded the assassins, returned and told the cardinal he had the king's orders to kill him. "Execute your commission," said the cardinal, after a short pause occupied in prayer, at the same time covering his head with his gown : the soldiers immediately put him to death with their spears.‡

The two bodies were placed in quicklime to destroy the flesh, the bones were afterwards burnt to ashes, and thrown away by the king's orders : he was fearful that their remains would be treated by the league as holy relics §.

Thus perished the Duke and Cardinal of Guise : had their death been attended with the bare forms of justice, there would exist but one opinion on the subject. They had succeeded in establishing such a power in the state, that they could set the laws at defiance ; and it must also be recollected, that, according to the ultramontane notions, then bearing such terrible sway, the Cardinal of Guise could not be brought to judgment by the king of France. These circumstances should have their weight in estimating the king's conduct. Unhappily for him, he had been nurtured in bigotry, and trained to dissimulation. The former prevented him from acting fairly by those who would have preserved him from the dreadful dilemma in which he found himself ; while the latter became a ready resource,

when he discovered the necessity of adopting this measure as his only alternative.

The Duke of Guise is described as having excelled in every quality required in nobles of the time ; and the cardinal was reputed to be learned, generous, of a penetrating mind and a courageous spirit. But although the establishment of the league, and the circumstances to which it gave rise, raised the two brothers to the first degree of importance during the political hurricane, they can never be compared to their father, Francis, Duke of Guise, and his brother the Cardinal of Lorraine.

CHAPTER XL.

Death of Catherine de Medicis—Conclusion of the States-general—Violence of the League in Paris—Mayenne appointed Lieutenant-general.

THE death of the Guises completely changed the face of affairs : the king, however, did not derive from the event those advantages which had been expected. As so strong a measure had not been decided upon without mature deliberation, it should have been promptly followed up with vigour ; and Henry ought to have attacked his revolted subjects before they had time to recover from the amazement into which the loss of their chief had thrown them ; but his orders were barely carried into execution when he almost regretted having given them. Irresolution, his bane, again possessed him, and he seemed to recoil from his own work.

Of all the leaguers taken into custody when Guise was killed, there remained in a few days only the young Duke of Guise, the Duke of Elbœuf, the Cardinal of Bourbon, and the Archbishop of Lyons : they were confined in separate apartments in the castle of Amboise, and Du Guast, the assassin of the cardinal, was intrusted with the charge of them. The Duke of Nemours made his escape, and returned to Paris ; the Duchess of Nemours (the mother of the Guises), was set at liberty in consideration of her birth, being a grand-daughter of Louis XII. ; and the different deputies to the states-general were enlarged on the plea of public faith. The Duke of Mayenne was at Lyons, and Alphonso Ornano was sent to arrest him, but without success : for directly the death of Guise was known, two leaguers had quitted Blois to warn the remaining hope of their party ; and they had no time to spare, for Mayenne quitted Lyons by one gate as Ornano entered by another. He went at once to Dijon, where he was governor.* A similar activity on the part of the league anticipated the king in getting possession of Orleans.† Henry was urged to take the field, to recall the army from Poitou, and prevent Mayenne from collecting his forces. He thought, however, that he should be joined by the Catholics of the League, whose aim being more to suppress the Huguenots than to assist the Guises, would cheerfully help him in subduing the King of Navarre, and thus enable him to restore order. He contented himself therefore with publishing a declaration, justifying his conduct towards the Guises, and renewing the edict of union, to shew his attachment to the Catholic faith. Had he shown

* Cayet, liv. 1. p. 110. Davila, liv. 9. p. 553. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 152. Leti, liv. 10. But Maimbourg, upon the authority of Morosini's letter to the Cardinal Montalto, asserts that the interview between the king and the legate did not take place till the 26th, that is, after the death of the Cardinal. However, as Cayet, Davila, and D'Aubigné were contemporaries, and Gregorio Leti was in a situation to be well informed of the merits of the case, I have adopted their version, and am the more satisfied in so doing as Sixtus was very angry with his legate for being so friendly with the king : Morosini's letter, therefore, was a defence of his own conduct, and being *ex parte*, is not of such an overwhelming authority as to reduce contrary statements to "fictions such as poets only are allowed to use." See *Hist. de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 91.

† Vedendo dunque il re che il legato (che fu effettivamente la causa della morte del cardinale, & almeno da questo hebbe origine la risoluzione) non faceva alcuno caso, nè si turbava della prigione di Cardinale, deliberò di passare innanzi, e liberarsi del Cardinale di Ghisa. Leti, parte 2ª lib. 5ª. p. 396. Losanna, 1669.

‡ D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 152. Davila, liv. 9. *Hist. des Derniers Troubles*, liv. 4.

§ Journal de Henri III., and D'Aubigné. Henry, Duke of Guise, was born in 1550. Louis, the cardinal, in 1553.

* Davila, liv. 9.

† Cayet, liv. 1. p. 113. *Hist. des Derniers Troubles*, liv. 4. p. 149.

himself before Orleans, his presence alone would have preserved that city from joining in the rebellion; but he ridiculed the advice which was given him both to that effect, and also to unite with the King of Navarre, a measure which ultimately he could not avoid.*

Soon after the Cardinal of Guise was killed, two counsellors and a clerk were sent to the Archbishop of Lyons, to question him upon the charges against the Duke of Guise. The archbishop told them, that as they were laymen they had no jurisdiction over him, and that he should not answer their questions. When this answer was reported to the king, he sent Cardinal Gondy to speak to him.† The archbishop said, he had nothing to allege against the cardinal or the Duke of Guise, but that if he had, he neither could nor would be questioned, except by the pope, or some one delegated by him; for, as Primate of all Gaul, he had no other judge; and that even he, the cardinal, was under his primacy, being Bishop of Paris. "But," added he, "if Cardinal Morosini, his holiness's legate, finds, on consulting with the other prelates, who are assembled for the States-general, that I ought to reply, I will follow their decision; for then it will be they, and not I, who infringe upon the rights of ecclesiastics." Nearly a fortnight was occupied in discussing whether the king did or did not possess the right of judging a bishop of his kingdom; after which, the Bishop of Beauvais, and Ruzé, a secretary of state, went to the Archbishop, and exhorted him to conform to the king's wishes, urging as a reason for his compliance, that his life had been spared. But the archbishop was inflexible; he asked the bishop in what capacity he came: "If you come," said he, "as a bishop, you cannot interrogate your superior; if as a peer, it is a lay office to which I cannot submit: thank God I know the privileges and authority of the church; I cannot think that the king wishes me to disregard them; and as he has given me my life, he surely will leave free my conscience also, which is dearer to me than a thousand lives." The archbishop concluded by requesting his majesty to allow him to be accompanied by some ecclesiastic, and to hear mass in his room, which permission was readily given.‡

The queen-mother died on the fifth of January, 1589. She went to see the Cardinal of Bourbon, soon after the death of Guise: as she entered his room he exclaimed, "Ah, Madam! you have led us all to be slaughtered." She assured him that she had not the least idea of it before it took place, and that she felt an unspeakable regret that it had occurred; but the Cardinal's reproaches became still more violent, and she felt severely the reflection, that she should have made herself liable to such a charge, by a long series of duplicity and cruelty. She went home and became a prey to the violent conflict of her ideas.§ On her death-bed she is said to have exhorted the king to attach himself to the Princes of Bourbon, and especially to the King of Navarre; and to have impressed on his mind, that he never could have peace unless he granted liberty of conscience to his subjects.||

Those of the queen-mother's deeds which are

known with certainty, (without considering those which are imputed to her with every appearance of probability,) display her character more clearly than language can describe it: still the fact of those charges against her being currently received, evidently proves that by the nation at large she was thought to be capable of any crime. A notion prevailed at Florence, that, when her nativity was cast, the astrologers declared that if she lived she would be the cause of very great calamities, and would totally ruin the family into which she married, and the place where she might settle. The Florentines, thinking she might cause their ruin, proposed when Clement VII. besieged them to expose her to the enemy's fire; and a preacher in his sermons recommended her to be disposed of in some manner: among other things it was suggested to place her in a brothel, and keep her ignorant of her birth.*

She possessed a strong mind, a persuasive eloquence, and an invention so ready that she never wanted an expedient: this to be sure was more easy for her than for others; because, to effect her purposes, she never considered any means improper or unjust. In furtherance of her artful plans, she availed herself of the licentiousness of the court, and by her encouragement raised it to a pitch of unparalleled dissoluteness and infamy. Her principal weakness was the habit of frequently consulting astrologers; but in the exercise of her cruelty and perfidy: she became so much detested by both Catholics and Protestants that her foibles were thrown in the shade. Being entirely taken up with the weightier matters of public affairs, she paid little or no attention to those subjects which generally occupy the minds of ladies of rank, and appears to have cared but little for the adulations which are invariably offered to a female sovereign.† The feelings of vanity were smothered in her breast by the calculations of policy, and the spurings of ambition: indeed this latter impulse was too strong to allow maternal affection to have its proper sway; for she encouraged her children in habits of licentiousness, in order to make them subservient to her purposes, and to prevent them from becoming obstacles to her views, instead of exciting them to actions worthy of their important station in society. Brantome extols her as being unequalled in the management of a splendid court, and attempts to answer many of the charges against her; while Davila attributes the greater part of those charges to malice or ignorance. The facts, however, are too well authenticated for her reputation to admit of much defence: she possessed good qualifications rather than good qualities, and the good which she effected was only momentary, while the injuries she inflicted on the country were of long duration. Catherine de Medicis, at the time of her decease, was in the seventieth year of her age.

The people of Paris, thinking she was concerned in the murder of the Guises, declared that if

* Discours de la Vie de Catherine de Medicis, p. 355.

† After a long conference at St. Bris with the King of Navarre, finding she could not bring him to accept her terms, she asked him if the trouble she had taken was to produce no effect; adding that she wished for nothing more than peace. "Madam," said Navarre, "it is not my fault that you do not sleep in your own bed: but you prevent me from sleeping in mine; the trouble you take gratifies and nourishes you, for quiet is the greatest enemy of your life."—*Perceux*, liv. 1. p. 56.

* Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 4. p. 153.

† Peter Gundy, Bishop of Paris and Cardinal, born at Lyons in 1533; died 1616. He was brother of Marshal de Retz.

‡ Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 4. p. 151. Davila, liv. 9.

§ Brantome, vol. i. p. 119. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 153. Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 377. Mathieu, liv. 8. p. 669.

|| De Bury, *Hist. de Henri IV.*, vol. i. p. 245.

her body came there in its way to St. Denis, they would drag it through the streets, and throw it into the river.*

The states-general were closed on the sixteenth of January, as the confusion of public affairs prevented any probable benefit being derived from their consultations. Previous to their separation each order presented a remonstrance to the King on the different disorders and irregularities in the government. The principal grievance in the eyes of the clergy was the alienation of the church lands. "Saint Augustin and several good fathers, said the Archbishop of Bourges, have permitted the sale and alienation of church property for redeeming captives, and for the poor; but that was the plate and money belonging to the church, for the alienation of church lands is without example. Charles Martel alone has made himself infamous by attempting to obtain the estates of the church; and a horrible serpent was afterwards found in his tomb. Not all the wars against the Albigenes, nor the distresses of the wars against the English, have been able to destroy this palladium, so much as the suggestions of concealed Huguenots."†

The remonstrance of the noblesse, presented by the Count de Brissac, was as inveterate against the Huguenots as that of the clergy; but while they were willing to help the king against that *most dangerous and abominable sect*, whose impiety being extreme should be chastised with extreme severity, they would not overlook their own exclusive interests, and called on his majesty to prevent persons from obtaining, by money or other means, the rank and privileges of gentlemen.‡

Bernard, the speaker of the *Tiers Etat*, commenced his harangue, by solemnly thanking the king for his promise to execute the holy edict of union, which he stated to be written by divine inspiration, and which would dissipate heresy, as fogs are scattered by the sun. But the picture which he afterwards gave of the state of society was sufficient to prevent any very considerable benefit to be expected from it. "Blasphemy," said he, "is the ordinary conversation of many, and adultery is their recreation; magic employs their minds, and occupies their curiosity; and simony is their common trade. Thus the splendour of justice is dimmed, good customs are perverted, virtue is banished, and vice placed in authority; while rapine strides through the kingdom with an unfurled standard."§

Henry's zeal for the Catholic church was well known. Duplessis-Mornay, writing to the King of Navarre, says, "Sire, I persist in my opinion of yesterday; the king will continue the war against you, unless his plans are traversed by the remains of the league faction: at any rate, he will not dare to speak of peace."|| But that did not preserve him from the vengeance of the enraged Sixtus V., who, after expressing his regret that Henry should suffer so tamely the insolence of the league, was surprised to find that he had inflicted capital punishment on a cardinal. When he heard that Guise was killed, he told the Cardinal Joyeuse, that, if he had been King of France, he would have

done the same; but the news of the cardinal's arrest had put him in so violent a rage, that when Cardinal Gondy arrived at Rome, he sat up a whole night with the Marquis Pisany, the French ambassador, consulting on the best means of preparing the pontiff for the news of which he was the bearer. It was impossible to avoid irritating him exceedingly by the communication, and he refused to hear anything of the king's attachment to the church. Sixtus said it was useless to talk of Henry's submission to the church, while he held prisoners the Cardinal of Bourbon and the Archbishop of Lyons: "Your master," said he to the messengers, "thinks to deceive me, and treats me as if I were no more than a poor monk; but you shall find that you deceive yourselves, and that you have to deal with a pontiff who is ready to shed plenty of blood when the honour and interest of the church require support." But, holy father," said Pisany, "shall not the king my master be at liberty to kill the Cardinal of Guise, his mortal enemy, after Pope Pius IV. has authorised the murder of Cardinal Caraffe, who had been one of his friends?" Sixtus was too enraged to reply, and dismissed them both from his presence.*

When the consistory was assembled, Sixtus gave vent to his rage against Morosini, whom he accused of not having done what he could to prevent the cardinal's death: he even threatened to deprive him of his purple.† Some time after a bull of excommunication was issued against the King of France, notwithstanding repeated missions to Rome, to pacify the pontiff, and obtain his absolution.

While the king was wasting his time at Blois, his enemies were making great advantages, and the progress of rebellion in Paris surpassed all idea. When the leaguers first heard of the death of their chief they were paralysed: they considered it impossible for the king to have attempted such a thing, unless he were sure of some support, of which at present they knew nothing. Their fears therefore magnified its force; and there can be no doubt that, if Henry had sent some officer of rank to Paris, with a few troops, the violent members of the league would have fled, and the populace would soon have become calm and satisfied. The city appeared overwhelmed with grief and astonishment; and the mass was performed in the churches without any kind of music.‡ But the king's indecision ruined everything, by giving time for the active rebels to rally their companions; and in a few days the fury of the league burst forth with redoubled fierceness. We learn from the journal of the time, that on the 29th of December, the people, on leaving the church of St. Bartholomew, where Dr. Lincestre had been preaching, pulled down the king's arms which were over the door, broke them to pieces, and trampled them in the kennel,—being animated to it by the discourse they had just heard, upon the perjuries and heresies of Henry of Valois, who was no longer their king.§

Versoris, who had been employed as the advocate of the Jesuits, was so affected by the murder of the Lorrain princes, that it caused his death. As he was expiring, he embraced Guise's portrait; and, being shown that of the king, he called him a tyrant, and broke it to pieces.||

* Journal de Henri III.

† Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 4. p. 163.

‡ Ibid. p. 167.

§ Ibid. p. 170.

|| Mem. de Duplessis, vol. i. p. 878. The letter is dated 27th December, 1588.

* G. Leti, *Vita di Sisto V.* lib. 10.

† Davila, liv. 10.

§ Journal de Henri III.

† Ibid.

|| Ibid.

The preachers exerted themselves to inflame the public mind; and the cardinal's death gave them great scope for their declamations. "To murder the duke," said Lincestre, "indicated but little attachment to the Holy Union; but to assassinate a prelate was a crime against religion itself. The Catholics must unite to avenge this crime, and employ, if necessary, their last mite, and their last drop of blood for it. Swear to do so; swear it, all of ye! and lift up your right hands in token of your oath." The president, Harlay, happened to be present, and the preacher insolently called out to him—"Lift up your hand, also, Mr. Chief President, lift it up high, that every body may see it."†

Every pulpit resounded with invectives against the king's person, and with the most pathetic descriptions of the tragical death of the two brothers, who were extolled as martyrs. The hearers were moved to tears; but, instead of inculcating Christian doctrines, and holding up the examples of Christian martyrs, the preachers endeavoured to inspire an ardent desire of revenge. "So that those," says Maimbourg, "who had no wish to weep or to sigh; and who were scandalized with manners so very unworthy of a holy ministry, were constrained to counterfeit weeping, for fear of being murdered."‡

If we can depend upon Marshal Bassompierre's narrative, the reanimation of the league was principally occasioned by the discovery of a concealed treasure, which enabled his father, Christopher Bassompierre, to raise an army of foreigners. That gentleman was a native of Lorraine, and a warm partizan of the League. He was at Blois during the meeting of the states-general; and as he was known to possess great influence among the Germans and Swiss, the king sent Crillon to arrest him immediately after the death of Guise. Bassompierre, having some apprehensions of such a measure, made preparations for leaving Blois, and escaped with one attendant, as the bridge was being drawn up. He passed through Chartres, where he called upon the people to take arms, and proceeded to Paris, where he was introduced to the council, then deliberating at the Hotel-de-Ville. His opinion was, that, unless they had money sufficient to carry on a war, they had better make the best terms possible with the king. The assembly took time for deliberation: in the interval, a mason, who had been employed in concealing a sum of five hundred and thirty thousand golden crowns, denounced this fact to the council, who immediately decided upon a war, and commissioned Bassompierre to levy troops in Germany and Switzerland.§

The Sixteen elected the Duke of Aumale for their governor: he had not entertained the most favourable idea of the estates of Blois, and had remained in Paris.¶ This choice was remarkable, as it was rumoured that he had been in treaty with the king: he demanded the government of Picardy and Boulogne, and that his debts should be liquidated out of the public treasury.¶ The Duchess of Montpensier, a woman of great courage, contri-

buted very much to rally the spirits of the league; and it was said that her tongue did the king more harm than her brothers' swords.* The Duchess of Guise, who was pregnant at the time, at first gave vent to her grief, and in silence and retirement poured forth lamentations and tears. But afterwards she presented a demand to the parliament, calling for an inquiry into her husband's death. The proceedings on this point were carried to a great length; but when affairs took another turn, and the Parisians opened their gates to Henry IV., the leaves of the register were torn out and destroyed, to avoid the resentment of that prince, and of those counsellors who would not be parties to the proceedings.†

Most probably that refusal on the part of some counsellors of the parliament was the cause of their being sent to the Bastille. On the morning of the 16th of January, Bussy-le-Clerc, accompanied by twenty-five or thirty blackguards, armed with pistols and cuirasses, went into the court, and calling several counsellors by name, told them to follow him to the Hotel-de-Ville. Harlay and some others wished to know by what authority he thus acted, but was only told that they had better lose no time in making objections, or force would be used. When the presidents Harlay and Potier followed Bussy, they were attended by all the counsellors, even those who were not called, alleging that they could not separate from their captains. Instead of going to the Hotel-de-Ville, they were led to the Bastille, and a new parliament was formed, consisting of persons devoted to the league. Molé was appointed attorney-general by acclamation, although he was on Bussy's list; and it was with regret he accepted the office, but to have refused it might have cost him his life, on account of the hatred borne to all who were suspected of favouring the claims of the king of Navarre. Brisson was made the new chief president, and in that quality assented to a decree declaring the king fallen from his dignity, and deprived of his authority; but at the same time to make sure of a good plea, in the event of the king's party prevailing, he made a protestation before two notaries, in which he declared he had been compelled to give his assent to measures against his inclination, and that he had no other means of saving the lives of his wife and children.‡

A few days after a herald arrived from the king, ordering Aumale to leave Paris, and forbidding the parliament and other courts to exercise any jurisdiction. So far were the leaguers from paying any attention to this summons, that they put the herald in prison, whence, after remaining some time in expectation of being hanged, he was insultingly sent away. Everything which could be devised was done to encourage the popular hatred to the king; even his name was detested, and no one would venture to mention it. Processions of children were considered a sure way of touching the sensibility of the people; and they frequently paraded the streets. On one occasion they had assembled to the number of near a hundred thousand: they went from the cemetery of the Immo-

violent measures contemplated by the Guises. See the *Satyre Menippée*.

* Davila, liv. 10. p. 9.

† Ib., liv. 10. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 140.

‡ Journal de Henri III. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 121. De Thou, liv. 94. Le Grain, liv. 4. Davila, liv. 10.

† 1st. Jan. 1589. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 118. Journal de Henri III.

‡ Hist. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 114.

§ Mem. de Bassompierre, vol. i. pp. 23—5.

¶ Davila, liv. 10.

¶ It was also believed that the Duchess of Aumale decided Henry by a letter which she sent, to warn him against some

cents to the church of St. Genéviève, each carrying a taper of consecrated wax. As they entered the church, they extinguished the lights, and uttered expressions indicating that the race of Valois should become equally extinct. Other persons joined these processions afterwards, when the young women, to show their excessive grief, went half naked; and as nocturnal processions were made, the greatest disorders arose from the licentious conduct of the Duke of Aumale and his young companions.*

The decree of the Sorbonne, which released the French from their allegiance to the king, had the full effect which its authors intended.† By this the confessors were enabled to stifle in the breasts of their penitents every vestige of fidelity to the king: absolution was refused to all who would not renounce him as their sovereign; and some recommended his assassination as a meritorious act. Every portrait, statue, and bust of Henry III. was then thrown down, destroyed, and cast with execrations into the river; while those of the Guises were placed upon the altars. Lincestre and Boucher, in the mean time, were indefatigable in preaching to the people the most inflammatory discourses: Lincestre, in particular, recommended assassination. "I still hear it questioned," said he, "if it be lawful to kill Henry of Valois: for my part, I declare that I should be ready to kill him at all times; even when I am at the altar, and holding the precious body of the Lord in my hands."‡

While the Parisians were in this state of excitement, the Duke of Mayenne arrived towards the end of February. He had received letters while at Dijon from his sister, the Duchess of Montpensier, who gave him every encouragement to make an effort for obtaining the crown; and certainly the flaming enthusiasm of the leaguers throughout France afforded him the greatest chance of success. No wonder, therefore, that he disregarded a letter from the king, in justification of the death of the Guises, and offering to unite with him for preserving the peace among the Catholics, in order to make war against the Huguenots. The duchess, however, would not trust to her letter alone, but went to Dijon notwithstanding the inclemency of the season. Her exhortations, and the advice he received from Aumale and others, made him decide on becoming chief of the league: he commissioned persons to make preparations for carrying on the war, and proceeded to Paris, where he was solemnly invested with the dignity of lieutenant-general of the state and crown of France: he was to have the full powers of royalty until that point should be decided by the states-general, which would be held at Paris in the month of July.§

The king was fearful of being surprised at Blois, and removed to Tours, to which town he transferred the parliament and royal courts of Paris.|| He ordered an inquiry to be instituted into the criminality of the two Lorrain princes; but the league laughed him to scorn, and employed two doctors of the Sorbonne to enquire into his private

life and conduct.* He found himself abandoned also by the Duke of Mercœur, the brother of his consort, who joined the league with the whole of Brittany, the parliament of Rennes excepted. In a word, his condition was desperate: he found his dominion reduced to very little more than the town in which he lived, and the prediction of his dying mother was recalled to his mind: he was, in fact, a king without a kingdom. He had been uniform in his hatred and opposition to the Protestants: he had refused on several occasions to accept of their services on more equal terms; he was now compelled to join them, for his personal safety.

CHAPTER. XLI.

Review of the Affairs of the Huguenots.—Meeting at Rochelle —Reconciliation between Henry III. and the King of Navarre.—Attack upon Tours by the Duke of Mayenne—Paris invested by the Royal Armies,

THE important events, which in the course of 1588 succeeded each other with such rapidity at Paris and at Blois have excluded the affairs of the Huguenots from our attention: it will therefore be necessary to revert to the early part of that year, when we left the King of Navarre in rather unfortunate circumstances, in consequence of the dispersion of his German auxiliaries. It was useless for him to attempt keeping the field with his small force, and he retired to Rochelle, where his little court was occupied with his private affairs, and particularly with a marriage which he then contemplated with the Countess of Guiche. His faithful advisers succeeded in convincing him that in his situation such a measure might become an insuperable impediment in obtaining his rights to the crown after the death of Henry III., and he consented to adjourn the discussion for the space of two years. In the interval a change took place in his sentiments, and he never renewed the subject—the Countess of Guiche, in fact, had been superseded in his affections by the Marchioness of Guiercheville.†

The death of the Prince of Condé had afforded an opportunity to Laverdin, a Catholic commander, to attack Marans, an important post, on account of its vicinity to Rochelle. Navarre made a spirited effort to relieve the garrison, but in vain. In the month of June he attacked it with success, and expelled the troops placed there by Laverdin. On the day the principal attack was made, the Huguenots were discerned to be at prayer, and the garrison directly exclaimed to one another, "They are at prayers, and will beat us as at Courtras;" this prediction may in a measure have been realised by their own dejection.‡

Later in the summer an expedition was planned for taking the town of St. Lazare, at the mouth of the Loire. Duplessis-Mornay was to conduct the maritime operations, and the King of Navarre was to lead the land forces. The troops were to embark at Beauvoir, and Navarre set out in that direction. But some time was lost in a fruitless attempt to take Clisson, a fortified town in his route, and when he arrived at Beauvoir, in the beginning of October, the wind prevented his getting out. To

* Journal de Henri III. Le Grain, liv. 4. p. 170.

† Cayet, liv. 1. p. 119. It was dated 17th January, 1589.

‡ Journal de Henri III.

§ Davila, liv. 10. Le Grain, liv. 4.

|| 23rd March, 1589. Recueil des choses mémorables, &c. depuis la Closure des États de Blois jusques à la mort de Henri III.

* Hist. du Parlement de Paris, ch. 30.

† Hist. des Amours du Grand Alcaudre, at the beginning. D'Aubigné, Mem. p. 123.

‡ Mem. de Duplessis, vol. i. p. 855. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 76.

compensate for the disappointment, he resolved on laying siege to the castle of that place, which was held by the Catholics, and was well garrisoned and fortified.*

The castle was well defended, which compelled the besiegers to make great exertions; and the King of Navarre was always in the most dangerous and difficult posts. On one occasion, he was out surveying the surrounding country, and Villeserin, the commander of the castle, placed forty-five men in ambush on the road by which the King of Navarre would return. When he was within thirty paces walking carelessly and conversing with D'Aubigné all those men started up, and levelled their pieces at him. The King of Navarre's attendants immediately placed themselves before him, and shielded his person; and the assailants being so eager to kill the hope and support of the Huguenots, fired with great precipitation, and did but little execution. The Huguenots very soon became the assailants, and compelled the Catholics to retreat. This circumstance was afterwards of great utility to the Huguenots, for when the governor found there was no chance of any help being sent to him, he offered to capitulate as the best way of avoiding Navarre's resentment for his recent attempt. The Duke of Nevers, soon after coming into the province with his army, compelled the Huguenots to abandon their original design on St. Lazare. Navarre strengthened the garrison of the different surrounding towns, and returned again to Rochelle.†

While the states-general were assembled at Blois, the Huguenots held a meeting of their churches at Rochelle. The deputies met on the 12th of November.‡ The ministers did not fail to reproach the King of Navarre with his improper conduct, and with his prodigality to his Catholic friends, while he permitted his servants of the reformed religion to suffer extreme indigence: they charged him with having sold the isle of Oleron to the Catholics; and they dwelt with severity upon his shameless incontinence.§ But the situation of affairs would not admit of the Huguenots being at variance with Navarre, nor could he dispense with their services, and the meeting was brought to unanimity by the proposal to send a deputation to Blois. The request addressed to the states-general was, that the king should restore to them (exiles for their religion) the privileges granted by the edict of January, 1561; that they should be reinstated in the enjoyment of their property and estates; and that a national council should be assembled, when the doctors of both parties might in perfect safety calmly discuss the differences of their opinions, and solemnly decide upon the result.|| The temper of the majority of the deputies at the states-general destroyed all chance of this request obtaining any consideration; and its presentation only served to stimulate the more violent leaguers.

The King of Navarre was at St. Jean-d'Angely when he received the intelligence of Guise's death, on the third day after it had taken place. He was then engaged in an attack upon Niort; and, to the surprise of several of his officers, the news caused no change in his operations. The Duke of Nevers was besieging Ganache, a town held by the Hugue-

nots, and this enterprise was considered a sort of counterpoise. St. Gelais commanded the party: they approached the town very silently, and having placed their petards for bursting the gate, the ladders were set against the wall. The order preserved on this occasion could be equalled only by the resolution displayed. On their arrival the moon shone bright, and they were obliged to lie concealed, waiting on the frozen ground till the moon was down: on placing the ladders at the foot of the wall, a sentinel called out *Qui va là?* but the silence they observed, and their adroitness in concealing themselves was such that they could hear the sentinel tell the patrol of the guard that he had heard some noise, but that it was nothing. Soon after they succeeded in mounting the wall, and the petards being discharged against the gate at the same time made an entrance for the rest of the party, and the town was completely in their possession after a short struggle. Five large and some small guns were found in the place.*

Ganache in the mean time was well defended. After a cannonade of four days, the Duke of Nevers ordered an assault, which the besieged repulsed with great firmness.† Navarre had set out to relieve the place, but was seized with a sudden illness, which at one time was so violent that his death was generally reported. His complaint was a pleurisy, with a violent fever, and he was taken ill at a village, where no medical assistance could be had for two days.‡ The Duke of Nevers having offered favourable terms, and the besieged seeing no chance of being succoured, a capitulation was agreed to, and the garrison evacuated the town, taking with them their arms and baggage.§ During the King of Navarre's illness, the Duke of Nevers had returned to Blois, as his presence there was likely to be more useful to the King of France. On his recovery he proposed to attack Brouage and Saintes, which he could then do with advantage, as the king's forces in those parts were very trifling. But Duplessis-Mornay opposed his plan: "It is very well," said he, "if we are to grow old in these marshes; but if you are ever to be King of France, you must direct your views elsewhere. The shortest of those sieges will detain you two months, and during that time France will be lost. But take the field with all your troops and cannon, attempt something of consequence, go towards the Loire and attack such places as Saumur. The king, pressed on both sides, will not venture to treat with Mayenne, his hands being stained with the blood of his brothers, and he will be forced to throw himself into your arms."||

Navarre was convinced by this reasoning; and, in order to make the King of France more ready to join him, he published a manifesto addressed to the three estates of the kingdom, in which he solemnly called upon them to quit the league, and warned them, that if they persisted in their rebellion, he was resolved, if the king called upon him, to take the field in his behalf, and he hoped by divine help to frustrate their designs: he publicly

* Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 526.

† Cayet, liv. 1. p. 87. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. pp. 129 et seq.

‡ Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 529.

§ D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 133.

|| Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 4. p. 138.

* 28 Dec. 1588. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 114. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, liv. 4. p. 155. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 157. De Thou, liv. 94.

† Jan. 1589.

‡ Mem. de Duplessis, vol. i. p. 683.

§ Mem. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 552. Mem. de Nevers, vol. i. p. 878. De Thou, liv. 94. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 138.

|| Vie de Mornay, p. 127.

offered his protection to all towns and persons who would renounce their connexion with the league, promising that there should be nothing changed in the police or in religion. He afterwards deplored the necessity of bearing arms in civil war: "Would to God!" said he, "that I had never been a captain, since my apprenticeship was to be made at the expense of France. I am ready to ask peace of my lord the king; repose for his kingdom and for mine. I have often been summoned to change my religion, but how?—with a dagger at my throat! If you simply desire my salvation, I thank you; but if you desire my conversion because you are afraid lest at some time I should constrain you, you are wrong,"*

A reconciliation with Navarre was proposed to Henry III. by some of his advisers, but his aversion to the Huguenots prevented him from listening to it. He preferred purchasing an ignominious peace of the League; and had written to that effect to the Duke of Lorraine. At last his council convinced him that he could no longer delay coming to some decision, for he would soon find himself alone between the two factions: that he had done more to pacify the pope than any king had done before, and therefore should think no more of his differences in that quarter; that he was insulted by the courts of Spain and Rome, and was in danger of suffering in his own person, what had been done to his effigy in Paris and Toulouse; that by availing himself of the help of the Huguenots, he could carry into effect his old threat of making use of one enemy to be avenged upon another;† and that such a measure was not unprecedented, for many Catholic kings and emperors had made use of infidels and heretics against their enemies. These arguments induced the king to consent to a treaty.‡

The Duke of Epemon informed Navarre of the king's willingness to conclude a treaty, and Sully was sent to court incognito.§ Henry repeated to that messenger, that he wished to unite himself with the King of Navarre; Sully, however, being aware of the king's fickle disposition, asked for a letter to his master, which Henry refused to give, "For fear lest it should fall into the hands of the legate, or the Duke of Nevers; and that, notwithstanding his good will to him, he could not prevent his falling into their hands, if they discovered that he had come to Tours." Still the assurances he gave to Sully, and the firmness with which he addressed him, satisfied the King of Navarre, who from that time discontinued his hostile operations. "Return," said he to Sully, "and take my letters to him, for I fear neither Morosin, nor Nevers."¶

The Duchess of Angoulême, Henry's natural sister, was the person who contributed principally to the conclusion of a treaty: she was highly esteemed by both parties, and persuaded each to make concessions, which at first were positively refused.¶ Mornay concluded a treaty on the 3rd of April, which stipulated that there should be a

truce between the two kings for twelve months; that they should make a war in concert against the league; and that the Huguenots should have Saumur, an important passage on the Loire. It was also agreed that the treaty should not be made public till a considerable time after.* Henry was averse to the cession of Saumur, but the discussion was given up, in consequence of his discovering that Du Guast, who held the castle of Amboise, was in treaty with the League; their emissaries having persuaded him that the king had accused him at Rome of having sacrificed the Cardinal of Guise to his private resentment; and it became necessary to pacify him, and separate his prisoners. At the same time, the king learned that a plot was in agitation to gain the city of Tours for the league; emissaries had spread a report that the place was to be delivered to the Huguenots, and the sedition was appeased with difficulty.†

The pope's legate and the Spanish ambassador were indignant when they heard that negotiations were carrying on with the Huguenots: the former made a remonstrance, and the latter abruptly quitted the court, and fixed his residence at Paris.‡ As the king had assured the legate that he had not consented to treat with the Huguenots, until he was compelled by the obstinacy of the pope in refusing him absolution, and the refusals of the Lorraine princes to come to some arrangement, the legate entreated him to grant a delay of ten days, in which he might try to bring the Duke of Mayenne to terms. He offered, in the king's name, the government of Burgundy, and forty thousand crowns per annum to Mayenne, who was also to have the disposal of all vacant places in that province: the young Duke of Guise was offered the government of Champagne, with a pension of twenty thousand crowns. But he could make no impression on Mayenne, although for two days he endeavoured to persuade him to accept the king's offers. In speaking of the king, Mayenne constantly called him a wretch, and declared that he would not listen to any proposal from a perfidious man, who had neither faith nor honour: that he never would trust to the word of him, who had so cruelly murdered his brothers, and violated not only the public faith, but also the oath he had made upon the holy sacrament. The legate, finding he could not succeed with the Duke of Mayenne, was as unwilling to remain with the king, as to encourage the rebellious leaguers: he therefore decided on quitting France, and soon after went to Rome, to give an account of his negotiation.§

The two kings met in the park of Tours, on the 30th of April, amidst the acclamations of an immense multitude. The King of Navarre was some time in deciding whether he should trust his person to him who was an avowed enemy of the Protestants; but as Catherine de Medicis and the Duke of Guise no longer existed, he banished all suspicion from his mind. As he approached Tours, he stopped on the banks of the river Cher, and conversed with his gentlemen before he crossed it. Several of his old captains were averse to his

* Mathieu, liv. 8. p. 734. It was dated 4th March, 1589.

† *De inimicis meis, vindicabo inimicos meos*, an expression which Henry frequently made use of.

‡ Davila, liv. 10. Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 159.

§ Although he was styled *Rosny* for several years after this period, I have uniformly called him by the name most familiar to us.

¶ Sully, liv. 3.

¶ Cayet, liv. 1. p. 165.

* Mem. de Duplessis, vol. i. p. 897. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 168.

† Davila, liv. 10.

‡ Ibid.

§ Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, vol. ii. pp. 160—165.

going: they argued that so desperate were the king's affairs, that he would be glad to obtain the pope's absolution, even by sacrificing the life of the King of Navarre. They would not consent to expose him on the promise of a prince whose word could not be trusted.* At length Navarre broke the conversation, by saying, "Come on, the resolution is taken; we must not think any more about it." He crossed the river immediately, and went to meet the King of France.†

Henry had waited some time for his arrival, and showed great displeasure at the suspicions entertained by Navarre's friends. The crowd was so great, that it was some time before they could approach: when they met, the King of Navarre went on his knee; but Henry III. raised him up, called him his dear brother, and embraced him several times, while the people shouted *Vivent les Rois*.‡ They separated in the evening; but early next day, Navarre visited the king in his chamber, accompanied only by a page: this mark of confidence completely dissipated every unfavourable feeling in Henry's mind. The King of Navarre derived equal satisfaction; and wrote to Mornay, "The ice has been broken, not without a number of warnings, that if I went it would cost my life."§ Mornay replied, "Sire, you have done what you ought to do, but what no one could have advised you to do."||

The greatest unanimity pervaded the two armies; Catholics and Huguenots forgot their injuries, and different nobles, who were at variance, agreed to lay aside their disputes, and unite to serve the king. The war had commenced in Normandy, by the Duke of Montpensier besieging Falaise, held by the League; and Mayenne on his side had obtained possession of Vendôme. This movement made it probable that he would attack Tours; and it was fortunate for the King of France that he had been joined by the Huguenots; but for their assistance, he would have been made a prisoner by the leaguers. Mayenne had agents even among the king's personal attendants: he received information of the reconciliation between him and Navarre, and also of the weak state of the guards at Tours; and his aim was to get possession of Henry's person before the Huguenots had all arrived, for the king of Navarre had gone to meet the infantry of his army. Some of the courtiers, who were in confederacy with Mayenne, engaged to persuade the king to take a ride, when an ambuscade would be prepared to seize him. If that plan failed, Mayenne was immediately to attack one of the suburbs of Tours, and draw thither the king's forces; the leaguers in the city were then to take arms, seize on the principal posts, and shut the gates before the king could return: it would then be hardly possible for him to escape. On the night of the seventh of May, the duke marched eleven leagues, and early the following morning he posted some cavalry at the spot agreed upon. The king went out on horseback, accompanied by those who were in the secret, and was proceeding direct to the place of ambush, when a miller called out to him, "Go back, Sire! your enemies are close at hand." The king turned his horse, gal-

loped back to Tours, and immediately gave orders for putting the town in a state of defence.*

Mayenne attacked the faubourg St. Symphorian, and after fighting for several hours, obtained possession of it. The town seemed likely to fall into his power, and Henry's condition was desperate. Crillon, at the head of the infantry, made an obstinate stand against the assailants, and boldly disputed every inch of ground. But the duke's force was too great to be driven back; and, in addition, he received a reinforcement of cavalry which the Chevalier d'Aumale brought to him. The only chance of preserving the town then rested on the defence of the bridge. Cannon were placed upon it, but the hatred which animated the leaguers was fiercer than the fire from the batteries, and they advanced to the foot of the bridge, where a furious combat took place. Henry fought there with great valour. He did not fail to encourage those around him, for everything depended on their exertion. "On your bravery this day," said he, "depends the fate of your unhappy king. By wonderful efforts of courage, the defence was prolonged till evening, when Chatillon arrived with five hundred chosen men, sent forward by the King of Navarre, who had received the news of Mayenne's attack, and was hastening on with his main body. This seasonable reinforcement arrested the progress of the assailants; and other troops arriving the next day, the Duke of Mayenne thought fit to retire.†

It is said that when the leaguers saw the Huguenots, they called out to them, "Retire, white scarfs! Retire, Chatillon! We are not against you, but against your father's murderers!" But the Huguenots were not deceived: Chatillon called out in reply that they were traitors, and that when the service of his prince and the state was concerned, he laid aside all private interests.‡ The royalists lost near four hundred men in defending the place, while the leaguers had not more than a hundred killed. The Duke of Mayenne glutted his vengeance on the dead body of St. Mallin, one of those who had murdered his brother. The hands and head were cut off; the body was hung up by the heels; and the head was ordered to be put up at Montfaucon, with a notice stating, that he had ordered him to be put to death, and that the body ought to be accompanied by that of Henry III., the author of the murder. The troops committed dreadful excesses in the faubourg; they robbed all the churches, and subjected the women and girls to violence.§

The historian De Thou was at Tours at the time, and confirms the preceding statement in a great measure; but he expresses his doubts of Mayenne's having killed St. Mallin in the way he announced it. He says that he and Chatillon conversed a great deal with the inhabitants about what they had seen and experienced, and that not one of them mentioned the execution. Mayenne's bulletin contains many things which were proved to be false; among others that Crillon and Rubeaupré were killed, and that Marshal d'Aumont was dangerously wounded: it is not therefore surprising that he should have exaggerated a state-

* De Thou, liv. 95. Le Grain, liv. 4. Prefixe, liv. 1.

† Sully, liv. 3.

‡ Cayet, liv. 1. p. 186. De Thou, liv. 95.

§ Mem. de Duplessis, vol. i. p. 901.

|| Vie de Mornay, p. 135.

* Cayet, liv. 1. pp 186-187.

† Davila, liv. 10.

‡ Journal de Henri III., and D'Aubigné.

§ Davila, liv. 10. Journal de Henri III.

ment calculated to make him popular with the league.*

From the time Henry had been joined by the King of Navarre, his affairs took a different turn; and the bravery he displayed in the defence of Tours was a comfort to his real friends, who feared that all his energy was extinct. Many persons now joined his party, who had kept aloof while they considered his cause hopeless; and many places which had joined the league again returned to their duty. Several towns in the Orleanais submitted to him; Poissy, Meulan, and Estampes were reduced; and, in capitulating, they declared they wanted no other security than Navarre's word, which was worth more than the written promises of Henry III. Senlis also had declared in favour of the king on the arrival of Thoré; and the Duke of Aumale sustained a defeat by La Noue, while he was occupied in besieging it:† the Duke of Montpensier had likewise been successful in Normandy. Still the king was desirous of going farther from Paris, and it required great persuasion to keep him from retiring to Limoges.‡

While he was at Estampes he received intelligence of the papal excommunication having been issued against him: he regretted it very much, for having always exerted himself for the religion, he considered it unjust to be excommunicated because he would not be murdered by rebellious subjects; while others who had sacked Rome, and imprisoned the pope himself, had not been so treated. "Sire," said Navarre to him, "those persons were victorious, and for that reason your majesty should strive to be conqueror, for then your absolution will follow as a matter of course; but if we are overcome, we shall all die heretics and excommunicate.§"

The persuasions of the King of Navarre, and the great change in the state of his affairs, decided Henry to attempt the siege of Paris. Sancy had been into Switzerland, and was on his march to join him with a large body of troops levied there.¶ The royal army amounted altogether to near forty thousand men. Pontoise was taken on the twenty-fifth of July, and a few days after they took possession of the bridge of St. Cloud, where Henry III. fixed his head-quarters. As he surveyed Paris from the height, he is said to have given vent to his feelings, and to have vowed complete vengeance against that rebellious city.¶ The King of Navarre took his quarters at Meudon, and spread his forces along the south side of the city as far as Charenton. The leaguers were in the greatest perplexity, for at the sight of the royal army many concealed royalists had declared themselves openly; a general attack was decided upon, and it was to be made in a few days; but in the interval Henry was assassinated.

CHAPTER XLII.

Assassination of Henry III. by James Clement—Accession of Henry IV.

THE approach of the two kings to Paris filled the league with alarm. The army was reduced by desertions. The Duke of Mayenne had taken every possible measure for making a good defence, and bastions were thrown up, and trenches were dug for that purpose; but as there were numbers of persons in the city, who, being only retained by fear from declaring their opinions, would be sure to join the King when he presented himself, very little hope was entertained of repelling the expected attack. As a last resource, Mayenne had decided on dashing into the ranks of the royal army with a body of devoted followers, and if escape should then appear impracticable, he resolved to seek in a glorious death a refuge from the disgrace which appeared almost inevitable.* The ecclesiastics redoubled their efforts to inflame the public mind, and inspire that enthusiasm which the emergency required. The preachers had for a long time declared that it would be meritorious in any one to assassinate the tyrant; and, from the time the two kings had met at Tours, that abominable notion had more earnestly been dwelt upon. The success which attended the king's operations in June and July appeared likely to restore him to the exercise of his authority: their own safety, therefore, made them seek for some bold or fanatical spirit, who would execute the horrible commission.

A young Dominican, named James Clement, distinguished for his violent enthusiasm, even amongst the most enthusiastic of the League, was the person they employed. His passions were strong, his principles libertine, and his fanaticism unequalled. He constantly went armed in the processions; and, as he was vehement in calling for war against the heretics, he obtained the name of *Captain Clement*. He was fully imbued with the blind zeal of his party; and as he looked upon Henry III. as a murderer, anathematised by the church, he wanted but little to excite him to the task. His brother monks fearing he might grow cool, and reflect upon the enormity of the crime in contemplation, made use of the following stratagem. An opening was made in his cell, and, in the night, a man, surrounded with a blaze of light, descended and woke up Clement. Surprise and agitation prevented him from recognising either the figure or the voice of the person, who was probably a brother monk, for it would have been dangerous to intrust the secret to a stranger. It appeared to Clement to be really an angel, as it was also publicly declared to be by the Dominican monks.† "James!" said he, "I am the messenger of the Almighty, come to inform thee that the tyrant of France is to die by thy hand: the martyr's crown is prepared for thee, prepare thyself also." The phantom then disappeared. Clement was unable fully to comprehend this vision, and in the morning went to the prior of his convent, Father Burgoing: "a man," says the writer before quoted, "very scientific, and well versed in the holy scrip-

* De Thou, liv. 95.

† Amiraault, p. 338.

‡ Cayet, liv. 1. p. 207—212. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 171. Brantôme, vol. ix. p. 333. Davila, liv. 10.

§ Davila, liv. 10.

¶ Cayet, liv. 1. p. 216. De Thou, liv. 96. Discours de Harlay de Sancy, p. 38. This piece is inserted in Villeroy, vol. v.

¶ Davila, liv. 10.

* Davila, liv. 10.

† Discours véritable de l'étrange et subite mort de Henri de Valois, advenue par permission divine, lui étant à St. Clou, &c. Par un religieux de l'ordre des Jacobins.—Troyes, 1589.

tures." After relating frankly what he had seen, Clement asked the prior if it would be offensive to God to kill a king who had no religion, and who sought to oppress his poor subjects, thirsting after innocent blood, and abounding in every possible vice. Burgoing told him, "That, in reality, we were forbidden by God to commit homicide; but as the king in question was a man set apart from the church, practising execrable tyrannies, and who seemed bent on being an eternal scourge to France, he considered that whosoever put him to death would do a very holy and commendable thing." He then directed his attention to Judith, Ehud, and Jael; and compared the deliverance which would result from it to that of Israel from Egypt.

Clement's resolution being confirmed, he prepared for the king's assassination by fasting and prayers. On one occasion, when he was praying in the church, some monks, concealed behind the principal altar, called out to him through a tube—"James Clement! kill the king!" No doubt could any longer exist as to the authority of his holy mission: he confessed, and took the sacraments, and then presented himself to the Dukes of Mayenne and Aumale, who were far from disapproving of his project.*

But the Duchess of Montpensier no sooner heard of it than she sent for Clement. She had maintained her boldness when the heads of the League were trembling with apprehension; and she contributed very essentially to keep Clement to the resolutions he had formed. Clement frequently visited the duchess, and she soon observed how sensible he was to the allurements of pleasure. A beautiful woman, a princess, sister of two martyrs, who displayed all her attractions to gain his complete devotion, could not fail of captivating the senses of the young monk. He related to her his vision, and the different calls he had received from heaven for the work, adding, that his confessor had conjured him to yield to the divine inspiration, but that he had delayed executing his commission on account of an angel telling him to wait till the tyrant came before he gave the blow. The duchess is stated to have addressed him in a most eloquent manner, appealing by turns to his fanaticism, his ambition, and his passions. She entreated him to take pity on France, and save the nation from heretics and idolaters, by a number of measures which she proposed should be adopted: his death, she observed, was by no means certain, and that, after such an exploit, a cardinal's hat would be the certain recompense from the church; while heavenly laurels would assuredly reward him if he perished.†

It is plainly hinted by many writers that the duchess obtained Clement's promise to commit this crime, by yielding to the violence of his passion: it was not, however, the interest of that princess to gratify his desires: she might have given him a promise, in order to stimulate him to the work; but upon that we can only form conjectures, for Clement had no time to boast of his good fortune, and the duchess is not likely to have been her own accuser.

A monk named Mergy was employed to buy the knife that was to be used on the occasion, and which was consecrated with considerable cere-

mony.* A letter from the President Harlay was procured to serve as an introduction for Clement: it is, however, a matter of doubt whether it was really that person's writing, obtained under some pretence, or a forgery. It has been said that a packet, addressed to the king, was brought out of the Bastille, by a monk who officiated in that prison; and that, on the proposal of Bussy-le-Clerc, it was resolved that Clement should be the bearer of it. "Let the worst happen," said one of the Sixteen, "it will only be the hanging of a monk."† But the account which was addressed to a friend by La Guesle, attorney-general to the parliament, gives the substance of the letter brought by Clement, and it has every appearance of being a fabrication.‡ He was also supplied with a passport signed by the Count de Brienne.§

Thus furnished, Clement set out for St. Cloud, the last day of July, 1589; well satisfied, if he succeeded in stabbing the king, that he should have the martyr's crown, or a bishopric, and the favours of the Duchess of Montpensier. The Jesuits took considerable interest in this undertaking: Clement was a great deal with them, and some of them accompanied him a short distance out of Paris, when he set out for the royal camp.|| He was stopped by the piquets of the King of Navarre's army; but as he declared he had letters for his majesty, he was allowed to pass on. At St. Cloud he addressed the Duke of Angoulême,¶ who told him that he could not see the king: he was afterwards referred to La Guesle, who questioned him at length.** Clement made a plausible tale, which however ought not to have deceived him so completely: for as he knew the president Harlay was in the Bastille, he might have confused the monk by his inquiries; the necessity of extreme caution in allowing him to approach the king would then have been apparent.

The substance of Clement's account was, that the king's faithful subjects in the city could not openly act in his behalf; but that whenever his majesty came to Paris they would be ready to seize one of the gates and admit him: he added, that he had further information, which he could only communicate to the king himself in private. La Guesle went to inform the king of what he had heard, and sent Clement to sup with his servants, where he ate heartily, and answered their various questions with great coolness, although they were chiefly in allusion to his attempt.†† After supper he fell into a sound sleep, when some one had the curiosity to examine his breviary, which lay beside him: it was open at the history of Judith, which part had become soiled from frequent use. This circumstance was sufficient to create suspicion, but his profound sleep quieted those who were charged to watch him.‡‡

Although the king had received a note a few days previous, warning him against an attempt on

* Hist. de la Sorbonne, vol. ii. p. 29.

† Hist. des Conspirations des Jesuites.

‡ Journal de Henri III.

§ Mathieu, liv. 8. p. 772.

|| Anti-Cotton, p. 84. The writer of which declares it to be a fact known to two thousand persons then living (A.D. 1610.)

¶ Natural son of Charles IX. by Marie Touchet: at this time he was only Count d'Auvergne, but in history he is best known under his superior title.

** Mathieu, liv. 8. p. 773.

†† Lettre de M. La Guesle, and Davila, liv. 10.

‡‡ Hist. de la Sorbonne, vol. ii. p. 30.

* Hist. de la Sorbonne, par l'Abbé Duvernet, vol. ii. p. 28.

† De Thou, liv. 96, at large. Davila, liv. 10. Lacreteille, Hist. des Guerres de Religion.

his life, he persisted in giving Clement an audience the next morning.* The monk stated that his communication could not be made in the presence of any other than the king: La Guesle and Bellegarde, however, refusing to leave the room, Henry took Clement aside to a window. He went on his knee to present the letter of introduction to the king, who inclined his head to hear the confidential communication. Clement took the opportunity to plunge his knife into the king's abdomen. "Wretch!" said Henry, drawing the knife from the wound, "what have I done that you should assassinate me?" and as he spoke he stabbed the murderer in the face. La Guesle ran to the spot, and struck Clement with his sword; the noise brought in some attendants, who immediately despatched the miscreant, although La Guesle exhorted them to take him alive.† The body was then exposed, in order to be recognised, for many thought it was some soldier of the League disguised as a monk; and the historian Mathieu relates, "That if he had not been recognised by Francis Dumont and some others, there were many persons who would have contended it was some Huguenot."‡ There can, however, exist no doubt of Clement's identity. The Dominican, who has already been mentioned, details the treatment which his dead body received: it was torn asunder by four horses, and afterwards burned. "But his soul," he adds, "did not fail to ascend to heaven with the blessed: as to that of Henry of Valois, I refer to what is known of him, and leave the judgment to God. You have now before you the account of the death of Henry of Valois; and how opportunely this poor monk undertook our deliverance, not fearing death, if he could give liberty to the church and the people. I pray God that the same may befall all those who are against the Catholic religion, and who now unlawfully besiege us. Amen."§

The king was put to bed, and his wounds examined. At first the surgeons pronounced them not dangerous, and letters were sent off to the governors of the provinces, containing an account of the circumstance; that sent to Duplessis-Mornay, governor of Saumur, has been handed down to us. After describing the event, the letter states: "But if it please God, it will be nothing; and in a few days he will give me both my former health, and the victory over my enemies, of which I am desirous of informing you, both to acquaint you with the wickedness of my enemies, and to assure you of the hope of my speedy recovery."|| For some time great hopes were entertained that the wounds would not prove fatal; but when the abdomen was examined a second time it was found that the intestines were pierced, and from that moment the king prepared for death. His confessor refused to give him absolution on account of the anathema he had incurred, and said that he must conform to the pope's demand before his sins could be absolved. Henry replied, "I am the eldest son of the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman church, and such I wish to die. I promise before God, and before all men,

that my chief desire is to satisfy his holiness in everything which he can wish of me." This declaration removed the scruples of the confessor, who gave him absolution, and administered the sacraments of the eucharist and extreme unction.*

The King of Navarre had been early informed of the fatal event: he arrived at St. Cloud, accompanied by twenty-five gentlemen.† When the king's religious exercises were concluded, his chamber-door was thrown open, and all the nobility approached to hear his dying counsel. He deplored the unhappy state in which he left France; he begged they would leave to God the vengeance of his death; exhorted them all to be united, and declared the King of Navarre his legitimate successor: he recommended also that the discussion of their religious differences should be deferred till the meeting of the States-general. "Adieu! my friend," said the king in conclusion; "turn your tears into prayers, and pray for me." He then embraced the King of Navarre; dwelt upon the danger there would be for him if it became common to assassinate kings; and concluded by exhorting him to renounce the Protestant religion. "Be assured, my dear brother," said he, "that you will never be King of France, unless you become a Catholic, and humble yourself to the church." His attendants then withdrew, and he occupied the remainder of his moments in religious exercises: he lived till three o'clock the following morning, the second of August, when, as he was repeating the *Miserere*, he died without a struggle, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign.‡

The King of Navarre had retired to Meudon after receiving the dying monarch's farewell. In the middle of the night an express arrived, to inform him that he must hasten to St. Cloud, if he wished to see the king any more. He immediately took horse, and when he arrived at St. Cloud the first thing he heard was, that Henry was dead. When his arrival was known in the place, the Scotch guards came to offer him their homage, and proclaim him their king.§ Henry IV. proceeded to his predecessor's bed-side, and addressed all present, who were indignant at the malignity of the league in resorting to such means; while they lamented the loss of a prince who had been particularly kind to most of them. The new king was very much affected, and as he spoke, his words were often interrupted by his sighs. "Tears," said he, "will not restore him to life: the true proof of fidelity is to avenge him: for my part, I will sacrifice my life to it: we are all Frenchmen, and there is nothing to make distinctions among us in the duty we owe to the memory of our king and the service of our country."||

But it was not long before Henry discovered that he had yet considerable difficulties to overcome. Most of the Catholic noblemen protested against his being acknowledged as king: some objected from scruples of conscience, but several were in hopes of establishing an independent authority in the provinces or towns where they had

* Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 409. Grammont, a leaguer, met the Duke d'Angoulême the day before, and seeing him cheerful, said, "To-morrow you will not be so merry."—*Mem. du Duc d'Angoulême*, p. 3.

† Lettre de M. La Guesle.

‡ Mathieu, liv. 8. p. 774.

§ Discours véritable, &c.

|| Mem. de Duplessis, vol. i. p. 926.

* Davila, liv. 10. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 223. Maimbourg, *Hist. de La Ligue*, liv. 3.

† Sully, liv. 3.

‡ Davila, liv. 10. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. ii. p. 7.

§ Sully, liv. 3.

|| Mathieu, vol. ii. liv. 1 p. 3.

influence.* Henry took his two confidants, La Force and D'Aubigné, into an adjoining room, and asked for their advice. La Force declined speaking, but D'Aubigné addressed the king nearly as follows:—"You stand, Sire, more in want of advice than of consolation; and your present conduct will decide the remainder of your life—will make you a king or nothing. You are surrounded by men who tremble while they threaten you, and who conceal their private fears under general pretences. If you suffer such things to influence you, what will you not fear? And if you attempt to overcome the difficulty by yielding, who will not tyrannize over you? There are in the court and the army two sorts of persons: those who are resolved to support the king, and maintain his right to the crown; and those whom the pretext of religion makes uncertain and doubtful; and you must not give them time to deliberate. You are sure of the Protestant nobility and the troops under them. Marshal Biron and the Catholic captains under him have no thoughts of leaving you, for the share they had in the death of the Guises secures them. Call on Biron to engage the Swiss to acknowledge you; despatch Givry and Humières† to gain partisans among the nobles of the Isle of France and Picardy. The Duke of Epernon is the most influential person in the army, but he is sure not to join the league, who are as much his enemies as yours. Be assured, Sire, that you have the superiority of force, and that your vigour and firmness will bring back every one to his duty."‡

Biron was then sent for, and the king said to him, "The time is come, my cousin, when your hand must help to place the crown on my head. It will ill suit both your disposition and mine, for me to animate you by solicitations. I treat you at once to persuade the Swiss to take the oath of allegiance to me; then come and serve me, as a father and a friend."§ Biron went immediately, and, with Sancy's assistance, had less difficulty than he had anticipated, although two-thirds of them were Catholics. The Swiss, moreover, agreed to defer the payment of their wages for some time, as the king's finances were in a very crippled state.||

The Catholic nobility, in the mean time, had held a consultation; some were for demanding the king's immediate conversion, and others were satisfied with his promise of abjuring within a given time.¶ Some were desirous of prohibiting the exercise of the reformed religion, while more tolerant measures were recommended by others. They had considerable difficulty in coming to an agreement upon the proposals they should make to the king: at last the Seigneur D'O was appointed to speak their sentiments. He told the king that the noblesse were all willing to acknowledge him for their sovereign if he would embrace the Catholic religion; intimated that they would prefer death to having a Huguenot for their king, and declared that his right to the crown depended on his professing the ancient faith: he also added,

that there was no fear of alienating the Huguenots from his cause, as they would be contented with the exercise of their religion. This proposition was very complimentary to the loyalty of the Protestants; but Henry IV. had too much honour thus to abandon the companions of his distress; his religion was far from being fervent—it sat but lightly on him, as his libertine principles prove, and he could then, as he did afterwards, have gone to mass without many scruples of conscience—but his soul was above a meanness, even to obtain a crown. He answered the deputation with spirit, reproached them with their disregard of the late king's dying injunctions, and asked what opinion they could have of him, to expect he could change his religion so suddenly? Should he then be worthy of their confidence? He gave them to understand that the subject should be maturely deliberated in the states-general, or in a national council, to the decisions of which he would submit. In the mean time he hoped he should be supported by all Catholics who loved their country or their honour; and that all those who would not have a little patience, had his free permission to retire where they pleased.*

As Henry finished speaking, Givry entered, and, after kissing his hand, announced the adhesion of the army, who had proclaimed him their king. "Sire!" said he, "you are the sovereign of the brave, and will be abandoned only by cowards."† This circumstance hastened the decision of many of the Catholics, who had expected to force the king to make great concessions. The Dukes of Montpensier and Angoulême had not concealed their ill humour, notwithstanding their connexion with the crown; and the latter would scarcely deign to salute the king.‡ But when Henry's friends appeared sufficiently numerous to maintain his cause, their difficulties diminished, and they consented to acknowledge him, on condition that he should be instructed in the Catholic religion within six months; that he should restore the Romish worship where it had been suppressed; that he should place the clergy in the full enjoyment of their property; and that he should give no appointment to the Huguenots: there were some other articles respecting the public rights and liberties which were matters of course.

The warmth of some of the Huguenots made the Catholic nobility more resolute in requiring a positive obligation from the king; for otherwise they feared that the reformed religion would be encouraged, to the destruction of their church. La Noue endeavoured, but in vain, to persuade them to be reasonable. No one could doubt the sincerity of his Protestantism; yet he caudally told the king, that it would be scarcely possible for him to obtain his rights, unless he became a Catholic; but he insisted on the change being made in a respectable manner, to avoid anything which might prejudice those who had so long supported him.§ A number of zealous and violent Huguenots, however, insisted on his remaining

* *Preface*, liv. 1.

† Charles de Humières, killed at the siege of Ham, 1595.

‡ D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 184.

§ *Ibid.* p. 185.

|| Brantôme, vol. ix. p. 150. De Thou, liv. 97. Discours de Harlay de Sancy, p. 48. Bassompierre, *Nouv. Mem.* p. 49.

¶ Discours de Harlay de Sancy, p. 51.

* D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 185, *et seq.*

† *Ibid.* p. 187.

‡ Davila, liv. 10.

* *Ibid.*

§ Amiraute is indignant that Davila should thus represent La Noue as advising abjuration. Yet it is probable that, anticipating the obstinacy of the League, he might regret the alternative to which it would lead; and therefore advised such caution on the king's part as would preserve the confidence of the Huguenots.

with them, and contended that their party was sufficient to establish him upon the throne.* Duplessis was confined to his bed at Saumur; but though he could not personally advise his sovereign, he addressed him a memorial, accompanied with a letter; and both reflect great credit upon him, as a loyal servant, a skilful politician, and a sincere Christian. "Many difficulties," says he, "present themselves in your affairs, as your majesty will perceive by my memorial: time will clear up a part of them, and your servants the rest. God, who has conducted you, Sire, to the throne, will establish you thereon; only let your majesty be grateful, and ascribe to him all the glory."† In the memorial Duplessis writes, "The Catholics are alarmed for their religion: a declaration must be published to satisfy them: the substance should announce that there should be no innovation on the Catholic religion; and because, on the other hand, the Protestants must not be offended, certain expressions must be agreed upon to be used, whenever they are spoken of. It is requisite that you should write to all the churches, and to the governors of the places where the reformed religion is exercised, enjoining them to conduct themselves more moderately than ever, both in speech and behaviour; to repress the insolence of the populace, and to be on terms of peace and union with the Catholics, otherwise in some parts there will be danger of scandal. The regulations for the preservation of the churches and relics, and the maintenance of the service, must be enforced more strictly than ever. His majesty may be requested to restore the mass at Niort and other places: that will be a reason for granting the request of the Protestants, when they apply for liberty of worship." The memorial recommended, also, a proclamation, calling upon all good Frenchmen to assist in punishing the late king's assassination; a declaration, offering pardon to all who would submit within a certain time; and a representation to the pope, showing him the danger to which he exposed the see of Rome, in irritating and exasperating him, by his bulls and anathemas. "The example of Henry, King of England, may be proposed to him: he was by such means placed in the necessity of entirely cutting off the communication between the kingdom and the Roman see. The (French) ambassadors should persuade the princes, at whose courts they reside, to send persons of distinction to salute his majesty, as that will give him authority among the people, &c."‡

From the liberal sentiments which the preceding memorial conveys, it is to be regretted that the writer was absent. His paper did not reach the king till after he had concluded the affair, by taking an oath to the conditions already mentioned. Had Duplessis been present, he would have had sufficient influence over his friends to restrain the eagerness of their demands, and much jealous feeling would have been avoided in consequence. A treaty, founded on these conditions, was signed by the king on the 4th of August, when all the nobles made a declaration of allegiance, with the exception of the Duke of Epemon, and Louis de L'Hopital, Marquis of Vitry. Epemon retired to his government of Saintonge, with six thousand infantry, and twelve hundred horsemen; a reduction which the king's army could ill afford.§ On

leaving the camp he told his sovereign that his conscience would not permit him to stay;* but it is generally considered that his reasons were altogether selfish. Having enjoyed the highest distinction under Henry III., he could not consent to remain in an army where his military consequence would be eclipsed by Biron, d'Aumont, and La Noue; he might also fear that the king would desire the loan of part of the immense sums he was known to have amassed.† Vitry appears to have acted from motives really conscientious: he joined the party of the league, but previously gave up the government of Dourdan, a town which the late king had confided to him;‡ and he returned to Henry's support directly he was informed of his having abjured.§

The king lost no time in arranging his affairs; his feeling was for attacking Paris, but his forces were so diminished, that he could not think of making the attempt.|| For, after Epemon had quitted him, several other nobles did the same, and a considerable number of the Catholic soldiers went to their homes.¶ He addressed letters to the different parliaments, appointed a time for assembling the states-general, and sent an offer of accommodation to Mayenne, which was rejected.** For his military operations he consulted with Biron, d'Aumont, La Noue, and Montpensier. At first it was proposed to retire beyond the Loire; but that measure appearing too great a concession to the league, it was resolved that the army should be divided into three bodies: one, under the Duke of Longueville, to protect Picardy from the Spaniards; another, under Marshal d'Aumont, to be a check upon Champagne; the third was commanded by the king himself, in Normandy, to be more ready to communicate with England. But before the forces separated, the late king's body was carried to Compiègne for temporary interment. The situation of affairs prevented its being carried to St. Denis, and the army of the league making preparations for taking the field, there was no time to be lost in ceremonials: the body was, in consequence, placed in the principal church, without any display of pomp. The king immediately set out for Normandy, where he made an auspicious commencement, being joined by one Rolet, a gentleman of great courage and experience: he immediately took the oath of allegiance to Henry, and gave him possession of the Pont-de-l'Arche, which commands the river three leagues above Rouen.††

CHAPTER XLIII.

Rejoicings of the League at the death of Henry III.—Battle of Arques—Attack on the suburbs of Paris.

WHILE Henry IV. was engaged in discussions with the Catholic nobility, Paris was the scene of the most fanatical rejoicing. It has been said that the

* Girard, p. 112.

† Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 119.

‡ Péréfixe, liv. 2.

§ Mem. de Nevers, vol. ii. p. 632.

|| It was proposed to place the body of the murdered king on the bridge of St. Cloud; as the soldiers passed by it they were to take an oath to avenge his death, and then set out to attack Paris. *Discours de Harlay de Sancy*, p. 56.

¶ Davila, liv. 10.

** Villeroy, vol. i. p. 148. Davila, liv. 10.

†† Davila, liv. 10. Cayet, liv. 1. Péréfixe, liv. 2.

* Davila, liv. 10. † Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 1.

‡ Ibid. p. 4. § Davila, liv. 10.

event was first made known to the Parisians by the dying expression of a gentleman who was killed in a single combat on the neutral ground. Such encounters were common at this period, while hostile armies were near each other; and John de L'Isle Marivaut, a royalist, and Claude de Marolles, a leaguer, had agreed to break a lance on the 2nd of August.* Marivaut, indignant at the king's assassination, went to the place appointed, with a hope of avenging his sovereign on the person whom he was to encounter: he was on the ground before the time agreed on, and refused to use the lances brought, which, he said, were too light. Marolles consented to his using a heavier lance, but kept a light one for himself. After the ceremonies usual at a tournament, the signal was given, and the champions spurred their horses. Marivaut's superior strength nearly threw his antagonist from his horse, but, being near-sighted, he could not wear a close helmet, and received a mortal blow by Marolles' spear going into his eye. He did not live fifteen minutes afterwards; but before he expired he said, "That even if he had been conqueror, he should have been unhappy to have survived the king, his master." This announced to the league that Clement's enterprise had been successful.†

In the mean time, the Duchess of Montpensier was waiting with anxiety to learn the result of the measure in which she had taken so much interest. The delay of a day had caused her great uneasiness. She might fancy the monk had been arrested and put to the torture; and if the part she had taken in encouraging him should be made known, it would be scarcely possible for her to be protected from the vengeance of the king, who would immediately attack the city. She waited near the gate leading to St. Cloud, and when the intelligence was brought to her she repeatedly embraced the bearer of the news. "Ah! my friend," said she, "is it indeed so? is the tyrant, is the monster dead? I am vexed but at one thing: that before he died, he did not know that it was I who directed the blow."‡ The people immediately gave themselves up to an excess of joy. Hymns of thanksgiving were sung in the churches; the Dominicans had a *Te Deum*; bonfires were lighted up; and the black scarf, which had been worn by the league since Guise's death, was exchanged for green, the original colour:§ portraits of Clement were exposed to the veneration of the public: he was styled a saint and a martyr; and all those who bore any relationship to him were enriched by public contributions and alms. His statue was placed in the cathedral, with an inscription, *St. James Clement, pray for us!* His mother was treated with the greatest distinction: she was lodged at the house of the Duchess of Montpensier, and dined at her table. The Pope, Sixtus V. pronounced a studied panegyric on Clement: he began his discourse with a quotation from the Psalms: "this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes;" he declared the deed to be super-human, as so glorious a work could only be effected by the immediate direction of the Almighty,

and placed it on a level with the most remarkable incidents in sacred history: at the same time he pronounced the deceased king to be unworthy of christian burial.*

These were the results of a blind feeling greatly excited, and the same people who then joined in such outrageous conduct would, under a change of circumstances, go to the opposite extreme. But the assassination of Henry III. becomes of more importance, when it is viewed as the result of the papal excommunication under which he laboured. The lofty pretensions of the Vatican were involved in this affair; the pope had declared him fallen from his dignity; and as an enemy of the church he might be put to death with impunity. The Jesuits have stoutly defended the reputation of this fanatic, and in a work† published with the approbation of Aquaviva, the general of the order, we find the following passage: "James Clement studied theology in a college of his order, when, being informed that he was permitted to kill a tyrant, he deeply wounded Henry III. in the abdomen, with a poisoned knife. Dreadful spectacle! memorable deed! and of rare occurrence; but by which princes may learn, that the impiety of their undertakings will not remain unpunished; that their authority is powerless from the time their subjects cease to revere them.... Clement congratulated himself in the midst of wounds and stabs, for having by his blood secured the liberty of his country. The assassination of the king obtained him a great reputation. Murder was expiated by murder; and the manes of the Duke of Guise, slain so perfidiously, were avenged by the shedding of royal blood. Thus perished Clement, the eternal ornament of France,‡ at the age of twenty-four years; a young man of a simple character, and rather feeble constitution; but a greater power supported his courage and his strength." The pope's bull of excommunication which declared the monarch fallen from his throne, and thus exposed him to such an attempt; and the decree of the Sorbonne, which released the French from their oath of allegiance, and declared that such an act would be highly meritorious, may both be attributed to the barbarous manners of the age and the generally enslaved state of the human mind. But the Jesuits, who are chiefly men of extensive information, and whose life is professedly contemplative and devout, still avoid any declaration which may condemn this murder; and it is wonderful, that the rules of a religious society should contain an entire chapter on regicide. The doctrines which the fathers of this order taught on that subject fell into great disrepute, and raised many opponents to the re-establishment of the Jesuits after they had been expelled the kingdom. Still they would not renounce the doctrine; and Aquaviva their general commanded them *not to affirm* that it was lawful to kill a king: he also forbade any publication upon regicide, unless it had been examined and approved at Rome: the crime itself was thus unnoticed: its discussion only was forbidden.§

* Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. ii. p. 8. De Thou, liv. 96. Mem. de Nevers, vol. ii. p. 5. In the year 1600 Cardinal D'Ossat demanded that the regular ceremonies should be performed.—*Lettres du Cardinal D'Ossat*, part ii. p. 109.

† Mariana.—*De rege et regis institutione*.

‡ Sic Clementis perit æternum Gallicæ decus.

§ *Compte des Institutions, &c.* Rendu au parlement de Rouen, 1762, p. 118.

* The Due d'Angoulême speaks of this duel in his memoirs: he describes Marolles as unequalled in the management of a lance.

† Cayet, liv. i. p. 258. Brantome, vol. ii. p. 73. Journal de Henri IV.

‡ Journal de Henri IV.

§ Davila, liv. 10. Mem. du Due d'Angoulême, p. 22.

But although the death of Henry III. was the cause of unanimous joy in Paris, there was a considerable difference of opinion about his successor. The Duchess of Montpensier persuaded her brother Mayenne to take the crown: she urged that he should not lose so fine an opportunity of settling on his family the crown which his ancestors had formerly worn. Villeroy and the president Jean-nin, however, were opposed to such a measure, and represented that there were many pretenders to the crown, equally well founded in their claim, and more able to enforce it. Besides which, the Spanish Ambassador, Bernard Mendoza, showed that the duke would be opposed by all the influence of his court: it was therefore decided that the Cardinal of Bourbon should be proclaimed as Charles X., which was done without delay.* The cardinal being old, feeble, and childless, would not interfere with Mayenne's future plans; while the little time which, according to probability, he had to live, would afford him a better opportunity for ultimately securing his object. As Charles X. was a captive, the Duke of Mayenne was invested with the title and authority of lieutenant-general of the state and crown of France, so that he had the full exercise of the regal authority to ensure the success of his ulterior measures, when the throne should again become vacant.

D'Aubigné was selected as the captive's guardian, in place of Chavigny, who did not possess the king's confidence. The Duchess de Retz employed an agent to offer two hundred thousand crowns, or the government of Bellisle, if he would connive at the prisoner's escape. The safe-conduct previously demanded alone prevented D'Aubigné from arresting the emissary.†

The parliament of Paris willingly registered the edict which recognised the Cardinal of Bourbon to be king; but in other parts the conflict of interests prevented the adoption of any measure. The parliament of Bordeaux would not acknowledge Henry IV., but was persuaded by Marshal Matignon to abstain from recognising the right of the Cardinal of Bourbon;‡ that of Toulouse not only forbade the recognition of Henry of Bourbon, under pain of death, but ordered his excommunication to be republished;§ while that of Rouen declared all those guilty of high treason who opposed the Holy Union.||

Henry IV. had assembled a parliament at Tours, where his right was acknowledged, and justice administered in his name. The council of the league were indignant at the existence of such a body, and sent a herald with a message informing them that, for their cruelty in punishing Catholics, they were declared deserters from the true religion, in the war existing between the Catholics and the heretics; that they were therefore considered enemies, and that reprisals and confiscations would be proceeded with against them.¶

When the king went into Normandy, his army was very small, and he wished to establish himself at Dieppe; as well for the convenience of communication with England, as for the facility of retiring by sea to Rochelle, in the event of a defeat by the

league. On his way, he prepared for attacking Rouen, and committed some havoc in the neighbourhood.* The alarm in the town was so great, that Aumale and Brissac, who had retired thither with twelve hundred horsemen, could scarcely restrain the inhabitants from opening the gates. They sent numerous couriers to the Duke of Mayenne, entreating him to make haste, if he wished to preserve the town.†

Mayenne was nearer than the king expected; he had left Paris at the end of August, with an army of nearly thirty thousand men. Henry having scarcely seven thousand, raised the siege on his approach: he retired to Dieppe, where he had already placed a small garrison, and wrote to Longueville and D'Aumont to join him with their forces.

Fortunately for Henry IV. the Duke of Mayenne had lost considerable time in going to a conference with the Duke of Parma; for if he had attacked the king at once, the triumph of the league would have been secured. Even afterwards he employed himself too long in taking a number of small towns in the neighbourhood, in order to deprive the king of all chance of making his escape; and so confidently did he calculate upon a victory, that he sent information to Spain of the *Bearnais* being shut up in a corner, from whence he could not escape except by sea.‡ Henry's friends were very much concerned for his personal safety; and as every one expressed his opinions, and thereby excited alarms, the king decided on taking some resolution which should put an end to their uncertainty.

A council of war was held on the 5th of September: several persons recommended that detachments should be left in the places they held, sufficient to preserve them until the arrival of reinforcements; and that the king should embark for England or Rochelle, a measure which would at once provide for his personal safety, and enable him to negotiate for assistance from abroad. Biron's energetic appeal to his honour and character, preserved him from yielding to such advice; that nobleman convinced him that if he quitted the soil of France, it was scarcely possible he could ever return; and that if he placed his hopes on anything short of the courage and resolution of his followers, he would assuredly lose his crown. Henry then decided on making a stand against the league; but as it might be extremely inconvenient for his cause if he were blockaded in Dieppe, he took his post at the Castle of Arques, about a league distant; and as Mayenne's army had been joined by the forces at Rouen under the Duke of Aumale, no exertions were deemed too great in making trenches, redoubts, and other kinds of defences.§

The Duke of Mayenne arrived on the evening of the 15th of September, and took up his quarters at a small village called Martin Eglise,|| separated from Arques by the river Bethune. Finding the king's position very strong on that side, he suddenly attacked the suburb of Dieppe, called Poet, the following day. Chatillon was posted there, and made a successful sortie, which threw

* 24 August, 1589.

† Davila, liv. 10. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 257.—Duc d'Angoulême, p. 35.

‡ Davila, liv. 10. Preface, liv. 2. Mem. de Nevers, vol. ii. p. 93.

§ Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. ii. p. 10. Cayet, liv. 1. Davila, liv. 10. Sully, liv. 3.

|| Or Martinglise.

* 7th August, 1589. Davila, liv. 10. Villeroy, vol. i. p. 156—164. Journal de Henri IV.

† D'Aubigné, Mem. p. 143.

‡ Hist. du parlement de Paris, ch. 32. De Thou, liv. 97.

§ De Thou, liv. 97.

|| Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. ii. p. 14.

¶ Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 26.

the assailants into confusion. Marshal Biron then came to his assistance, and completely defeated them, pursuing them into the village of Martin Eglise.*

Every day produced skirmishes and attacks, but most of them were of no importance. It was believed at the time that there was a division in the councils of the league;† their leaders were so confident of success, that they made premature arrangements for the division of the spoil; and the distribution of the various governments and charges created disputes among them, which were with difficulty appeased, and a delay naturally arose in their operations. At length, on the evening of the 20th, orders were given to pass the river after midnight, and attack before dawn the king's forces posted at a place called La Maladerie, by taking which post there would be a greater probability of attacking Arques with success. Notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, and the violence of their attack, they were repulsed with great loss, and found themselves immediately attacked on three points by the king in person, by Biron, and by Chatillon.‡

Finding it impossible to gain the place by force, treachery was used. There were German soldiers in each army, and those in the king's service were employed at that very post. Their countrymen approached the trenches, and, on calling out that they wished to join the king, were assisted in getting into the fort. They were readily believed in their declarations, as a report had been circulated that they wished for an opportunity to abandon the Duke of Mayenne, who did not pay them. No sooner, however, were they in the fort than they attacked the king's troops. Biron advanced to learn the cause of the disorder he observed: he was pulled from his horse and nearly killed. The king also was engaged in the conflict almost alone;§ and if Mayenne had been alert at that moment, he would have carried all before him. When Henry found himself struggling in the midst of his enemies he considered his cause lost, but persevered in trying to rally his men, who fled in every direction. At last, in a tone of despair, he exclaimed, "What! are there not in all France fifty gentlemen who have resolution enough to die with their king?" Chatillon was then pressing forward to assist him with five hundred musqueteers; he was sufficiently near to hear the king's appeal, and immediately answered, "Courage, sire! Here we are, ready to die with you." They immediately attacked the treacherous Lansquenets, and drove them out of the fort. Night coming on, the Duke of Mayenne found he could expect to gain no advantage, and retired with his men into his own lines, the king remaining master of the field of battle.||

Several other attacks were made both on Arques and on Dieppe, but without success. In the mean time the arrival of the Duke of Longueville and Marshal d'Aumont reinforced the royal army, and five thousand men having been sent by Queen Elizabeth, with a supply of ammunition, and a

considerable sum of money.* Mayenne abandoned his design, and marched his army into Picardy. Nothing could be more complete than his disgrace, for the accounts he had forwarded to Paris were of the most boasting kind; and the Lansquenets in their treacherous attack, having obtained four or five standards, he sent them to the Duchess of Montpensier. She had a dozen others made, and they were paraded through the city, while a bulletin was distributed, stating that the Duke of Mayenne blockaded the Bearnais by land, and the Duke of Aumale by sea; that the latter had defeated the English fleet, and that no chance remained of Henry's escape. Couriers brought accounts of his having offered to surrender provided his life were spared, and they announced that he would be brought captive to Paris, to grace Mayenne's triumphal entry.†

After such exertions the king's army required repose, and both officers and men were in great want of many things for their private equipments as well as for service, particularly harness, as their own was nearly destroyed by continued rains and violent use. The spoils of the routed army afforded them a good supply, and on the 19th of October the king set out for Paris by easy marches. The royal army at this time was increased to twenty thousand infantry, three thousand cavalry, and fourteen heavy guns. This force arrived within a league of Paris on the evening of the 31st of October, and was placed in the villages of Issy, Vaugirard, and Montrouge; the king being resolved to attack the suburbs of Paris the next morning.‡

As the people had been deceived by the false boastings of the Sixteen and the Duchess of Montpensier, they were by no means prepared for such an attack; the defence which was made on the occasion is therefore surprising. But the council of the league being informed of the king's approach, called upon the people to take arms, which every one did, not excepting the clergy; and they were soon in the same position as when the late king was preparing to attack them three months before. Henry divided his infantry into three bodies. Biron with one of them attacked the faubourgs St. Victor and St. Marcel; D'Aumont and Thoré, with another division, the faubourgs St. Jacques, and St. Michel; Chatillon, and La Noue, that of St. Germain. The cavalry and artillery were divided in the same manner, to support each body of infantry. On the signal being given, the faubourgs were simultaneously attacked: the assailants were aided by a thick fog, and in less than an hour, they were masters of that part of Paris.§ If the king's cannon had been brought up in time, the city itself might have been taken; but a slowness in the movements of those who superintended that service gave the citizens time to barricade the gates so well, that the idea of forcing them was abandoned for the time. In this attack the Parisians had above nine hundred persons killed, and four hundred were made prisoners. Chatillon at first committed great havoc among them, being spurred on by a wish to avenge the murder of his

* Davila, liv. 10. Mathieu, *Hist. des guerres entre les maisons de France et d'Espagne*, p. 23. Paris, 1600.

† Peréfixe, liv. 2.

‡ Davila—*Hist. des guerres*, &c. p. 24.

§ A captain of the Lansquenets insolently called out to the king to surrender; and was making a thrust at him with his sword, when La Force and d'Angoulême arrived to his assistance.—*Mém. du Duc d'Angoulême*, p. 69.

|| Davila, Mathieu, Cayet, and others.

* Sir E. Stafford arrived with this reinforcement the 23rd Sept.—*Mém. du Duc d'Angoulême*, p. 75.

† Davila, liv. 10. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 270. De Thou, liv. 97. Journal de Henri IV.

‡ Cayet, liv. 1. p. 270.

§ Cayet, liv. 1. p. 271.

father; but the king gave orders to desist from such proceedings, and in less than two hours the place was as tranquil as if nothing had occurred.* The festival of All Saints was uninterrupted; and the Catholic soldiers of the royal army assisted at mass in the churches.† A Piedmontese, named St. Severin, was the most remarkable among those who made a vigorous resistance. Supposing the assailants would be occupied with pillage,‡ he sallied from the city with three hundred men, and threw Chatillon's party into confusion. St. Severin was actively pursuing his success, when he was killed by a musket ball; his death dispirited his followers, and they were almost all killed.§

In the mean time the Duke of Mayenne arrived in Paris; he had heard of the direction taken by the king's army, and changed his course to come up with him. Henry had given orders to destroy the bridge of St. Maixent after his army had passed, in order to arrest Mayenne's progress; that order had not been executed, and the army of the league arrived on the afternoon of the 1st of November.|| The king had decided on attacking the city, but that event compelled him to change his plan. In a letter to Duplessis-Mornay he writes, "Since it has pleased God to favour me in this enterprise, I have determined to follow it up, and attack my said city, which I hope to bring back to obedience, unless the army of my enemies, or a part of their forces enter the city within three days." The letter contained the following postscript: "While signing this letter, I am informed that the Duke of Mayenne has just arrived in the city with his army; so that being no longer able to force the city and the army together, I am resolved to wait here till to-morrow to see what the Duke of Mayenne will try to do, and the day after I will retire in his sight, to see if he will undertake what hitherto he has not dared to do."¶

Henry waited accordingly the following day in expectation of an attack, and on the third he resolved to abandon the faubourgs: still he waited in the sight of the town, drawn up in order of battle, ready to engage Mayenne if he would come out. The league would not accept the challenge, and the king set out for Tours, where he had promised to hold a meeting of the states-general.**

Among those who were made prisoners in the attack on the suburbs was Burgoign, prior of the Dominicans: he was actively engaged in the defence with other monks, who like him had taken the sword and cuirass. He was sent to Tours, where some time afterwards he was condemned to the punishment of regicides.†† He suffered death with constancy, and declared, when exhorted to confess his crime, "He had done all that he could, but not all that he would have done."‡‡ His por-

trait was placed among the Dominican martyrs, in a church at Valladolid belonging to that order.* A wealthy citizen of Paris, named Charpentier, a member of the council of the league, also fell into the king's hands. His friends in the city immediately arrested, among others, a person named Blanchet, a suspected royalist, and declared that his life should answer for Charpentier's safety. An exchange had been arranged: Charpentier had paid a sum agreed upon for his ransom, and was preparing to return to Paris. At the moment he was leaving, Biron heard that Blanchet had been put to death to gratify the populace:‡ the marshal instantly went to the king, and insisted on avenging such a crime, for otherwise he would be deserted by his followers. Charpentier, in consequence, was ordered to be hanged.‡

The president Potier de Blancmesnil was likewise in great danger, for he was suspected of having sent a communication to the king, that when he arrived before Paris, the royalists would co-operate from within. The Sixteen immediately put him on his trial, and were unanimous in sentencing him to death. The Duke of Mayenne arrived at the important moment: having a great respect for that magistrate, he released him from his dreadful position, at the request of De Gèvre the president's brother, and afterwards allowed him to quit Paris and join the king.§

CHAPTER XLIV.

Henry IV. takes Vendôme—Is acknowledged by the senate of Venice—Sieges of Falaise and Honfleur—Arrival of the Legate Cajetan—Defence of Meulan.

WHEN the king left Paris, in his way to Tours, he took Estampes, Joinville and Vendôme. There was some resistance at the latter place: after making a considerable breach with the cannon, Chatillon and the Baron de Biron|| entered with a few soldiers, sword in hand. The defence of the place provoked the victors to pillage; and as Vendôme was the particular patrimony of the Bourbon family, the king was more angry at its revolt. However, he proclaimed a pardon for all, with the exception of Benehard, the governor, who had given up the place to the League, and Chessé, a monk, who by his sermons had excited the people to take arms. Chessé was hanged: he went to execution with all the courage which fanaticism could impart. Benehard was beheaded, but he displayed great weakness: he threw himself at Biron's feet, and with tears implored his life. The marshal repulsed him with scorn, saying that he neither knew how to defend himself, nor to surrender.¶

* Journal de Henri III.

† 20th Nov. 1589. According to the Journal de Henri IV.

‡ Cayet, liv. 1. p. 273. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 225.

§ Journal de Henri IV. Le Grain, liv. 5. Whether this event took place immediately, or some months afterwards, is of no great importance; and it is probably the admitted correctness of the fact itself, which has caused it to remain undiscussed. The Journal de Henri IV. states, that he was arrested on the 3rd of November; but Villeroy (vol. i. p. 184) mentions the arrest of the president as a circumstance that prevented his leaving Paris, after the arrival of the legate Cajetan, at the end of January, 1590.

|| Charles de Goutaut Biron, son of the Marshal; the same who was beheaded in 1609.

¶ Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. ii. p. 13. Davila, liv. 10. Cayet, liv. 1. p. 276. De Thou, liv. 97.

* Le Grain, liv. 5. p. 198.

† Davila, liv. 10.

‡ The royalists certainly made a great booty on this occasion. Sully mentions that he gained 3,000 crowns, and Davila observes, that from the plunder *l'armée recut un merveilleux secours, et en fut fort soulagée.*

§ D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 224.

|| Sully, liv. 3. De Thou, liv. 97. Mem. de Tavannes, p. 201.

¶ Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 39. The date of this letter has unaccountably been changed to the 11th, and it is placed accordingly.

** Davila, liv. 10.

†† Journal de Henri IV. According to De Thou, liv. 98. he was executed in February, 1590.

‡‡ Cayet, liv. 1. p. 228.

Henry arrived at Tours on the 21st of November, when he was welcomed with transports of joy. The same evening he received the homage of the Cardinals of Vendôme and Lenoncourt, and the next day he had visits from the parliament, the different courts, and the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, who congratulated him upon the success of his arms.* John Mocenigo, the Venetian ambassador, also presented a letter, by which the senate acknowledged him to be King of France, apologised for their delay in sending the customary letter of congratulation, and ordered their minister to continue his functions at the court of Henry IV.† This proceeding of the Venetians was important to the royal cause, as it influenced many other powers. The senate had early decided on assisting the king against the league, but the influence of the pope and the King of Spain had been exerted to prevent that body from coming to such a resolution. It was debated for two days, whether the republic should at once acknowledge Henry, or wait till other powers had done so. When the decision was made known, the people were tumultuous in their joy, and some resolved on joining the king's army. The inquisitors immediately proceeded against such persons as encouragers of heretics, and insolently included the doge in their accusation. The nuncio and the Spanish ambassador loudly complained of the recognition of Henry's title, in contravention of the declaration made by the pope and the cardinals. To which the senate replied, "That the republic had nothing to do with matters of faith, but that they acknowledged Henry of Bourbon to be the lawful successor to the crown of France, which no one could deny." After protesting against the declaration of the senate, the nuncio quitted Venice: the republic, however, was at that time too flourishing to be controlled by the Pontiff, and to show their resentment, the senate put the inquisitors into prison.‡ The public at the same time felt so indignant at the late king's assassination, that two Dominicans, being out of their convent one evening, were seized and ill treated; one of them was thrown into the canal, and was nearly drowned, and when they complained to the senate on the subject they could get no redress, being told that monks had no business to be out in the evenings.§

Jerome Matteucci was nuncio at the time: he thought that the pope would be highly gratified by his zeal for the holy See: but he was not aware of the character of Sixtus, who told him, on his arrival, to take the same horses that had brought him, and return immediately to Venice.|| The fact was, that although Sixtus was obliged to oppose Henry IV. as a heretic, he had, nevertheless, a strong feeling in his favour; he admired his boldness, and wished him to become a catholic, more for the sake of being able to acknowledge him, than for any other reason. Besides which, the Spanish influence at Rome had become so overbearing, that Sixtus wished to strengthen the other powers as a sort of counterpoise: this caused it to be rumoured that he and the Venetian senate were acting in

concert; that Albert Badoaro, the Venetian ambassador at Rome, had made overtures to the pope respecting the recognition of Henry's title, before the republic discussed the business, and that it was his communication of the Pontiff's secret information which completely decided the senate.*

The day after the king's arrival at Tours, he called together the nobles and deputies who had gone there to assist at the states-general. He expressed his deep regret at the renewal of the war rendering a postponement necessary, he trusted they would approve of his adjourning the assembly till the month of March, by which time he was in hopes he should restore tranquillity to the country.† He quitted Tours after a stay of only five days, and commenced a series of operations, which were very successful. He took Mans, Alençon, Falaise, and other towns, and completely destroyed the communications of the league, in several directions. His activity was remarkable; in less than two months he attacked the suburbs of Paris, besieged five or six considerable places, took possession of fourteen towns, and expelled the enemy from Anjou, Maine, Vendôme and Touraine; and this was affected with an army strangely composed; it consisted of Swiss, Germans, and many rustics who had never known military discipline: his progress at the same time being impeded by a cumbersome train of artillery and baggage.‡

Mayenne took advantage of the king's distant occupation to seize Vincennes and Pontoise.§ But the joy which was derived from this momentary success was dissipated by the news of the fall of Falaise, which was defended by the Count de Brissac. He had boasted that he would soon check the king's progress in Normandy; and when summoned to surrender, he replied, that he had made a vow not to talk of capitulation for six months. The king's artillery made him change his tone, and in a few days he surrendered at discretion. He was made prisoner, with fifteen of his officers.||

After the surrender of Falaise, all the other towns of Lower Normandy opened their gates to the royalists, with the exception of Honfleur, situated at the mouth of the Seine, and defended by a strong garrison. But the prospect of an obstinate siege did not discourage the king, whose affairs had taken a most fortunate turn. All his enterprises succeeded, and there appeared a great probability of the Holy Union being speedily suppressed. Unfortunately Henry was in want of money; he could not keep his forces together, and when plunder was scarce, his men would leave the army in great numbers to go home.¶ This impeded his operations, and protracted the war for several years.

Honfleur being a place of considerable importance was confided to a commander on whom the league placed great dependence; it was Gerard Berton, a knight of Malta, and brother of the brave Crillon. He was reputed to be inferior in military prowess to none but his brother, who had used every persuasion to detach him from the league, but in vain. The king was so anxious to

* Leti, lib. 10.

† Davila, liv. 10.

‡ Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 41. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. ii. p. 14. Davila, liv. 10.

§ Sully, liv. 3. Mem. de Tavannes, p. 205.

|| Davila, liv. 10. at the end. De Thou, liv. 97. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. ii. p. 14.

¶ Perefize, liv. 2.

* Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. ii. p. 13.

† Cayet, liv. 1. p. 295. De Thou, liv. 97.

‡ Davila, liv. 10. Leti, lib. 10. Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. 28.

§ De Thou, liv. 97. p. 60.

|| Leti, lib. 10.

gain him to his cause that he offered him a marshal's baton, which was refused. His lieutenant was a priest named Truville, a Provençal, who added great military tact to a violent enthusiasm. Such leaders could not fail of exciting a bold spirit among their followers, and the town was extremely well defended. A cannon ball having killed Truville, the garrison became a little disheartened; and the bursting of four of their principal guns about the same time crippled their means of defence: but Berton preserved a cheerful countenance, and encouraged his men with the hope of assistance being speedily sent to them. When that expectation could no longer be kept up he capitulated: it was agreed that the town should surrender to the king if no assistance arrived within four days; nothing came during that time, and it was given up on the twenty-first of January, 1590.*

While Henry IV. was pursuing his fortune in the field, his parliament at Tours made preparations for the states-general to be held in March. Achille de Harlay had been liberated from the Bastille, in consideration of a large ransom, and exercised the functions of chief president. At the same time the council of the league issued orders for an assembly of the states to be held at Melun in February.† Some changes had occurred in the composition of the revolted administration: the Archbishop of Lyons had obtained his liberty by bribing Du Guast, who had charge of him; he was appointed chancellor; and Villeroy and Jeannin were introduced into the cabinet to counteract the Spanish influence.‡ Brissot, who was the chief president of the parliament, was considered a guarantee for the co-operation of that body. The Duke of Mayenne then declared that, being appointed lieutenant-general of the crown by a king duly recognized, he could only be advised by a council of his own appointment; and in consequence dissolved the council of the Union. By this measure the Sixteen were stripped of their authority, and the Spanish Ambassador was deprived of the aid of a body entirely devoted to him.§

Both the league and the royalists endeavoured to win over the pope to their cause; but the leaguers had been more expeditious than their opponents. They had sent an agent to Rome immediately after the death of Henry III.: he represented that the Holy Union had resolved on having no other person for king than the Cardinal of Bourbon, and in whose behalf they would spare no exertions; adding, that the whole noblesse of the country was with them. As a further motive to decide the pontiff, they told him that to preserve the ascendancy in the minds of the nation, his assistance was indispensable; and that if he refused they might be obliged to come to terms with the King of Navarre. The pope consented to send a legate to Paris, and chose for that purpose the Cardinal Cajetan, a Spaniard, who was to be accompanied by a suite of prelates and theologians, among whom was Bellarmine, a Jesuit, celebrated for his violence in controversy. The legate was provided also with a considerable sum of money for forwarding the purposes of his

mission; but Sixtus had scarcely made his arrangements when the Duke of Luxemburg arrived on the behalf of the royalist Catholics. That nobleman explained to his holiness the reasons which had influenced the body he represented in recognising the king's right to the crown; and applied to him, as the common father of all Christians, for the means of establishing peace among his children. Sixtus plainly saw that the accounts he had received from the League were false; he behaved with unusual affability to the Duke of Luxemburg, and wrote a letter to the royalist Catholics, exhorting them to remain firm in their religion, declaring that he had no other interest than to see on the throne of France a king who professed the same faith as his predecessors; and stating that it was indifferent to him upon whom their choice fell, provided it was not a heretic, whom he could not consider a child of the church. With that exception they might name whom they pleased, and he wished them every happiness and prosperity.*

The agents of the league wished to persuade the pope, that what he had heard was only an artifice of the King of Navarre to abate his zeal and gain time; while Sixtus, to be freed from their importunities, ordered the legate to set out for France, but with instructions very different from those he had given at first; instead of exerting himself to place on the throne the Cardinal of Bourbon, he was now to aim at the election of a Catholic who might be agreeable to the whole nation; and he was to try to bring back to the church all who had declared against it. Sixtus particularly enjoined him not to declare openly against the King of Navarre, so long as his conversion was possible; and that he should publicly support his cause immediately that event appeared probable. The pope's commands were backed by the advice of Cardinal Morosini, the grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Duke of Nevers; but the legate fancied that Morosini was envious of his appointment, and the persons who accompanied him created suspicions of the other advisers. On his arrival at Turin, his vanity was so inflamed by the obsequious behaviour of the Duke of Savoy, who paid him great respect, in hopes of obtaining support in his claim to the crown, that he forgot he was only a representative, and assumed the style of a reigning prince.†

The legate, however, had no sooner set foot upon the soil of France than his haughty notions sustained a great mortification. Supposing everything would bend to his authority, he sent a message to Alphonso Ornano, who commanded in that part, to desist from troubling Grenoble and Valence, which still belonged to the league, and called upon him to abandon the king's party and join the Union. That officer replied in a style which displeased the legate, whose disappointment was increased when he arrived at Lyons, and found the affairs of the league in very great confusion; for the king had issued a manifesto, stating, that if the legate came to him, he was to be treated with every respect; but that if he joined the league, he was to be treated as an enemy.‡ The royalist captains in consequence scoured the country, and attacked the legate's escort. He, finding he could expect no assistance from the Duke of Mayenne,

seq.

* Cayet, liv. 2, p. 318. Vie de Crillon, vol. ii. pp. 84 et

† Davila, liv. 11. Mem. de Nevers, vol. ii. p. 95.

‡ Davila, liv. 11. Villeroy, vol. i. p. 180.

§ Cayet, liv. 1. p. 920.

* Davila, liv. 11. Leti, lib. 10.

† Ibid.

‡ Cayet, liv. 1. p. 253.

applied to the Duke of Lorraine, who readily sent him a force for his protection; in this harassed manner he made the journey to Paris, where he arrived on the twentieth of January. He was there received in a magnificent manner, lodged at the episcopal palace, and treated as a sovereign.* The inhabitants were under arms, and saluted him by firing their pieces. The legate is said to have entertained fears lest any of the people who were averse to his mission should have loaded their muskets with ball, and made a sign for them to leave off; but they, supposing he was blessing them, increased their firing.†

After the pope's letter‡ was read and registered in the parliament, a declaration was issued, enjoining obedience to the Holy See, and deference to the recommendations of the legate. The parliament at Tours immediately passed a decree, commanding the reverse. A number of letters from prelates, decisions of the Sorbonne, and replies to each, were then circulated; and the legate perceived, when it was too late, that he had done wrong in not remaining neuter; he could then have acted as a mediator, but now he could only exert himself for the league, which cause appeared to be rapidly hastening to dissolution.§

The diversity of interests, which at this time distracted the councils of the league, promoted the cause of Henry IV. beyond expectation. Charles X. was looked upon by all as a phantom; and each party made exertions for taking advantage of the vacancy which his death would present. If Mayenne could not have the crown himself, he wished naturally to confer it on some one who should be indebted to him for it, and whom he could afterwards influence. The King of Spain pretended that his daughter was entitled to it in right of her mother, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Henry II. This was the strongest party, as Mendoza, Philip's ambassador, possessed great influence with the Sixteen, and the leading members of the League; the populace of Paris was also devoted to him: he had made liberal distributions of pistoles, and amused them with promises of large supplies of men and money.

The nobility of the league were anxious to have a prince of the house of Lorraine: they were accustomed to serve under chiefs of that family, and supported the claim of the Duke of Lorraine, in behalf of his son, the Marquis de Pont, whose mother, Claude, was second daughter of Henry II. His right could not be admitted without allowing the superior claim of Philip II.; but he was a Frenchman by birth, and his family had rendered such important service to the league, that many were inclined to support him. The Duke of Savoy urged his right to the crown on the ground of descent, his mother being the daughter of Francis I. His claim could not be opposed to the two preceding; and although he was sure of the pope's support, he offered to resign his pretensions for the Marquisate of Saluces.

Besides these, there were other plans proposed: if the Duke of Lorraine could not obtain the crown, he demanded Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and the duchy of Sedan. The Duke of Nemours wished to establish an independent sovereignty in the Lyonnais, and the Duke of Mercœur in Brittany.¶ The

proposal for dismembering the kingdom served essentially to increase the number of royalists, who were at this time gaining ground rapidly, on account of the success of the king's arms, as well as from the report which was circulated of his serious determination to abjure. The legate being a Spaniard was more inclined to support the interest of that country, and felt alarmed at the advancement of the royal cause. He made great efforts to support the league, and to prevent any accommodation with the king, even if he became a Catholic.*

About the same time were published certain articles, stated to have been agreed upon between the king and Mayenne, by the medium of Villeroy and Biron. The Marquis of Belin had been taken prisoner at Arques, and was released by the king on his parole: he had been the bearer of a proposal for an accommodation, which Mayenne had rejected; but as it was known that such a proposal had been made, the legate was inclined to attach importance to the publication.† At all events, he considered it best to adopt measures of precaution; and on the 10th of February the Sorbonne published a decree, condemning all thought of the possibility of a reconciliation with the king, even if he became a Catholic. If any one, it is added, refuses to obey this decree, the faculty declares him pernicious to the church of God, perjured and disobedient to his mother, and finally cuts him off from their body, as a rotten limb which would contaminate the others. With the assistance of this decree, the legate called upon the officers of the city and the captains of the quarters, to take an oath publicly, "That they would persevere in the holy union; that they would never make peace nor treaty with the King of Navarre; and that they would employ their property and their lives for the deliverance of their king, Charles X."‡

When the legate perceived the impossibility of doing anything in behalf of the captive Cardinal of Bourbon, he handed over to Mayenne the three hundred thousand crowns, to be employed as he thought best in the service of the league. The duke had sent a force to besiege Meulan directly after the taking of Pontoise; but the place being strong, the assailants could make no impression: he therefore insisted upon the application of the money to strengthening and extending his means of operation. He then left Paris to attack Meulan with his whole force, being determined to take the town, as it was important for the supply of Paris with provisions.§ Sully relates, that when the league took Pontoise, he expected Meulan would be attacked, and knowing the importance of the place to the king's cause, did everything he could devise to reinforce the garrison. At the same time he sent to the king for assistance. Upon the repetition of his request, Henry wrote a letter, in which he appears vexed at being called away from some plan he was pursuing: "In consequence of your opportunity, I am coming to help Meulan: if any inconvenience arise, I shall always reproach you with it." Fortunately there was nothing disastrous that arose out of the circumstance: but it is almost to be wondered at that it was so; for, instead of going with a strong force, the king left his army at Honfleur, and took with him only a small squadron for escort. The enemy,

* Davila, liv. 11. Journal de Henri IV.

† Le Grain, liv. 4. p. 173.

‡ Dated 15th Oct. 1589.

§ Davila, liv. 11.

¶ Ibid.

* Mem. de la Ligue, vol. iii.

† Davila, liv. 11. Villeroy, vol. i. p. 168-176.

‡ Journal de Henri IV.

§ Davila, liv. 11.

being informed of his march, turned towards him, and he was compelled to go back to Verneuil. "It was not usual," says Sully, "for this prince to retire before his enemies, and he did not do so without great vexation. In the first movements of his anger he accused me of having exposed him to the affront, having cared less about his reputation than the preservation of my estates from pillage. It was easy for me to justify myself; and that prince, who understood the importance of such a place as Meulan, ordered the rest of his army to join him, which had the effect I had anticipated."*

Henry's army arrived before Meulan in order of battle, on the 21st of February. He approached on the side which was attacked by the Sieur de Rône, who held an important command in the army of the league: that officer, finding his force inadequate to the resistance of the royal army, crossed the river in some boats he had ready, and joined the Duke of Mayenne. The king immediately entered the town, complimented the garrison on the defence they had made, and left with them a reinforcement of three hundred Swiss and two hundred musketeers.† While Henry was in Meulan, he wished to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, and went with several persons up the steeple of a church. When they were up there, the besiegers opened a sharp cannonade upon the steeple, and so destroyed the steps, that they were obliged to descend by a rope.‡ The king then retired to a short distance from the town, and Mayenne thinking, that from the disproportion of their forces, he need not expect to be attacked, made a violent assault upon the place on the following day. A detachment was sent to support the town, which compelled the assailants to desist. His majesty having provided for the safety of Meulan, took a position on the road to Paris. Mayenne feared lest he should be deprived of a communication with the capital, and decamped on the 25th of February; an additional reason for which movement was the report of a tumult at Rouen.§

CHAPTER XLV.

Battle of Ivry and Siege of Paris.

AFTER his failure upon Meulan, the Duke of Mayenne directed his steps towards Picardy, to meet the reinforcements he expected from Flanders and Lorraine. The king in the mean time continued his endeavours to block up every avenue to Paris; and by depriving the capital of its supplies and communications, he hoped to kindle a feeling of impatience, under the privations which the league inflicted upon the inhabitants. With this end in view, he laid siege to Dreux at the end of February. That town was defended by two captains named Falandre and La Viette, who were well supplied with everything requisite for making a protracted resistance. Repeated attacks were made, but without effect; and the king gave orders for cannon to be brought from Meulan, for battering the place. The people of Paris were alarmed at the account they received of the siege of Dreux, and feeling already a great di-

minution in their supply of provisions, they were alive to the apprehension of a famine, if once that important place should be taken by the king. The legate and the Spanish minister attempted to calm the public mind, by the means of preachers; at the same time they made use of every method to rouse the Duke of Mayenne to activity. Various appeals to his courage and feelings at last determined him to take the field, and being joined by some Spaniards under Count Egmont, and some Germans under Colonel Saint Paul, he imagined himself equal to the contest with the king's forces. After reviewing his army, he quitted Paris on the 11th of March, and took the road for Dreux.*

On the following morning the king was informed that the army of the league was approaching with an increase of force: this occasioned him to raise the siege of Dreux, and to give orders for the army to retire on Nonancourt, which was done in great order. Two individuals who were in the army mention, that during a storm of thunder and rain which then took place, there were seen the figures of two armies in the clouds, fighting very furiously. Davila says it greatly discouraged the royal army, who for the most part looked upon it as a presage of their defeat, and coupled the circumstance with the event of the battle fought on that very spot at the beginning of the civil wars.† Sully was with a detachment at Pacý;‡ he distinctly saw two armies in the air, but was unable to pronounce whether it was an illusion or a reality: "Yet," says he, "this object made such an impression on my mind, that I was not at all surprised on reading a letter which I received from the king the next day. He informed me that the Duke of Mayenne's army, joined by the Spaniards, had approached him with a view to giving battle." The letter finished with these words: "I conjure you therefore to come, and bring with you all that you can, especially your company, and the two bodies of armed horsemen I left with you; for I know and wish to make use of them."§

When the king relinquished the siege of Dreux, he held a consultation with his superior officers; gave them a full explanation of the plan he proposed to adopt, and appointed a general rendezvous at the village of St. Andrew, on the plain of Ivry.|| Henry took up his head-quarters at Nonancourt, and his generals lodged with their divisions in the surrounding places: he had so fully expected to be attacked, that on the 9th of March he had written to Mornay to hasten his arrival with all the force he could collect.

At that time Mornay was at Chateaudun, and by great exertion he arrived within two leagues of Nonancourt, on the evening of the 12th.¶ Besides this reinforcement, Mouy and Tremouille arrived with two hundred horsemen from Poitou, Humieres brought two hundred gentlemen from Picardy, and Sully with his men arrived about two hours before the battle commenced.§

Both armies passed the thirteenth of March in order of battle on the plain of Ivry, but nothing occurred. Mornay relates that there were some

* Davila, liv. 11.

† At a time when the aurora borealis was but little known, it must have had a great effect upon such an army.

‡ *Pacy-sur-Eure*, distant four leagues from Ivry.

§ Sully, liv. 3.

|| Mathieu. *Hist. des Guerres*, &c. p. 26.

¶ Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 56.

** Davila, liv. 11. Sully, liv. 3.

* Sully, liv. 3. Cayet, liv. 2.

† Davila, liv. 11.

‡ Sully, liv. 3.

§ Davila, liv. 11. Sully, liv. 3. Mathieu, vol. ii. liv. 1.

skirmishes, and a few blows were exchanged, but the day passed off without an engagement, "not without wonder, as there was neither brook, nor hill, nor barrier between them."* The rain, meantime, fell incessantly, and very much inconvenienced the army of the league, who were not so well quartered as the royalists. The whole night, says Davila, passed in a continued labour, and uneasiness on both sides; large fires were kindled in both camps; sentinels were placed in every direction, and were changed by the *maitres-de-camp* every half hour. The king's army, however, having a good supply of provisions, and being better lodged, was enabled to take both refreshment and repose—a thing almost impracticable in the camp of their enemies. Mayenne was not at all desirous of giving battle: he thought that by keeping the king in the field, he would exhaust his resources and fatigue his followers. But Count Egmont protested against the Spanish troops being so uselessly employed; for as the Catholic king had stripped the Low Countries of their proper forces, he desired ardently that a great effort should be made to bring the war to a conclusion. Mayenne being well informed of the prevailing opinion at Paris could not resist Egmont's wish, especially as it was backed by the representative of the legate who was with the army. He resolved, therefore, to attack the king on the following morning.†

The force of the two armies was very unequal: the king had eight thousand infantry, and rather more than two thousand cavalry. Mayenne had twelve thousand infantry and four thousand horsemen. They were drawn out ready for action between nine and ten in the morning, and both parties appeared very desirous of engaging.‡ On the preceding day both Catholics and Protestants in the king's army had made their public devotions, and the churches of Nonancourt were full of the nobles and gentlemen who went to mass, while the Huguenot ministers performed divine service with their followers.§ When every arrangement was made, and the army was ready to charge, the king advanced in front of his men in complete armour, but bare-headed, and made aloud a prayer to the Almighty for his favour and protection. When he had finished, a general shout of *Vive le Roi* was heard, and the king then addressed his followers, exhorting them to keep their ranks, and assured them that he was determined to conquer or die with them. "If the standard fail you," said he, "keep my plume in your eye; you will always see it in the path of honour and duty."|| So saying, he put on his helmet, which was adorned with three fine white plumes; at the same time perceiving that the wind blew direct in the faces of the soldiers, and that in consequence the smoke would inconvenience them, he gave orders for taking a position more to the left: Mayenne perceived the king's troops in motion, and sounded for a general charge.¶

Mayenne on his side had not neglected to awaken the feelings of religion in the bosoms of his soldiers: he went before his army, preceded by a monk bearing a crucifix, to remind them that they were about to fight in behalf of religion, against

heretics and their encouragers, the declared enemies of Jesus Christ and his church.*

The battle commenced with a general discharge of artillery; but when the contending parties came to close quarters, the conflict was principally between the cavalry of each army. The king had divided his into several small divisions, as the only remedy for the inferiority of his numbers; and this measure preserved him from defeat: for the advantage which was gained by the enemy in one part, was balanced by the result of other divisions, and a small body being more immediately under the eye of the commander was rallied with less difficulty. For a long time the result of the battle was uncertain. Marshal d'Aumont made a successful charge, but the other divisions were broken. Mornay, in describing the battle, says, "The enemy had the advantage so generally, that France was on the point of ruin."†

The grand struggle was with the division commanded by the king in person: it consisted of six hundred horsemen. The main body of the enemy's cavalry was opposed to it: Count Egmont, the Duke of Nemours, and the Chevalier d'Aumale commanded: they had twelve hundred lancers, flanked by four hundred dragoons.‡ The king charged upon his opponents: for a quarter of an hour he could not be recognised, and a report prevailed through the ranks that he was killed. But soon after he re-appeared, covered with blood and dust, and the shouts of joy which were given by the royalists served to dishearten their enemies, whose rout then became general. The French and Swiss troops surrendered; but the Germans were nearly annihilated; and the Duke of Mayenne escaped, by destroying the bridge after he had crossed the Eure.§ The battle was not entirely finished till the evening, for the king's troops continued to pursue and harass their enemies all the remainder of the day, chiefly with a view to prevent their re-assembling. The leaguers lost all their baggage and artillery, and almost the whole of their army; for, besides the numbers that were killed, there were so many that surrendered after the battle, that scarcely four thousand made their escape. Count Egmont, the Spanish general, was among the slain.||

Biron was not in the battle: he remained with a body of reserve, and assisted only in the pursuit. When he saw the king had been exposed in the fight, he said to him, "Ah! Sire, this is not right; you have done to day what Biron should have done, while he has done what the king should do." Indeed, the king's friends were so concerned at the danger to which he had exposed himself, that they entreated him to be more careful of his person, and to consider that his destiny was to be king of France, and not a dragoon; that his subjects were all ready to fight for him, but that they were all lost if they had no head to direct them.¶

Sully has given us a description of what occurred to him in this memorable battle. He was in the king's squadron, and had to sustain a most furious attack from Count Egmont. He observed

* Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 268.

† Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 57.

‡ *Arquebusiers à cheval*.

§ This is Cayet's account; but Duplessis-Mornay states that he swam across the river in disguise.—*Mémoires*, vol. ii p. 58.

|| Davila, Mathieu, Duplessis, and others.

¶ Perefice, liv. 2. Cayet, liv. 2.

* Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 56.

† Davila, liv. 11.

‡ Mathieu, *Hist. des Guerres*, &c., p. 29.

§ Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. ii. p. 16.

|| D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 231.

¶ Davila, liv. 11. Perefice, liv. 2. Cayet, liv. 2.

that the Reitres, being of the same religion, did not do them so much injury as they could have done, and often fired in the air; but Egmont and the Spaniards fought so desperately, that the advantage was decidedly in their favour for a long time. Sully's horse was disabled, and a second horse was killed under him: he was at the same time wounded by a pistol ball, and lay senseless on the field. When he recovered a little, the armies were not to be seen; and as he thought the king's army had been defeated, he prepared his mind for the worst. He succeeded in obtaining a horse, upon which he mounted, and soon after observed seven persons approaching him: he saw that one of them carried Mayenne's standard, and expected to be taken prisoner or killed by them. His surprise was great when he found they surrendered themselves as his prisoners. This was the first intimation he received of the king's success: he went to Rosny as soon as he possibly could, and was there received by Henry IV. with marks of great friendship and esteem.*

The king remained a fortnight at Mantes; and while his soldiers were reposing after their victory at Ivry, he received the news of another battle gained by his forces at Issoire in Auvergne.† His affairs prospered in every direction, and it was unfortunate that he did not follow the advice of La Noue, who recommended him to march at once upon the capital, and crush the league, before time was given for their leaders to make fresh arrangements.‡ But the king was dissuaded from marching to Paris, for which different reasons have been assigned. Some have thought that Marshal Biron was not at all desirous of putting a period to his importance, by finishing the war; while others attribute it to the Huguenots, who feared the king might be persuaded to change his religion, if the Parisians received him on his arrival. It was decided in council that the town should be blockaded. If that method proved successful, the king was recommended to suppress the *rentes* of the Hotel de Ville, and by that means deliver the state from the payment of the late king's debts, which were very considerable.§

The news of the victory was brought to Paris the following day, by the Sieur du Tremblay, a prisoner released on his parole, who of course had not been in the battle, but being in the neighbourhood was able to proceed to the capital with the intelligence. He mentioned it to the Archbishop of Lyons, who in turn communicated the same to the legate, and the Spanish ambassador.|| They feared lest the news should cause an insurrection in the city; and to prevent any such consequences, they resolved that the preachers should be employed to make it known from the pulpits in a careful manner. The Duchess of Montpensier had been accustomed to amuse the Parisians with false accounts: among others, she had given out that at the first attack upon Dreux, the king had been repulsed with the loss of five hundred men, besides a great many wounded, and that Marshal Biron was not expected to live. There was also published an account of a battle having been fought at Poissy, in which the Holy Union had

gained a great victory, and that if the Bearnais was not dead, he was but little better.* The real account being therefore so very opposite, the preachers used great management in announcing the unwelcome tidings. Among them, one of the most remarkable was Christin de Nisse, who, preaching on the 16th of March, took for his text, "Whom the Lord loveth he rebukes and chastens;" and in his sermon he showed a number of instances in which the people of God had been afflicted and tried. Then holding forth a letter which appeared to have that moment arrived, he expressed the regret he felt that he had been that day a prophet rather than a preacher; since it had pleased God to inform the Parisians by his mouth of the affliction which was to befall them. He concluded by telling them, that after fighting two days, the Catholic army had lost the battle, and exhorted them anew to defend their religion and their country. Other preachers exerted themselves to prevent the public from despairing, and with great success.†

The Duke of Mayenne would not enter Paris, but remained at St. Denis, where he was visited by the legate, the Spanish ambassador, the archbishop of Lyons, Villeroy, and many persons of note: his sister, the Duchess of Montpensier, also went to console him in his trouble, and consult upon the best means of remedying his loss.‡ La Morée was immediately sent off to the Duke of Parma, urging him to come to the assistance of the Union; and Mayenne himself set out for Soissons a day or two afterwards, to join them on their arrival. The defence of Paris was in the interval intrusted to the Duke of Nemours; and pressing letters were written to the pope and the King of Spain. The Parisians on their side made great exertions to strengthen the fortifications of the city and to lay up as great a store of both ammunition and provision as could be done in their already blockaded state.§

When the legate was informed that the king's army had quitted Mantes, and that the blockade of Paris was fully resolved on, he made an effort to gain time, in order that the Duke of Parma might come to the assistance of the Union. Villeroy had conferred with Duplessis very soon after the battle of Ivry; but the object of his proposals was seen through, and nothing done.|| But when the legate himself appeared to wish for an arrangement, the king consented to a conference, which was held at Noisy: Biron, Givry, and Revol attended on behalf of the king; the legate was accompanied by Gondy, some Italian bishops, Villeroy and Belin. The conference proved absolutely useless; and the king continued his old plan of shutting up every avenue to Paris.¶ He took Melun on the 5th of April; and while there, received a fresh proposal from Villeroy, who dwelt at length upon the king's being instructed in the Catholic faith, as indispensably necessary for healing the divisions of the country: observing, that as such affairs could not be discussed during the confusion of war, a truce ought to be concluded to allow the subject a deliberate examination. Henry had paid great attention to Villeroy's

* Sully, liv. 3.

† Cayet, liv. 2. Sully, liv. 4. Le Grain, liv. 5.

‡ Anirault, p. 357.

§ Perfixe, liv. 2.

|| Davila, liv. 11. Villeroy, vol. i. p. 186.

* Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. ii. p. 19.

† Davila, liv. 11.

‡ Villeroy, vol. i. p. 187. Cayet, liv. 2. p. 344.

§ Davila, liv. 11.

|| Villeroy, vol. i. pp. 190 et seq.

¶ Cayet, liv. 2. p. 345. De Thou, liv. 98. Villeroy, vol. i. p. 201.

remarks upon the miseries caused by a conflict of religious opinions; but directly the word *truce* was mentioned, he gave the speaker to understand that he would not throw away the advantage of his late victory, by delaying the execution of his projects. Villeroy then returned to Paris, and the royalists continued to take the different towns in the surrounding parts.*

Paris was invested in the beginning of May:† the king's force was not sufficient to storm the city, but he expected that the miseries of a blockade would make the inhabitants return to their duty and acknowledge him for their king. On the other hand, the league, being satisfied with their means of defence, took every precaution for preventing anything like mutiny from showing itself. The Duke of Nemours had caused a number of cannon to be cast, and the fortifications were strengthened in every direction; while the Bastille, and other posts of importance, were confided to none but those who were too far compromised in the rebellion to hope for pardon if the king should be successful. The greatest care was taken to husband the stores which were in the city; and the slightest suspicion of being a royalist exposed a person to the certain loss of his property, and frequently to be hanged. These precautions enabled the chiefs of the league to maintain their authority in the midst of such distress. It is, however, very doubtful that even then they would have succeeded, if the preachers, Boucher, Pelletier, Lincestre, and others, had not preserved the spirit of enthusiasm by their exhortations, in calling on the faithful to die, rather than submit to a prince who was a heretic.‡ The money of the Spanish ambassador, the influence of the princesses and ladies of the league, and the decree of the Sorbonne,§ declaring that whoever died in defence of the city, would enjoy the martyr's crown, all combined to create a spirit of resistance which has rendered this siege unequalled in modern times.

By the beginning of June the provisions, although distributed sparingly, were nearly exhausted; and the clergy called upon the inhabitants to take anew the oath prescribed by the Sorbonne. A general assembly was held at the Hotel de Ville, when all swore that they would die a thousand deaths, rather than consent to receive a heretic king. At the same time to give more effect, a grand procession was ordered, on which occasion the oath was renewed at the church of Notre Dame.|| In this procession were seen all the ecclesiastics in Paris: William Rose, Bishop of Senlis, marched at their head with a crucifix in one hand, and a halbert in the other. After him came the Prior of the Carthusians, followed by all his monks, with their habits tucked up and their cowls thrown back, to make room for helmets. The Mendicant orders, and the Capucins followed in the same style, all armed with such weapons as they could procure. Hamilton, curate of St. Cosme, acted as serjeant-major: he regulated their halts, and gave orders for firing. The legate could

not be absent; and as the procession passed before him, each division fired a salute: one of the pieces proved to be loaded with ball, and the legate's chaplain was killed by his side. This circumstance appeared likely to trouble the public feeling, but the clergy declared that as the deceased was killed in so good a cause, his soul had certainly flown to heaven; and as the legate gave his opinion to that effect, no one could presume to doubt it. The march of the procession was continued amidst volleys of musketry, and singing of hymns and psalms.*

Famine meanwhile began to assume a dreadful aspect; the example as well as the preaching of the monks preserved the people from despondency for a considerable time: they were every day amused with pretended letters from the Dukes of Mayenne and Parma, who were coming to raise the siege; and seeing the ecclesiastics join in the public labours as well as the defence of the city, they could not repine at their sufferings. But as the calls of hunger became more pressing many demanded peace; and after hanging the most vehement among them, the rest were invited to suffer for the cause of religion. The people were gratified with processions instead of food, and as a consolation for the dying citizens the legate distributed a number of indulgences *in articulo mortis*. The ecclesiastics, and especially the monks, were well provided with provisions, and therefore preached patience and resignation to a starving population.† It was ordered that all the store-houses should be visited. Tyrius, the rector of the Jesuits, demanded of the legate an exception for his house. The provost of the trades, who was present, contended that the proposal was neither Christian nor neighbourly: he commenced his search with their college. They had a year's supply of corn, biscuit, and salted meat, and being under no apprehension of wanting food, they were the most zealous of all the clergy in impressing on the minds of the people how much more glorious it was to die of hunger than to acknowledge the *Bearnais* for their King. "At the Capucins," says Pierre de l'Estoile,‡ "was found biscuit in abundance: in short, in all the dwellings of the clergy were found provisions more than was necessary for half-a-year." The stores of the different monasteries and colleges afforded relief to the starving Parisians, but only a momentary one; horses, asses, dogs, cats, and even rats, were eaten.§ The Duchess of Montpensier was offered golden chains and rings to the value of two thousand crowns for her dog; which she refused, saying, "She should reserve it for herself when her own stores were consumed:" one of her women actually died of hunger.||

The Parisians not only ate human flesh in some cases, but they ground the bones of their deceased fellow-citizens, and mixed it with bran and chaff; of which, at the legate's suggestion, they made a kind of bread.¶ Fresh ordinances appeared, forbidding the least allusion to any composition with Henry of Bourbon, under pain of death; but hun-

* Mem. de Villeroy, vol. i. p. 203—218. Davila, liv. 11.

† According to the Journal de Henri IV., the bridge of Charenton was taken on the 7th, and the Porte St. Martin attacked the 12th of May.

‡ Journal de Henri IV. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. ii. p. 22.

§ Dated 7th May, 1590.

|| Mainbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, liv. 4.

* Cayet, vol. 1. p. 361. Journal de Henri IV.

† De Thou, Mathieu, D'Aubigné, Mezeray, and Felibien.

‡ Journal de Henri IV.

§ Discours véritable et notable du siège de la Ville de Paris, p. 27. This piece, published under the name of Pierre Correo, is inserted in Villeroy, vol. iv.

|| Journal de Henri IV.

¶ De Thou, liv. 99. Davila, liv. 11.

ger compelled the people to complain, and the pulpit was again found to be the most efficacious means of quieting their clamours : preachers held up the host and the crucifix, exclaiming, " Learn to die in the cause of a God, who died to save you."*

In the mean time the king's army was greatly augmented : the prospect of taking Paris had brought him numerous companies to join his standard ; and the hopes of plunder made many of his officers persuade him to attack the city. But Henry considered that Paris was the most valuable jewel of his crown ; and that it was not the interest of a king to suffer so many innocent persons to be included in the punishment of the rebels, who prevented him from being properly received as a sovereign. He persisted in the blockade, and would certainly have reduced the city, had not many of his commanders betrayed their trust in permitting provisions to pass for large sums of money. The soldiers imitated their officers ; and the besieging army drained Paris of great part of its wealth, by obtaining a high price for the provisions they sold across the walls ; a practice which the king was obliged to suffer, as he had not the means of paying his troops.†

As the horrors of the famine increased, a deputation was sent to the king for his permission for a number of aged and feeble persons to leave the city. Many of his council advised him to refuse the request, as the only way to subdue the town by driving the people to revolt against the league in desperation ; but the king thought otherwise. " I am not surprised," said he, " that the chiefs of the league and the Spaniards have so little compassion on those poor people ; they are only tyrants ; but I, who am their father and king, cannot listen to the recital of their calamities without being touched to the bottom of my soul, and endeavouring to remedy them. I cannot prevent those who are possessed by the spirit of the league from perishing with it ; but as to those who implore my clemency, they cannot help the crimes of others : I will hold out my arms to them." When the permission was announced above four thousand persons left the town, and cried out with all the strength which their wretched condition would allow, *Vive le Roi*. From that time the king's soldiers prevented no one from making their escape.‡

But the obstinacy of the league was unparalleled, and as a means of forcing a capitulation, an attack was ordered on all the faubourgs on the night of the 24th of July. The captains chosen to conduct the enterprise acquitted themselves very well, and they were all taken in less than an hour.§ Fresh instances were made, to induce the king to attack the town, in which case he would have certainly taken it, but he would not think of such an alternative while he could temporise. He wrote a letter to the Duke of Nemours, in which he highly complimented him on his defence of the town, but recommended him not to expose the capital to be plundered through too much obstinacy ; for even if their expected assistance should arrive, a battle

would be the consequence, and unless Mayenne had better fortune than in the last engagement, no relief could arrive to the besieged. Nemours would not send any reply to the king, but in a letter to one of his marshals he requested him to tell the King of Navarre that his false religion was the only obstacle ; but that on his embracing the true faith, he would be the foremost in advancing his cause.

Still, in spite of the Duke of Nemours, Cardinal Gondy succeeded in engaging the king to a conference at the abbey of St. Antoine, for discussing the proposals of peace. Had the king then announced his intention of doing what he was afterwards compelled to consent to, the city would have surrendered to him. Henry considered the town could not long hold out, and not supposing the Duke of Parma contemplated rendering the assistance upon which the besieged calculated, he offered terms which were favourable, considering their situation ; but which, without being rigorous, made them appear indebted to his clemency and forgiveness : the conferences therefore produced no result.*

Meanwhile the Duke of Parma was informed of the extremity of the Parisians. It was on the 5th of August that the king conferred with Gondy, and on the 6th the duke had quitted Valenciennes with twelve thousand infantry, three thousand horsemen, a great store of ammunition, and fifteen hundred carriages laden with provisions for the supply of Paris : he arrived at Meaux on the 22nd. Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, was at this time one of the first captains of the age : he was averse to quitting his own government, to risk his reputation against a prince who had been so successful in the field. He also feared that some ill consequence might arise from his depriving the Netherlands of the principal part of the Spanish force. But Philip's orders were positive, and he set out for the relief of Paris.†

The arrival of the Spanish forces compelled the king to raise the siege, to his great mortification. The different captains, by the expression of their regret, seemed to reprove him for not taking what had been at his command for some time. The only thing that could be done was to leave three thousand men in the faubourgs, while the king conducted the rest of his army to Chelles, a town on the Marne, about six leagues from Paris ; the Dukes of Parma and Mayenne being at Claye, on the road from Meaux to the capital.

The two armies were in presence on the 1st of September : the Duke of Parma riding out to reconnoitre, is said to have taunted Mayenne with the account he had sent, of the king having only ten thousand men, who were in a poor condition ; whereas there were twenty-five thousand in excellent order and well equipped.‡ The inequality of their forces made the Spanish general resolve to avoid an action : he fortified his position, and succeeded in taking Lagny, which the king could not assist in time on account of some marshes lying between him and the town. The duke was then able to send relief to Paris, and thus concluded the siege, which had lasted above four months, and

* Hist. de la Sorbonne, vol. ii. p. 45. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. ii. p. 21.

† Preface, liv. 2.

‡ Preface, liv. 2. Journal de Henri IV. Discours véritables, et notable du siège de la Ville de Paris, p. 32.

§ Davila, liv. 11. De Thou, liv. 99. Discours véritable, &c. p. 27. Sully, liv. 4.

* Davila, liv. 11. Cayet, liv. 2. p. 372. Mem. de Nevers, vol. ii. p. 607.

† Davila, liv. 11. Cayet, liv. 2. Preface, liv. 2.

‡ Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. ii. p. 23.

during which more than thirteen thousand persons had died of famine.*

After waiting some days, it appeared impossible to bring the Duke of Parma to an engagement, and the king marched off his army; but being vexed at the siege being raised, and finding the disappointment very general in his army, he resolved to try an attack by escalade the following night. It was the 9th of September: between three and four thousand choice soldiers were sent into the faubourgs St. Jacques and St. Marcel in the evening, ready to attack that part of the town after midnight. The arrival of those soldiers had created an alarm, and the tocsin had been rung; but as the royalists remained quiet in the suburbs, the people went home satisfied that it was a false alarm. Ten Jesuits, however, resolved to remain on the watch in that quarter, and when the assailants placed their ladders early in the morning, they would certainly have succeeded but for the vigilance of the reverend fathers. There was a thick fog, and the royalists had advanced to the wall, when a Jesuit who was then performing the part of a sentinel, called out *To arms! to arms!* The soldiers continued to mount, and the foremost were killed by these warlike ecclesiastics. Some lighted straw was then thrown into the moat, and the enterprise was completely foiled.† After this the king withdrew to Senlis, and soon after the royal army separated: the king retained about his person a flying camp, placed divisions in the towns around Paris, and sent the rest to their homes.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Death of the Cardinal of Bourbon and Sixtus V.—Attack on St. Denis—Siege of Chartres—Edict of Mantes—President Jeannin sent to Spain—Conspiracy of the young Cardinal of Bourbon—Siege of Noyon.

THE state of public affairs was considerably changed by the death of two individuals during the late siege. The Cardinal of Bourbon expired in prison on the 9th of May;‡ his death was of consequence only by its reviving, with more earnestness, the question of the succession. This served the king's cause, by creating a conflict of interests, and by stirring up a strong feeling of jealousy against the Spaniards: they had assumed great importance during the siege, and still more after the arrival of the Duke of Parma, who had increased the number of Spanish troops in the garrison.

Sixtus V. died on the 27th of August. This event caused extreme joy to the league: it was known in Paris on the 5th of September; and when Aubry, curate of St. André-des-Arcs, announced it in his sermon, he observed—"God has delivered us from a wicked pope: if he had lived much longer we should have been surprised to find the pope preached against in Paris; but it must have been done."§ Sixtus was indignant at the prostitution of the Catholic religion by the leaguers, and had refused them any further help: he had been favourable to the cause at his elevation to the pontificate, but being better informed as to their chief object, he regretted having given them en-

couragement. His opinions of both Queen Elizabeth and Henry IV. are well known; for he was able to appreciate merit, although he could not openly declare his sentiments. The Spanish faction, however, perceived the dangerous tendency of such policy, and Philip sent the Count d'Olivarez to Rome, to summon the pope to fulfil his promises to the league. Sixtus took offence at such a measure, and refused to see Olivarez a second time; neither would he acknowledge him as an ambassador. From that time a number of pamphlets appeared, which attacked the pope's character, and treated him as a heretic.*

It is not therefore surprising that his death should be attributed to poison: such was the opinion current at Rome; and when the King of France received the intelligence, he is said to have exclaimed, "That is a piece of Spanish policy:" after a pause, he added, "I lose a pope who was my friend: God grant that his successor may be like him."† The Cardinal Castagno was elected, and took the title of Urban VII.; but he died thirteen days after, and a long and stormy conclave followed: the college at last decided on choosing Hercules Sfondato, a man devoted to the court of Spain, and who was styled Gregory XIV. He displayed much zeal for the league; and subsequently devoted to that cause the large sums of money which Sixtus had amassed for carrying on a war against the Turks, for the recovery of the Holy Land, the relief of the poor of Rome in times of scarcity, and other purposes, which he directed to be maturely deliberated.

Still the affairs of the league were by no means prosperous. Many of the Parisians complained that the Spaniards, under pretence of assisting them, had seized upon the city, as well as some towns in the environs. This jealousy and ill-will made the Duke of Parma decide on leaving the city; a measure to which he was also moved by the necessity of his presence in Flanders. The chiefs of the league were alarmed at being again deserted; and in order to detain the duke, they announced a treaty in discussion between the king and Mayenne, which they said would inevitably be concluded to the ruin of the Union, if he abandoned them. The Duke of Parma was not deceived by their artifice; and after staying a few days to rest his army, he set out for the Netherlands, taking the route of Champagne, as the least probable to offer any difficulty in his march.‡

The king in the mean time had continued to intercept the supplies destined for Paris; and with his flying camp had unceasingly harassed the league. The Duke of Parma, before his departure, endeavoured to relieve the city from this state of blockade, by seizing some of the places held by the king's troops. He succeeded in taking St. Maur and Charenton, and after a desperate resistance he gained possession of Corbeil.§ The latter town was soon retaken by escalade, and when the king's troops were informed of the cruelties which the Spaniards had inflicted on the inhabitants, they were so enraged that they put every one of them to the sword.||

* Leti, *Vita di Sisto V.* lib. 10.

† Ibid.

‡ Davila, liv. 11.

§ Mathieu, *Hist. des Guerres*, &c. Davila, liv. 11. The siege of Corbeil lasted from 22nd Sept. to 16th Oct.

|| 13th Nov. 1590. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 242. Cayet, liv. 2. p. 386.

* Cayet, Sully, D'Aubigné, Mathieu and Davila.

† Cayet, liv. 2. p. 381. Davila, liv. 11. Discours véritable &c. p. 83.

‡ It was announced in Paris without the least mark of honour or respect. Cayet, liv. 2. p. 360.

§ Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, liv. 4.

The Spanish army left Paris in the beginning of November. Parma's return was very different from his march into France, for the king and Marshal Biron hovered about him with a body of cavalry, and some choice infantry, and compelled his men to keep constantly in close order, a circumstance which rendered his halts inconvenient by the difficulty of procuring supplies. The royalists attacked his rear at Marle, where there was a sharp engagement, in which the Spaniards lost part of their baggage.* A second encounter took place four days after as they were crossing the Aisne, with a similar result. This was the last affair which occurred between the parties; for Parma hearing that the Count de Nassau was in Flanders, at the head of an army raised by the assistance of the Queen of England, he made all the haste he could in his retreat. Henry IV. went no farther than St. Quentin, where he made a short stay. The arrival of the Spanish force had retarded his operations, but had not frustrated his plans; and when the Duke of Parma quitted France, the league was nearly in the same condition as before.†

On the 3rd of January, 1591, the Chevalier d'Aumale made an attempt to seize St. Denis. He left Paris in the night with a thousand infantry and two hundred horsemen, and succeeded in approaching the place without being discovered. The water in the moat being hard-frozen, the ladders were placed with ease; and two officers, followed by twenty-four men, scaled the wall, and succeeded in breaking open one of the gates from within. Aumale, who was on foot, entered the town at the head of his men. De Vicq, the governor, was aroused by the noise, and considering the town irrecoverably lost, he became desperate; he imagined that the carelessness of his soldiers had destroyed all the renown he had acquired in a long military career. He mounted his horse, and followed by only thirty persons, he ordered a charge to be sounded by two trumpeters, and galloped upon Aumale's men. The darkness of the night, and the noise of the trumpets, made the leaguers believe that he was more numerously attended: they were soon thrown into confusion; their leader was killed; and the assailants being unable to rally, were driven out of the town with the loss of more than a hundred of their companions.‡

The king on his side would not remain inactive: he planned an attack on Paris, which was to be preceded by the entry of about fourscore determined men, disguised as countrymen, each of whom had a sack of flour on his horse. The night of the 20th of January was fixed on for the execution of his attempt; but the chiefs of the league having some secret information, they took measures for preventing a surprise.§ Henry's disappointment was increased, when he found that his projected attempt had served as a pretext for the introduction of four thousand Spaniards, a measure which the circumstance appeared to justify, and which the moderate party could not oppose, although they were satisfied that the dominion of the royalists would be less injurious than that of foreigners.

* 25th Nov. 1590. Marle is a small town in Picardy, about 30 leagues N.E. of Paris.

† Davila, liv. 11. Mathieu, *Hist. des Guerres*, &c. Le Grain, liv. 5.

‡ Davila, liv. 12. *Hist. des Derniers Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 26.

§ Cayet, liv. 3. p. 403. *Journal de Henri IV.*

¶ Davila, liv. 12. Cayet, liv. 3. *Journal de Henri IV.*

The next enterprise formed by the king was the siege of Chartres. That place was obstinately defended for more than two months.* An honourable composition was granted; and when the king entered the town he was harangued by the magistrates upon the obedience they owed him, according to the laws both human and divine. "And you may add the *canon law*," said the king, who spurred his horse and rode on.†

Directly the military operations slackened, the contest between the Huguenots and the Catholic royalists was rekindled. There were many among the Protestants who could not place any dependence in a promise of toleration, unless it were secured by the king himself professing their religion: they were therefore averse to the renewal of the proposal for the king to be instructed. Duplessis-Mornay was unquestionably the most important among the Huguenots for learning and experience, but he does not appear to have felt so much alarm. His grand object was to have a general council, which meeting, upon unbiassed delegations, should allow the greatest liberty in discussion. While the war lasted such an assembly was impracticable; he therefore drew up an edict, which he submitted to the king in November, 1590;‡ and in the month of March following again addressed his majesty respecting the proposed declaration. As some influence had been used to prevent the king from signing the edict, he explained and justified it in his letter. "This declaration," says he, "consisted principally of three articles: the first was the revocation of the edict of July; the second, the re-establishment of the edict of pacification, made in 1577; the third, the restoration of the Roman Catholic worship, in all places held by the king at the time of the truce, permitting, however, the exercise of the reformed religion in the same. All three articles to remain in force until his majesty, by the grace of God, shall be able to unite all his subjects in one faith and religion. To effect that, a general or national council should be announced, or an ecclesiastical convocation freely and legally assembled in the kingdom, consisting of the most holy and learned persons of Christianity, and to which his majesty could submit his opinions.§" It is evident, therefore, that Duplessis-Mornay was by no means intolerant: he was willing to allow the Catholics the same liberty that he desired himself; but in all that concerned the papacy he was inflexible. Soon after the siege of Chartres he addressed a memorial to the king, containing advice as to the form he should use in writing to the pope, and calling upon him to be cautious in making use of the terms *holy father*, *vicar of Christ*, &c.; for, said he, the words might be represented very different from their intended meaning, and cause considerable trouble.||

The Catholics in the king's party were, however, of too much importance to allow the papal influence to be neglected; and during the protracted conclave, which ended in the election of Gregory XIV., the Duke of Luxemburg, being obliged to return from Rome to France, left a letter containing a full account of the condition of the kingdom, which

* From the 14th February to 19th April, 1591. Davila, liv. 12, p. 397—404. Cayet, liv. 3. p. 416. Le Grain, liv. 5. p. 234.

† Mathieu, vol. ii. liv. 1. p. 66.

‡ Formulaire de la declaration pour la revocation de l'édit de Juillet.—Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 66.

§ Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 81.

|| Ibid. p. 87.

was to be delivered into the hands of the successful candidate. The Spanish influence diverted Gregory from his design of replying to it, and the duke wrote a second letter from Chartres,* in which he repeated the arguments which he had previously adopted to detach the pope from the league. He reminded him of an expression which he had used in conversation with him before his elevation—"That it was necessary that the King of France should be King of France, and the King of Spain of Spain; as the grandeur of one would serve as a barrier to the other's ambition." But it was in vain that so many illustrious families of the French noblesse entreated him to act as a father to the nation: he was indebted to Spanish influence for his election, and was persuaded to pay attention to a letter which had been previously addressed to him by the sixteen.† He wrote a warm letter in reply to his beloved sons, which conferred upon them his apostolical benediction, and announced that his nephew, Hercules Sfrondato, Duke of Montemarçiano, was ready to join them with men and supplies.‡ A week afterwards Landriano was appointed nuncio: he set out for Paris furnished with a *monitoire* denouncing further ecclesiastical vengeance upon the princeps and nobles who followed the king's party.§ The parliaments of Tours and Châlons attacked the *monitoire* with spirit: they passed decrees, condemning the document to be publicly burned, and pronouncing severe penalties against any persons that might obey the instructions of the nuncio, who was ordered to be arrested wherever he could be found.|| About the same time the king held a council, composed of the most eminent men of his party of all professions: after due deliberation he published two edicts—one annulling all the acts which the league had forced upon the late king; the other renewing his promise to maintain the Catholic religion, although he could not avoid showing his resentment to the conduct of the pope. "We declare and protest," says the king, "that we desire nothing more earnestly than the convocation of a free and holy council, or some notable assembly, competent to decide upon the differences respecting the Catholic religion, &c."¶

The parliament of Paris, and of the other places belonging to the league, published edicts condemning and annulling those of the royalists, and the Nuncio Landriano went to an assembly at Rheims, where the best means of promoting the object of his mission were discussed. Mayenne recommended moderation; but the ecclesiastics, with blind zeal, paid no attention to his advice, and Landriano issued orders for depriving of their employments all the clergy who adhered to Henry IV. When it appeared that no benefit resulted from this measure, the assembly, which was presided by Cardinal Pellevé, decided on making an application to Philip of Spain, for his assistance to maintain the king who should be elected at the approaching states-general. The president Jean-

nin was charged with the mission.* He went to Madrid, and represented to his Catholic majesty the necessities of the league, the extreme danger which threatened the Catholic religion, and the immortal glory which he would obtain from preserving it in France, by sending assistance. Philip was willing to help the league, provided he could serve his own purpose at the same time; and informed Jeannin that his intention was to marry his daughter Isabella to the Archduke Ernest, establish them on the throne of France, and give them the Netherlands as a dowry: he contended that the Infanta being the grand-daughter of Henry II. was much nearer to the crown than the Bourbons; and that the house of Austria, being then made so deeply interested, would send reinforcements sufficient to enable them to free the country from the Prince of Bearne and the heretics.†

Jeannin would not cause the King of Spain to think that such a measure would meet with decided opposition from the chiefs of the league, but made some cursory remarks upon the Salic law, without however destroying his hopes; by that means he obtained the promise of extensive help both in men and money. On his return to France, the president completely satisfied the Duke of Mayenne that he need not calculate upon assistance from Philip II. unless there were a prospect of placing the Infanta on the throne.‡ This intelligence created great distrust among the leaguers: the Sixteen became more violent in behalf of the Spaniards, while the parliament adhered to Mayenne, and boldly protested against the election of a foreign prince.

By a singular coincidence there was at the same time a division among the royalists: the young Cardinal of Bourbon (nephew of him who had been proclaimed king by the league) was induced to make an appeal to the Catholicism of the royalists, on the ground of the king's delay in changing his religion. The time he had fixed upon for making the effort was when a discussion was to take place respecting the publication of an edict favourable to the Huguenots. By timely information the king was able to frustrate the entire plan. The cardinal was already in correspondence with Mayenne, Villeroy, and others of the league, and the unguarded way in which the king lived at Mantes induced his enemies to form a scheme for seizing upon his person. Divisions of troops from Paris and Rouen were to arrive simultaneously at Mantes; and as their attack would be aided by the party in the town, they entertained no doubt of succeeding. A letter was addressed to the pope with an account of the proposed plan, but it fell into the hands of Sully, who immediately handed it to his sovereign. When the matter was investigated, and information had been collected by the king's friends, it was laid before the council. The chancellor Chiverny took the opportunity to exhort the king to change his religion, as the most efficacious manner of preventing such plots; but La Noue observed, that as the only allies that remained true to his majesty were the Queen of England and some Protestant princes of Germany, such a measure might prove injurious to his cause: he admitted that such a change must be made in

* Dated 8th April, 1591. Cayet, liv. 3. p. 418. Mem. de Nevers, vol. ii. p. 529.

† Dated 24th February, 1591. Cayet, liv. 3. p. 411.

‡ Letter dated 12th May. Ibid. p. 431.

§ *Monitoire*, dated 29th May. Cayet, p. 429. Villeroy, vol. i. p. 277.

|| Davila, liv. 12. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. ii. p. 18. Cayet, liv. 3. p. 452. Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 430.

¶ Dated Mantes, 4th July, 1591. Cayet, liv. 3. p. 448.

* Davila, liv. 12. Villeroy, vol. i. pp. 283 et seq.

† Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*, liv. 4. p. 322.

‡ Davila, liv. 12.

the end; but as the King of Spain and the pope had been making great exertions to assist the league, it would be very injudicious to take any steps which might deprive the royal cause of the assistance of the Huguenots. Biron was of the same opinion, and the king took no further notice of the affair than to let the conspirators see they were discovered. He sent for the cardinal, and in his presence completed the plans he had in contemplation. The edict in favour of the Huguenots was published without opposition; and the Count de Soissons, who had been concerned, was deprived of his governments of Poitou and Touraine: those charges were conferred upon the Prince of Conty, who was not in the secret; the contemplated attack upon Mantes was of course abandoned directly it was known that the king was informed of it.*

The Cardinal of Bourbon at once relinquished all idea of the enterprise: his confidants Bellozane and Du Perron were won over to the king's interests; and from the apparent sincerity of his reconciliation with Henry IV., it has been contended that he was not really concerned in the plot, but that his name was made use of to promote the designs of others, who deceived him into a compliance with their measures.

While these schemes occupied the active men of both parties, the relative positions of the king and the league had been materially altered by different circumstances which had occurred in the early part of the year in other parts of the kingdom; and as the royalists could now look forward to a happy conclusion of the war, they were less likely to engage in such schemes, which became more difficult to execute, and offered less chance of impunity in case of detection.

Lediguieres, who commanded for the king in Dauphiny, took possession of Grenoble, and expelled the troops of the league from that province, before the Duke of Savoy could send any aid. The Duke of Montpensier had been equally successful in Normandy, and the Prince of Conty had obtained great advantages in Poitou.† Turenne, who had been sent to request some assistance from Queen Elizabeth, was also on his road to join the king's army.‡ When the application was made to that princess, she was in hopes of obtaining some equivalent for the services which she could not avoid rendering to the opponent of Philip II., her chief enemy: she dwelt upon the necessity of her traders having a port in France to compensate for Calais, which she said had been *usurped* by the Duke of Guise. Turenne adroitly parried her demand, by showing that an alienation of any part of the kingdom would deprive the king of a great number of his friends, which would injure his cause much more than her assistance would benefit him. Turenne succeeded in obtaining a loan of a hundred thousand crowns, and the promise of six thousand men to be sent to Brittany. From London the envoy went to Holland, where he obtained of the States-general three thousand men, and a promise to support them; and in Germany he raised four thousand cavalry and eight thousand infantry, with which he arrived at Vandy in Champagne in September, 1591.§

As soon as the king knew that the foreign levies were on the road, he decided on leaving Mantes to go to meet them; and taking the route of Picardy, he laid siege to Noyon towards the end of July. The league made several efforts to relieve the place, both by attempts to throw in reinforcements, and by creating a diversion by attacking other places, but without success; for, after sustaining a furious cannonade, the garrison proposed to capitulate.* The king offered them very easy terms, requiring from them only a contribution of thirty thousand crowns. The little town of Pierre-fonts next engaged his attention; and while there he was joined by the Earl of Essex, who had been sent to his assistance with four thousand infantry, and five hundred horsemen: the earl was accompanied by sixty gentlemen of distinction.†

The league, however, had some successes and advantages: the Duke of Mayenne succeeded in taking Chateau-Thierry; Guyonville, a leaguer, took Mirebeau in Burgundy: the royalists were repulsed before Lamballe in Brittany; and Honfleur was surprised and retaken by the league. The English forces had been sent to Brittany as Elizabeth had promised, and the Prince of Dombes and La Noue having joined them, the siege of Lamballe was commenced. The attack was so violent that the besieged had decided on abandoning the town, to retire into a strong fort at hand; but La Noue received a mortal wound, which so raised the hopes of the garrison, that they repaired the breach, and compelled the royalists to raise the siege.‡ This event grieved all the royalists, who had great confidence in the tried courage and probity of La Noue. The loss of such a captain was also felt more sensibly, as about the same time the Count de Chatillon died of a disorder caused by the great fatigues he had undergone: his talents and firmness gave great reason for supposing he would have equalled his father, and his death was lamented by both Catholics and Protestants.§

On the fifteenth of August preceding, the young Duke of Guise had made his escape from the castle of Tours, where he had been imprisoned since his father's death. Some persons have thought it was connived at through bribery; others, that the king was desirous of letting him loose upon the league to create a fresh party among them. He succeeded, however, in descending from the castle wall by the help of a knotted rope, carried secretly into the castle, and having by a manœuvre fastened a door between him and his guards. His escape was discovered immediately; but good horses had been brought to the entrance of the town, so that he could not be overtaken.|| Great rejoicings were made on the occasion; and in a letter from the Sixteen to Philip the circumstance is alluded to, in conjunction with the massacre of the St. Bartholomew, to show how propitious the month of August had been to the Catholic religion.¶ But the arrival of a popular

* 17th August, 1591.

† 31st August. Davila, liv. 12. Cayet, liv. 3. Henry's letter to Elizabeth, thanking her for her kindness, is inserted in *Villeroy*, vol. iv. p. 249.

‡ Cayet, liv. 3. p. 467. Davila, liv. 12. De Thou, liv. 101 p. 398. La Noue was removed to Moncontour, where he died 4th August, 1591.

§ Francis de Coligny, Count de Chatillon, and Admiral of Guyenne, died 8th October, 1591, in the 35th year of his age.

|| Villeroy, vol. i. p. 283. Journal de Henri IV. De Thou, liv. 101. Cayet, liv. 3.

¶ Villeroy, vol. iv. p. 257.

* Davila, liv. 12. Sully, liv. 4. De Thou, liv. 101.

† Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. ii. p. 26. Cayet, liv. 9.

‡ His instructions and commission, dated Gisors, October, 1590, are to be found in *Villeroy*, vol. iv.

§ Davila, liv. 12. Cayet, liv. 3. p. 438.

prince, by creating fresh interests, evidently weakened the league, and impeded their operations. Davila* unequivocally describes the duke's escape from prison as a trouble for the Duke of Mayenne; Villeroy† mentions that from the time that the leaguers were joined by Guise, they treated Mayenne with disdain.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Murder of the President Brisson and others—Siege of Rouen.

PARIS continued to be so much inconvenienced by the king having possession of most places around, that Mayenne wrote to the Duke of Parma entreating him to return into France and relieve the Union. The Spanish general sent word in reply that he had not sufficient force to carry on the war in Flanders, and that he could do nothing without orders from Spain; but that he would aid the cause to the extent of his power, and remitted to Paris the sum of two hundred thousand florins, which was the only thing he could do for the league.‡

In addition to this disappointment they received an account of the defeat of the army under the Duke of Montemarcano, which the pope had sent to their assistance. Although the supply had been granted in the spring, a considerable time had elapsed before the levy was completed and ready to march; and Montemarcano did not reach the frontier of Dauphiny till August, when he was attacked by the royalists under Lesdiguières. A dispute then arose between the duke, Peter Cajetan his lieutenant, and the Archbishop Matteuci, his commissary-general, which ended in Cajetan's withdrawing from the army with part of the troops. This was followed by several other desertions, and before Montemarcano arrived at Verdun, which was appointed for a rendezvous, an epidemic disease had arisen and made great ravages in his ranks.§ At Verdun he was joined by the Dukes of Lorraine and Mayenne, and a division of Spanish troops. The Jesuits were deeply interested in the success of this army, and four of their members accompanied it, in order that they might attend to the militant affairs of the church, as well as its spiritual concerns.||

While the leaguers were disappointed on one hand by the inefficiency of this reinforcement, they were alarmed on the other by the accounts they received of the advance of an army from Germany to join the king. Turenne, it has been mentioned, had been employed to procure those levies, and arrived with them towards the end of September. When the king reviewed them in the plain of Vandy, in Champagne, they consisted of sixteen thousand men and four pieces of artillery. They were commanded by the Prince of Anhalt.¶ The service which Turenne had rendered the royal cause was so important, that the king interested himself in concluding his marriage with Charlotte

de la Marck, heiress of the house of Bouillon. That lady had been sought in marriage by the Duke of Lorraine for his eldest son; but the late Duke of Bouillon, her brother, had by his will forbidden her to marry a Catholic, and it was in vain to hope to set aside such an injunction, as all the Protestant princes of Germany would have exerted themselves to maintain it.* By this marriage he became Duke of Bouillon, by which title he was subsequently styled; and about the same time he was elevated to the rank of a marshal.† On the evening of his wedding, when the king had retired to rest, Turenne set out with a body of choice soldiers, and surprised Stenay, a town belonging to the Duke of Lorraine, who sent troops to recover the place, but in vain.‡ Henry was highly pleased at the event, and replied, when he was told of it, "*Ventre Saint Gris!*" "I would often conclude marriages, and soon get possession of my kingdom, if the parties would make me such presents."§

The arrival of the Germans made such an addition to the king's force that he resolved to execute a plan which he had meditated for a considerable time; it was the siege of Rouen, and for that purpose he set out for Normandy at the end of October, having divided his army into four bodies in order to keep his enemies in a state of uncertainty as to the point of his attack. He took one division to Noyon; Montpensier, with another, took the route of Crecy in Brie; Nevers remained at Vervins, which the king had taken a few days previously, and the Baron de Biron passed by St. Quentin into Normandy.||

All this time the councils of the league were agitated by divisions and animosities; there had always been a few parties distinguished from each other by the degree of zeal which they displayed respecting their connexions with the court of Madrid, and Mayenne's authority had been odious to many of them ever since his suppression of the council of the Union; but the enlargement of the young Duke of Guise created a fresh division of interests. Some encouraged his ambition in order to set up a rival to Mayenne; while others, being satisfied that none but a native prince could ever be accepted by the nation for their king, proposed to avail themselves of the complicated state of affairs, and at once serve the league and the King of Spain, by elevating Guise to the throne, and marrying him to the infanta, daughter of Philip II. To effect this the Sixteen addressed a letter to that king, informing him how desirous they were to be under his government, and under that of his posterity, and entreating his Catholic majesty to choose a son-in-law whom they would all obey and receive as their sovereign. Father Claude Mathieu, a Jesuit, was the bearer of this epistle, which was signed by the principal leaguers and doctors of the Sorbonne. But Chazeron, a royalist, and governor of the Bourbonnais, intercepted this letter, and sent it to his master, who afterwards sent it to Mayenne; by

* Marsollier, *Hist. du Duc de Bouillon*, vol. ii. p. 38.

† The marriage took place 11th October, 1591, but he did not take the oath as Marshal till 15th March 1592. In a letter of that date to Duplessis-Mornay, he mentions that objections had been made to his appointment on account of his religion. The delay which occurred between his nomination and final reception as Marshal accounts for the incongruities between some of the French historians.

‡ Cayet, liv. 3. p. 482.

§ De Bury, *Hist. de Henri IV.* vol. ii. p. 124.

|| Cayet, liv. 3. p. 482.

* Book 12.

† Mem. d'Etat, vol. i. p. 291.

‡ Cayet, liv. 3. p. 439.

§ Davila, liv. 12. Cayet, liv. 3. p. 477.

|| Additis quatuor e societate sacerdotibus, qui militibus sacra procurant. *Historia Societatis Jesu, &c. auctore* JOSEPHO JUVENCIO, lib. xvi. p. 365. ROME, 1710.

¶ 29th September, 1591. Cayet, liv. 3. p. 480.

which means the breach between him and the Sixteen was increased beyond all chance of accommodation.*

From that time the active leaguers were busy in creating a violent opposition to Mayenne and his party, which comprised all those who, notwithstanding their hatred to the king and the Huguenots, were still imbued with too much national feeling to consent either to the dismemberment of France or its subjection to a foreign prince. The Sixteen had the populace at their command, and to inflame them it was given out that Mayenne had augmented their contributions solely to enrich himself. The Spanish minister encouraged the party who were for placing themselves under the government of his master; as also did Segá, Bishop of Placentia, the pope's legate, whose functions ceasing on the death of Gregory XIV., had devoted himself entirely to the Spanish faction.†

As Mayenne was not then at Paris, the Sixteen sent four deputies to him at Rheims to demand certain changes, and to make complaints against some of the parliament, particularly the president Brisson. At their first interview, Mayenne received them haughtily, but afterwards he spoke to them in a manner calculated to conciliate their feelings, which he perceived were already too much irritated. He told them, that, as the enemy was on the alert, he could not then attend to such business; and recommended them not to make any changes at that time, as their own cause would suffer from the advantage it would give their enemies. On the return of the deputies to Paris, the Sixteen expressed great indignation at the duke's conduct, and came to a resolution to take the government of the town into their own hands. Inflammatory reports were as usual the means resorted to for making the people turbulent; and the parliament being as odious to them as the duke, they blackened both by giving out that the Catholic religion was betrayed by Mayenne, and that the parliament was making every effort to give up the city to the King of Navarre.‡

It was not long before an opportunity offered for executing their violent resolution. An attorney named Brigard had written a letter to his uncle, a royalist, residing at St. Denis, and sent the letter by a servant. As all persons who quitted Paris on that side were strictly searched at the barriers, the servant did not escape, but nothing was found on his person: he had, however, a bottle in his hand, which was broken, and by that means the letter was found. The troubled state of the times made every one adopt a mysterious style of communication, and the leaguers were satisfied that Brigard had turned royalist, and immediately took him to prison. His death was loudly called for, but the president Brisson declared Brigard innocent, and he then contrived to escape from Paris; the Sixteen

were highly incensed on the occasion, and immediately held a consultation for avenging themselves on the president. There were great difficulties in the execution of the plan, which was generally approved, and their meeting was adjourned several times; at last Bussy-le-Clerc succeeded in obtaining the signatures of a number of the council to a blank paper, under pretence of a new formule of the oath to be taken by the Union, which, however, he could not obtain without violence to some, who complained at being so treated.* Thus furnished, Bussy held another meeting of his friends, who were the most violent men of the time: Cromé, a counsellor; Hamilton, curate of St. Côme; Pelletier, curate of St. James, and others: the blank paper was filled up with a sentence of death against the president Brisson, and a like fate for Larcher and Tardif, counsellors.†

Brisson was informed that his life was in danger, for assassins had been hired to murder him and five others in their houses; and he who was to kill the president, while he pretended to consent to the proposal, sent him word to lose no time in leaving Paris: he even undertook to convey him in safety to St. Denis. The president thanked him for his advice, but would not leave the city. On the morning of the 15th of November, as he was proceeding to the Palace of Justice, he was arrested on the Pont St. Michel, and conducted to the Chatelet, where his sentence of death was read to him without any form of trial. Cromé asked the president if he was not in correspondence with the King of Navarre, and why he had not sentenced Brigard to death: to the first question he answered, "No!" to the other, "That he had been acquitted by a decree of the court, and not by him alone." He was then told that it was a great favour that he would not be publicly executed.‡ Brisson's mind was so imbued with legal forms, that he demanded to be confronted with the witnesses who had deposed against him. Cromé made no other answer than a burst of laughter. Brisson then expressed a wish to be permitted to finish a work upon jurisprudence, which was in progress: his murderers laughed still more, and ordered him to be dispatched.§ He was soon after hanged at a post inside the prison. Larcher and Tardif were treated in the same manner, and the following day their bodies were exposed at the Grève on a gibbet, with a paper placed over them, stating that they were traitors and heretics. It was expected that the people would have taken an interest in this affair, but the public tranquillity was not affected by it. Some blamed the deed, and others shrugged their shoulders; but none, not even the Spaniards, exhibited any satisfaction. The further exposure of the bodies was therefore useless, and they were taken down again the day after, and delivered to their friends for burial.||

Mayenne was at Laon; when he was informed of what had occurred in Paris he immediately set out for the capital, accompanied by the Counts de Vaudemont, Brissac, Chaligny, and others, with seven hundred choice cavalry, leaving the president Jeannin with the Duke of Guise, to watch his

* Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 483. Mem. de Nevers, vol. ii. p. 620.

† Cayet, liv. 3. p. 506-509.

‡ Cayet, liv. 3. p. 511-512.

§ De Thou, liv. 102. Hist. du Parlement de Paris, ch. 32.

|| Cayet, liv. 3. p. 515. Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 487. Journal de Henri IV.

* Cayet, liv. 3. p. 504. The accounts of this letter differ very much as to the date. In *Villeroy* (vol. iv. p. 253) it is dated 20th September, 1691; De Thou (liv. 102) gives the date 20th November, but which is evidently an error, as the preceding month (August) is alluded to as being so very favourable to the Union; Cayet, liv. 3. p. 505, gives the 2nd of September; and Arnauld in pleading against the Jesuit, in 1594, describes it as dated the 2nd of November. The authenticity of the letter has never been questioned, and it is probable that the first letter being intercepted, a second was sent with a later date. This idea is supported by the *Journal de Henri IV.*; for the writer alludes to Mathieu's mission in September (p. 181), and mentions the letter further on (p. 205) as dated 20th November.

† Davila, liv. 12. Gregory XIV. died 15th Oct. 1591.

‡ Davila, liv. 12. p. 473.

movements, and be a restraint upon him.* But Don Diego d'Ivarra, who had learned the cause of Mayenne's sudden departure, also set out for Paris to be ready to assist the partisans of Spain if they were in any danger. Mayenne arrived at Paris on the 28th of November, having added to his escort two regiments of infantry which were at Soissons, and two hundred horsemen who were at Meaux. As he entered Paris by the Porte St. Antoine, Boucher addressed him on behalf of the Sixteen, who were already in a great consternation, and had deliberated whether he should be allowed to enter the city; they afterwards resolved to poniard him, and one of them desired the honour of giving him the first blow. Boucher happened to be clear of the murder of Brisson, for he was at Soissons at the time; but when he alluded to the subject, Mayenne said "Another time," and passed on.†

Diego d'Ivarra, and the other Spanish ministers, waited upon him directly he arrived, and tried to persuade him to avoid showing any resentment for what had occurred; for although the proper forms and proceedings were wanting, the act in itself was nevertheless good, and very useful to the preservation of religion. Mayenne replied to them with moderation; but immediately commenced an examination of the force then in the city. He ordered the different officers to be at their posts, and the next morning seized all the avenues of the Rue St. Antoine. He then summoned Bussy-le-Clerc to surrender the Bastille. At first he refused, but when he found that none of the populace stirred in his behalf, and that the cannon from the arsenal was being placed against him, he consented to give up the fortress, on condition that his life should be spared.

Such excellent arrangements had been made by the provost and other officers, in placing soldiers in the different streets, and on the bridges, that the town was completely under subjection, and Mayenne saw that he could easily pursue his plans for punishing the cruelty of the Sixteen; to which also he was urged by several good families of Paris, who entreated him not to suffer such an act to go unpunished. He therefore ordered Vitry to seize the most violent of the faction, and to have them hanged. Cromé escaped in the disguise of a Spanish soldier; but Louchart, Emonot, Anroux, and Ameline, were taken without any difficulty, and received the same summary kind of execution that they had inflicted on the president Brisson.‡

This display of firmness restored Mayenne's authority; but the number of concealed royalists increased very much in the bosom of the league, and prepared for assisting the king's cause, when his affairs were more matured. A coolness also arose between the French and Spanish captains, which impeded their operations, and prevented their deriving the advantage which was to have been expected from the return of the Duke of Parma into France with another army; that measure had been forced upon the King of Spain, on account of the siege of Rouen, which was at this time being pressed with vigour.

The Baron de Biron made his appearance before

that town on the eleventh of November; and being joined by three thousand English under the Earl of Essex, he discharged a culverine as a sort of defiance. A number of the inhabitants immediately sallied forth, and attacked the royalists. After skirmishing for some time, they separated without any other result than the loss of a few men to both parties. Among those of the royalist party who were killed, was Walter Devereux, a relative of Lord Essex; who being engaged with Bois-rosé, a celebrated officer of the league, was mortally wounded in the throat by a pistol-ball.* Biron took up a position at Darnetal, a place at the distance of a league, and commenced his operations by making himself master of all the places in the neighbourhood; he sent parties to collect all the provisions and other stores that were to be obtained in that part of the country, in order that he might derive benefit from them in two ways, during the blockade of Rouen; his men would not be taken from the siege to seek for such supplies, and he deprived the enemy of a great resource. He took Gournay, Caudebec, and other places; found large stores of grain at Louviers, and was well supplied with tents from Caen.†

Hitherto the league had been in suspense respecting the king's operations, for although it was considered certain that Rouen would ultimately be attacked, it was thought that Rheims would first occupy the royalists, and the siege of that place was generally expected. But the appearance of Biron, with his forces, put an end to all doubt, and preparations were made for promoting the defence of the town. Andrew de Brancas-Villars, the governor, was a man of most determined bravery: he was admiral of the league, and in all that party there was scarcely any individual who was better qualified for the task which was before him. He lost no time in collecting provisions and ammunition, and expelled from the town all persons who were suspected of being favourably inclined to the king. By the influence of Bauquemart, president of the parliament, the inhabitants were made to swear that they would denounce all who, by word or deed, supported the King of Navarre. Monks and priests were employed to animate the people by their discourses; and insolent letters addressed to the king were published as a means of encouraging a spirit of hatred to his person. Such exertions were made in consequence of the governor's orders, that within a fortnight he received in the city fifty pieces of artillery, a great quantity of ammunition, and a reinforcement of soldiers.‡

The destiny of Rouen was remarkable: in the first civil war it had sustained a memorable siege in the cause of the reformed religion; on this occasion a more obstinate and more successful defence was maintained against the king, solely because he had been educated a Protestant. The influence of the league had been so powerful there, that the Huguenots were completely subdued: the parliament also was so zealous for the Union, that on one occasion they condemned to death some royalist prisoners, and passed a decree, declaring that all followers of the King of Navarre, and all

* 25th Nov. 1591. Davila, liv. 12.

† Davila, liv. 12. Cayet, liv. 3. p. 516. Villeroy, vol. i. p. 293.

‡ 14th Dec. 1591. Davila, liv. 12. Cayet, liv. 3. p. 516. —Journal de Henri IV. p. 215—217. Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 490. Villeroy, vol. i. p. 295.

* Cayet, liv. 3. p. 501.

† Davila, liv. 12.

‡ Cayet, liv. 3. p. 501. Davila, liv. 12. Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. ii. p. 30.

who refused to acknowledge Charles X. were guilty of high treason.*

The king did not arrive till the end of the month, but in the interval several sorties and skirmishes had been made. With a man of the character of Brancas-Villars this was a thing of course, but Lord Essex felt indignant at such a kind of warfare: his notions of chivalry were very exalted, and he sent a letter, calling upon the besieged to come out and fight in the open plain. Villars, in reply, gave permission to the Chevalier Picard to meet him alone, or with any number of men that might be agreed upon; but the high notions of the English earl were nettled by the proposal, and he immediately sent Villars himself a challenge to fight in any way he might think proper. After stating that he had in his army many persons of the same quality as Picard, he added, "But if you will fight on horseback or on foot, I will maintain that the king's quarrel is more just than that of the league; that I am better than you; and that my mistress is fairer than yours. And if you will not come alone, I will bring with me twenty persons, all of whom shall be equal to the rank of a colonel; or sixty, the least of whom shall be a captain." Villars knew his duty as a general too well to accept such a challenge, and in reply expressed his willingness to meet the earl, when Mayenne had arrived to take the command of the town. "Not wishing, however," said he, "to fail in replying to the conclusion of your letter, by which you declare yourself better than me, I tell you that you have lied, and that you lie every time that you attempt to maintain it. And as to the comparison of your mistress with mine, I believe you are not more correct in that than in your other assertions; at all events, it is not a subject that I think much about at present."†

A herald was sent into Rouen on the part of the king, calling upon the inhabitants to return to their obedience by acknowledging him. An assembly was held in the city to consider what answer should be returned; and, on the 2nd of December, the herald was dismissed with only a verbal communication. He was desired to tell his master that the people of Rouen were all resolved to die, rather than acknowledge a heretic for their king; and that they had not less spirit to maintain their ancient religion, than the Calvinists had displayed in support of their heresy. A solemn procession was then made, when an oath was publicly administered in unison with that message.‡

The siege was then proceeded with in a spirited manner, but nothing could damp the enthusiasm which animated the garrison of Rouen. Their sorties were bold, frequent and successful. Every day produced some display of that chivalrous bravery which characterized this age: the inhabitants were aware of the importance of their town to the Union; and were encouraged by the certainty that something would be done by their partisans towards raising the siege. Indeed the army of the league was then on the road to help them, and that intelligence excited the king to more vigorous attacks; while, at the same time, Villars feeling a wish to have all the honour of beating off so formidable an enemy, made more determined sorties than before.

It was towards the end of December that the king was informed of the return of the Duke of Parma into France, and that he was on his way to raise the siege. Henry had already sent a letter to Queen Elizabeth, informing her of his situation; but on learning that the enemy was actually approaching, he dispatched Duplessis-Mornay to make a more powerful appeal to her on behalf of the Protestant cause. At Dieppe, Duplessis met a messenger, sent by Elizabeth to order the immediate return of Lord Essex. That was discouraging, but he pursued his journey, and arrived in London on the 4th of January, 1592. For ten days he was occupied in making application for assistance, but without effect, although he had the good wishes and interest of the lord treasurer Burleigh. The queen's conduct was founded on caprice: she wanted her favourite Essex, and obstinately refused to grant the assistance; but afterwards, when her commands were obeyed, and Essex had returned to England, she consented to send over a reinforcement to the king.*

A few days after the king had dispatched Duplessis, he was joined by Count Philip of Nassau, who arrived with a Dutch fleet, having on board three thousand infantry, some artillery and ammunition.† This was a great assistance to the besiegers, who were then enabled to batter the town from the river; but the courage of the besieged appeared to increase with the vigour of the attack, and their destructive sorties were incessant. Villars discovered, that besides the attacks of the royal army he had to guard against internal treason: he learned that there were concealed royalists in the town; and after a vigilant investigation, aided by the manoeuvres of a lawyer named Mauclerc, who pretended to be a royalist, a plot was detected for opening one of the gates to the king's forces. Three persons named by Mauclerc were seized, tortured and hanged. To deter others from joining in any similar scheme, a new edict was published, ordering the same punishment for any who were concerned in such plots, and offering large rewards to all who informed against them.‡

Meanwhile the king had received intelligence that the Duke of Parma had quitted La Fere in Picardy, having left behind his heavy ordnance, which showed that he meant to proceed at once to Rouen, without employing his time before any town in possession of the royalists. He immediately wrote to Duplessis-Mornay, informing him of the circumstance, with a view of making some impression upon Elizabeth, by an account of his desperate situation. In a postscript he added, that his opinion was confirmed by an intercepted letter from Mayenne to Villeroy: "If," says Henry, "the Queen at once sends me the aid which you are employed to solicit, I hope to be able to combat my enemies without raising the siege, and trust that God will grant me the victory. Still, according to the reports they circulate, their force is very great. I address her (the queen) a word on the consequences dependent upon my success, not only to myself, but also to all Christendom."§

The united forces of the league amounted to eighteen thousand infantry and five thousand ca-

* 7th April, 1590.—Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. ii. p. 19.

† Cayet, liv. 3. p. 503.

‡ Cayet, liv. 4. p. 12.

* Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. pp. 134 et seq.

† 3rd January, 1592. Cayet, liv. 4. p. 16. Sully, liv. 4.

‡ 7th January, 1592. Cayet, liv. 4. p. 12.

§ Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 162.

valry: the Dukes of Parma and Mayenne had marched to Peronne, where a consultation was held respecting their future plans: they resolved to proceed direct to Rouen, and throw in some supplies if they could not succeed in raising the siege.* The king's expectations of assistance from England were sadly damped by the letters he received from Duplessis-Mornay, who stated that Elizabeth persisted in refusing the supplies.† He decided in consequence on leaving the principal part of his army before the town, under the care of Marshal Biron; while he set out with the elite of his cavalry to reconnoitre the enemy and harass them as they approached. With this object in view he quitted Rouen on the twenty-ninth of January.‡

He advanced to Folleville, a village on the borders of Picardy, before he could learn the route by which the enemy was advancing; but being informed they were in that quarter, he sent parties to look out, while he was similarly employed with a body of one hundred and twenty horsemen. The king had proceeded thus about a league, when Laverdin, who was by his side, discovered a body of Spanish soldiers near some trees: they were about to charge upon them, when a large body of cavalry came up and a skirmish ensued, which ended by the leaguers falling back upon their main body; the king also withdrew to Berteville.§ This rencontre was followed by another a few days after near Aumale,|| when the king fell in with the picquets of the league, at a time when he was accompanied by only two hundred light horse, and about three hundred gentlemen. The sight of a few soldiers appeared insignificant to the king's party, and no one expected they would offer any resistance; but presently the enemy's main body appeared, marching in the most compact order; a measure which the Duke of Parma had adopted to prevent a surprise, which he considered probable on account of the king's intrepid character and venturesome disposition. In a very short time the king's party was surrounded by two troops of dragoons (*arquebusiers à cheval*) who commenced a fire upon them. Most of the gentlemen were without their helmets: they fought with great resolution, and maintained their ground until a division of infantry came from the army to support their companions. A retreat then became necessary, especially as a great many of the king's party were killed; but as it was known that the king was there, and the leaguers called out to each other what a prize was in their reach, they made still greater exertions to prevent his escape. The danger to which Henry was exposed on this occasion was very great; and besides losing a great many of his followers, he was himself wounded by a musket-ball. The fortunate arrival of some royalist troops assisted his retreat; but after all it is doubtful whether any of the party could have escaped, had not the Duke of Nevers advanced with a strong division of cavalry. It was greatly to be feared that this affair, which was much magnified by report, would cause confusion and alarm in the army before Rouen; and in consequence it was desirable that every possible impediment should be placed to delay the enemy's march. As

the small town of Neufchatel-en-Bray was in the direct road, a defence of that place might detain the Duke of Parma a short time, and allow the king to take further measures. Givry was in consequence posted in Neufchatel with seven hundred men: the king retired to Dieppe to repose for the benefit of his wound, which was not very serious; and the Duke of Nevers returned, with the rest of the division, to the camp before Rouen.*

The Duke of Parma had the reputation of being the most cautious general of his time: he always avoided an engagement when he could; and carefully provided for a retreat whenever he entered a country occupied by an enemy. He would not therefore leave Neufchatel behind him in the hands of the royalists, and summoned Givry to open the gates on the eleventh of February. The town offered so little means of defence, that a refusal to surrender, which was the consequence, appeared an affront to the duke: to resent it, he brought up his artillery and opened a cannonade. Givry had been ordered to act according to circumstances, and not waste the lives of those who were with him: he accordingly capitulated as soon as a breach was made, and obtained very honourable terms.† This affair detained the duke only four days, but that was of great service to the king; for the army of the league had no means of obtaining provisions in that part of the country, and as parties of cavalry were out to intercept their convoys, the stock which was carried with them began to diminish sensibly.‡ Besides which, the duke was informed that the king was again in the field with a strong force ready to attack him: the movements of the army were therefore made with extreme caution, as it approached the neighbourhood of Rouen. Parma and Mayenne were both satisfied that they could do nothing to relieve the place, without risking a general engagement: they held a council of war, and resolved on preparing to attack Dieppe as a diversion.§ This decision created murmurs in the army of the league; and the French nobles complained of the Duke of Parma for not advancing on several occasions, when by so doing he might have put an end to the war.|| Parma on his side pressed Mayenne so closely to promise the crown of France to the Infanta, that he and many of the nobles were ready to treat with the king if he would but abjure.¶ The king meanwhile was hovering about the leaguers, and kept them in constant alarm. On one occasion he had intelligence that the Duke of Guise had taken possession of Bures, a small town within a few miles of Dieppe. He was then at Bachy, a distance of seven leagues; and having appointed a rendezvous not far from Bures for the rest of his army, he set out with two thousand cavalry, two thousand Reitres, five hundred dragoons, and as many foot-soldiers, to be ready to assist him, if attacked in the woody country through which he had to pass. His couriers fell in with a small party of the enemy, and a skirmish ensued,

* Mem. de Tavannes, p. 149. Davila, liv. 12. Cayet, liv. 4. De Thou, liv. 102. Sully, liv. 4.

† Cayet, liv. 4. p. 20. Davila, liv. 12. Sully, liv. 4. rather blames Givry for not holding out longer. Mathieu, vol. ii. liv. 1. p. 102, says, "the place could be forced in an hour."

‡ Davila, liv. 12.

§ Cayet, liv. 4. p. 21.

|| Davila, liv. 12.

¶ Villeroy, vol. i. p. 309.

* Cayet, liv. 4. p. 18.

† This letter was dated 10th January, 1592. Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 152.

‡ Davila, liv. 12.

§ Davila, liv. 12. Sully, liv. 4. p. 56.

|| 4th February, 1592.

when some of the leaguers were killed; several were also taken prisoners, among whom was the Count de Chaligny, brother of the Duke of Mercœur and of the Queen Dowager. The fugitives returned into Bures, and gave an alarm; or otherwise a considerable number of persons of rank would have been captured. Guise's baggage and standard fell into the king's hands; and all in the town who made any resistance were put to the sword, to the number of two hundred. The Duke of Bouillon and the Baron de Biron pursued the fugitives to a considerable distance.*

A letter containing an account of this affair was sent to Queen Elizabeth, when the king made another appeal for assistance. "Believe me, madam," says Henry, "if I had but this favour from you, I would soon give an account of these folks, and make them glad to get back in safety to look after their own affairs; but you must consider that I have to continue the siege of Rouen, which I will not abandon, at the same time that I keep the field against them. We are, madam, in that position, that the armies look at each other, and would have engaged already if they had as much resolution to help Rouen, as I have to continue the siege, and carry it before them." Henry concluded by observing, that she could not suffer so great an undertaking to be abandoned, for want of such trifling assistance, and when it was on the point of succeeding.† But the queen would not yield to any importunity, and a lapse of two months occurred before a reinforcement was sent.‡

All this time Villars continued to defend the city with success. Being well informed by spies of the state of the royal army, he made arrangements for a general sortie, when the king's entrenchments were attacked at once on three different points. The royalists were taken unawares, and became an easy prey: Bois-rosé, who conducted a division in the sortie, penetrated to the park of artillery, drove away the Lansquenets placed near it, carried off five pieces of cannon, and spiked two others. Marshal Biron was then at Dornet: he was soon informed of the affair, and immediately hastened to the camp. The sortie had been made at seven in the morning, and for two hours the leaguers had carried all before them. Biron's arrival compelled them to retreat; but they effected it in excellent order, not having lost more than forty men, while the royalists had above five hundred men killed, besides some made prisoners.§

The news of this exploit compelled the Duke of Parma to make an effort to relieve the town, especially as he received a letter from Villars, informing him that the royalists had begun to press the siege more vigorously, in order to efface the effects of their late misfortune. A reinforcement of eight hundred men was thrown into Rouen on the 8th of March, which being reported to the king, brought him back again to the camp in a few days, when he prepared for still greater efforts against the place. Within ten days a very considerable breach was made in the wall, and Villars wrote to Mayenne that he should be obliged to capitulate unless he

were relieved early in the ensuing month.* At this time the king's army experienced a considerable reduction, by a number of persons going to their homes; and the Dukes of Mayenne and Parma were aware of that circumstance, as well as of the absence of several parties sent out for fresh levies: they therefore took an opportunity, when the king had gone in the direction of Dieppe to make a forced march and relieve Rouen. They arrived there on the evening of the 20th of April, and the royalists were unable to prevent their entering the town, which they did the next day, and a *Te Deum* was sung on the occasion.†

This unexpected reinforcement occasioned great joy among the leaguers; but its advantages were very trifling; for their supply of provisions was so small, that the dukes were unable to relieve Rouen in that respect. Parma wished to follow up his advantage by attacking the king; but Mayenne persuaded him to lay siege to Caudebec, where they would find large stores of grain, and by taking that place they would lay open the passage of the river.‡

Caudebec was invested on the 24th of April, and surrendered three days after. This conquest cost the Duke of Parma a severe wound by a musket-ball: he was besides unable to keep possession of the place many days, for the king had sent for the garrisons out of all the neighbouring towns, and having by that measure gained an addition of three thousand horsemen, and twice as many infantry, he was able to blockade completely the army of the league. Skirmishes took place every day, but the royalists gradually encroached on their enemies' position. The leaguers at the same time were suffering greatly from the want of provisions, and, to add to their disasters, the king succeeded in cutting off a division of their light cavalry quartered at Ranson, on which occasion a large quantity of baggage, plate, and money fell into the hands of the royalists. In such a condition escape was very difficult; decampment by night, or fighting his way through the ranks of his opponents, were the only alternatives of the Duke of Parma; and on the night of the 22nd of May he succeeded in transporting his entire army across the Seine by means of a number of boats and pontoons sent down from Rouen the previous evening.

Directly the king was informed of this movement he hastened to the Pont de l'Arche, but Parma was too far advanced to allow him any chance of success if he pursued him: the duke made the greatest possible haste, recrossed the Seine at St. Cloud, and, without entering Paris, pursued his march incessantly, until he arrived at Chateau Thierry.§ It has been insinuated that Marshal Biron was the cause of the Spanish army's successful evasion from the king's grasp; his son, the Baron de Biron, proposed to prevent the enemy's passing in the direction of the river, if the king would intrust him with a division of the army. The marshal prevented the adoption of the proposal, but was nevertheless exceedingly angry with his son for thinking of such a thing; and asked him with an oath, "If he wished to send them all back to grow cabbages at Biron!" He after-

* 17th Feb. 1592. Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 182. De Thou, liv. 102.

† Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 185.

‡ Its arrival is mentioned in a letter from Duplessis-Mornay, dated 16th April, 1592.—*Memoires*, vol. ii. p. 197.

§ 26th Feb. 1592. Cayet, liv. 4. p. 21—25. Mem. de Tavannes, p. 140.

* Journal de Henri IV.

† Cayet, liv. 4. p. 26—27. Davila, liv. 12.

‡ Cayet, liv. 4. p. 29. Perefixe, liv. 2.

§ Cayet, Davila, Mathieu, De Thou, and Brantome, *Discours sur les belles retraites*.

wards told him that such an enemy should never be ruined entirely, for the king would then have but little consideration for his captains, as their services would be no longer necessary.*

The siege of Rouen was in reality at an end, but hostile operations were still continued in the neighbourhood; and as the possession of Quillebœuf by the king's troops rendered great vigilance necessary for fear of a sudden attack, Villars determined to make himself master of that place. For that purpose he obtained some reinforcements from Mayenne, who returned to Rouen, having accompanied the Duke of Parma as far as Charenton. The siege of Quillebœuf was begun on the 4th of July, and was conducted by Villars himself. The Count de Thoirgn, Crillon, and a few gentlemen threw themselves into the place to assist Bellegarde, who was the temporary governor; but at that time he had not more than sixty men with him, and they were unprovided with the requisites for sustaining a siege. The gentlemen took with them considerable quantities of provisions and ammunition; and, notwithstanding the vigour with which the place was attacked, they repelled two assaults, after which the leaguers desisted and returned to Rouen.†

The king was then besieging Epernay in Champagne, and was unable to send relief to Quillebœuf; but in one of his letters he stated, that knowing Crillon was there, he felt no uneasiness; a compliment of the most flattering kind to that officer, which was the more gratifying from so warlike a prince. Epernay surrendered in the beginning of August: that siege cost the life of Marshal Biron, whose head was struck off by a cannon-ball as he was reconnoitring.‡

From Epernay the king went to St. Denis, where he again renewed his plan of blockading Paris: but soon after hearing that the Duke of Parma was making preparations to enter France with another army, he went into Picardy to be ready to attack him on his march. The Duke was at Arras, to meet some deputies and collect his forces; and while there he died.§ The wound he had received at Caudebec had materially injured his constitution, and contributed to hasten his death. That event, and the urgent recommendation of Duplessis, induced the king to proceed to Tours, where his presence was necessary in consequence of some negotiations under discussion.||

During the year 1592, different parts of France had been the scenes of warfare and hostilities, producing different results in their operations. In June the Prince of Conty was completely defeated before Craon, by the Duke of Mercœur;¶ and afterwards, in the month of December, he was obliged to raise the siege of Rochfort.** Lesdiguières, in an opposite quarter, maintained a long campaign against the leaguers and the Duke of Savoy, during which Antibes was taken and retaken, and the war was subsequently carried into Piedmont. On the arrival of the Duke of

Epernon in Provence, Antibes once more fell into the hands of the royalists; and the leaguers, under the Duke of Joyeuse, were defeated at Villemer.* About the same time the Duke of Bouillon gained a victory over Amblize, Grand Marshal of Lorraine, who was besieging Beaumont, a small town near Sedan. The attack from without being seconded by a sortie from the town, the besiegers were completely routed, and their leader and seven hundred men killed.† Bouillon afterwards took Dun, a small town on the Meuse, but not without exertion, as it was very well defended.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Negotiation for a peace—Assembly of the States-general at Paris—Conference at Suresne—Abjuration of Henry IV.

THE Duke of Parma's death disconcerted the measures of Philip II., who had also the mortification of finding that his party was losing ground in France; for, notwithstanding the military operations of the year 1592, negotiations had been carried on between Duplessis-Mornay and Villeroy. At the end of March, Fleury delivered to Duplessis a letter from the president Jeannin to Villeroy, containing the substance of what was required of the king by the nobles of the league. They were resolved to conclude a peace with the king on his promising to become a Catholic, and authorised Villeroy to treat upon that basis;‡ but as they did not desire any haste which might hurt the king's character, they proposed that he should privately treat with the pope for a few months respecting a reconciliation, to effect which they would secretly lend their influence and assistance. The treaty was not to be made public until the king was ready to declare himself; for which they assigned as a reason, that they would not give the King of Spain a pretext for being their enemy. Duplessis informed his master that he did not like the propositions: "It appears to me," says he, "in a report on the subject,§ that they only desire a conference, in order to pacify those of their party who cry out for peace, by showing that it is not their fault that it is not made." But a few days after he had an interview with Villeroy, when the proposal was drawn up to be communicated to his majesty. To reconcile the pope with Henry, and put an end to the desolating wars which afflicted France, appeared then the chief desire of the party

* 19th Oct. 1592. Cayet, liv. 4. p. 55 *et seq.* De Thou liv. 103.

† 8th Oct. 1592. Cayet, liv. 4. p. 68—70. De Thou, liv. 103. Marsollier, *Hist. du Duc de Bouillon*, vol. ii. p. 51—53.

‡ The terms as related by Villeroy were as follows:—The king to engage to be instructed for his conversion, and to declare his intention to support the Roman Catholic religion. The exercise of that religion to be restored wherever it had been suppressed, and the clergy to be restored to their former privileges. If it were right to tolerate the exercise of any other religion, there should be allowed no greater privilege than existed in 1585. Everything that had occurred since the death of the Guises to be forgotten, and no inquiry to be made respecting any circumstance excepting certain cases reserved in preceding edicts, in which the king's death was not to be made a pretext for troubling innocent persons. The memory and character of the Cardinal and Duke of Guise to be restored, but without hurting that of the late king, &c. &c.—*Mem. d'Etat*, vol. i. p. 343—346.

§ Dated 28th March, 1592. *Mem. de Duplessis*, vol. ii. p. 224.

* Perefise, liv. 2. Brantome, vol. ix. p. 164.

† Cayet, liv. 4. Davila, liv. 12. Vie de Crillon, vol. ii. p. 113.

‡ Brantome, vol. ix. p. 150. Cayet, liv. 4. p. 41. Sully, liv. 5.

§ 2nd December, 1592.

|| *Mem. de Duplessis*, vol. ii. p. 290.

¶ Cayet, liv. 4. p. 35. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 272. De Thou, liv. 103.

** *Mem. de Duplessis*, vol. ii. p. 289.

which had sent Villeroy; for, at the conclusion of his dispatch, Duplessis stated, "that no objection was made to the reformed religion remaining according to the existing edicts."*

It seems, however, that Mayenne was not inclined to a pacification; for Villeroy, in one of his letters, observes, "I think that M. de Mayenne ought at once to accept the peace, and that if he does not, he will curse the lost occasion;" and, farther on, he adds, "It is very strange that Mayenne should write to the towns of his party, that the king is not inclined for peace, for there is no occasion for it."†

But whatever may have been the cause, the negotiation was suddenly broken off; and Villeroy, either to preserve himself from the imputation of inability, or to give vent to his hatred of the Huguenots, has announced to the world, that Duplessis made public what they had agreed to keep secret, and thus prevented the conclusion of the treaty.‡ On the other hand, we are informed that the discussion was so far advanced, that the king in full council gave orders to draw up an edict founded thereon; but that Biron, d'Aumont, and others, being jealous that Duplessis, a Huguenot, should be entrusted with the affair, and, fearing lest the treaty should be concluded without the king's conversion, they availed themselves of the first opportunity which presented itself for breaking it off.§ Mayenne himself soon afforded them an occasion, by sending privately a stipulation for the government of Burgundy, for himself and his heirs, with other extravagant demands for his family.||

The rupture of the negotiations did not prevent the number of the king's friends in Paris from increasing; and towards the end of the year they found themselves so powerful, that they openly proposed to send to the king for the purpose of requesting freedom for their trade.¶ Mayenne succeeded in overruling the proposition; but the strength of the *politiques* was exhibited, and the known force of their party materially affected the subsequent affairs of the league in Paris.

It was under such circumstances that the Duke of Mayenne issued a proclamation convoking the states-general;** a measure which was pressed upon him by the Sixteen, by the Spanish minister, and by Pope Clement VIII.,†† whose legate, Cardinal Sega, also published an exhortation to all the Catholic royalists, by which they were called upon to desert the king, and join the assembly for choosing a prince of the true faith.‡‡ The States did not meet till the 25th of January, 1593, when the deputies went in procession to Notre-Dame to hear mass, and a sermon against Henry IV. and the Salic law. §§

The principal personages collected on this occasion were so destitute of everything calculated to command respect, that the mere assembling of the

States excited the derision of the people at large. Some royalists promoted that feeling by the publication of satirical pieces, which opened the eyes of the hitherto credulous populace. The *Satyre Menippée* is familiar to all who have any acquaintance with the history of this period: it was the chief of those works which appeared at this time; and, notwithstanding the ludicrous description which it contains of the states-general, it is less a satire, in itself, than a satirical detail of facts. The known characters of two of the leading ecclesiastics who figured in the assembly was a more severe libel on the cause than any invention could be. Dr. Rose, bishop of Senlis, was a fanatical and debauched priest: he preached assassination, and the necessity of the Catholic faith, and seduced the daughter of the president Neuilly, who addressed herself to him for confession; while Espinac, Archbishop of Lyons, his compeer, was publicly known to live in incest with his sister.* The characters of Cardinals Pellevé and Sega, and the deportment of the inferior clergy, were quite in unison with the interested ambition of the Lorrain princes and their adherents; and the nation at last discovered that their civil wars had been fomented and carried on for the benefit of the King of Spain, and to promote the temporal interests of the pope; and that the principal actors in the affair were so destitute of patriotism and justice, that they joined in oppressing the nation, in order to obtain the recompense which was held up to their view in those quarters.

The election of a king, by the states-general, would have been very injurious to the cause of Henry IV.; he therefore went with his court to Chartres, to be more ready to act according to circumstances. The first days of the assembly were passed in matters of ceremony; and before the deputies were able to decide upon the proper mode of proceeding, while they were canvassing the claims of various parties supposed to be entitled to the honour, a messenger arrived with an address from the Catholic royalists, proposing a conference in the neighbourhood of Paris, as the best means of restoring peace to the country.† When the message was made known, the legate declared that it was not only unworthy of a reply, but that the person who brought it deserved punishment: he at the same time pronounced it to be full of heresy.‡ The Sorbonne were zealous in their exertions to prevent the proposal from being accepted; and the legate, the Spanish minister, and the Sixteen were indefatigable on the occasion. The furious Pelletier, in a sermon, declared that the conference would be the greatest misfortune which could befall religion. But Villeroy and Jeannin had sufficient influence to have the subject taken into consideration.§

The reply to the address of the royalist Catholics was a month under discussion: at last the assembly decided that they would not treat directly or indirectly with the King of Navarre, or any other heretic, upon religious points; but that they would

* Dated 4th April, 1592. Ibid. p. 236.

† Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 246.

‡ Villeroy, vol. i. p. 366-7.

§ Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 248.

|| Vie de Duplessis-Mornay, p. 175.

¶ Cayet, liv. 4. p. 73.

** Dated December, 1592; registered and published 15th January, 1593. Villeroy, vol. vi. p. 167-191.

†† Hyppolite Aldobrandini, a Florentine; he was elected 30th January, 1592. Innocent IX. (Fachinetto), who succeeded Gregory XIV., lived only two months after his elevation to the pontificate.

‡‡ Cayet, liv. 5. p. 116. Villeroy, vol. vi. p. 192-212.

§§ Hist. de la Ligue, vol. ii. p. 357.

* Hist. de la Sorbonne, vol. ii. p. 72. Mayenne made great interest with Clement VIII. to obtain a cardinal's hat for Espinac; but that pontiff would not consent, and told D'Ossat that Espinac's bad reputation *en matière des femmes* was the reason.—*Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat*, part 2. p. 149. Edit. in folio, 1624.

† Dated Chartres, 27th January, 1592-3. Cayet, liv. 5. p. 118. Villeroy, vol. vi. p. 213.

‡ Villeroy, vol. ii. p. 34. § Journal de Henri IV.

confer with the Catholics of his party, upon the means of restoring peace to the nation; the whole of the discussion to be under the sanction of the legate. A letter was in consequence written on the 4th of March, 1593, and sent to the royalists at Chartres. Other letters passed between the parties, and at last the village of Suresne was fixed upon as the place of conference.*

The arrival of the Duke de Feria, with extraordinary powers from the King of Spain, encouraged the fanatical party in their opposition to a conference; but the general feeling could not be suppressed, and deputies from both parties met at the appointed place, on the 23rd of April.† It is well known that this conference ended in the abjuration of Protestantism by Henry IV.; and to detail the substance of what passed at the numerous meetings would be as tedious as it would be useless. Repeated adjournments took place; and the king being desirous of conferring every respect upon so important a proceeding, invited a considerable number of ecclesiastics to meet him at Mantes. The clergy of the league were invited, as well as the royalists. "I have resolved," said the king in his letter, "in order if possible to remove every scruple in their obedience to me, on account of the difference of my religion, to receive instruction respecting the causes of the schism which is in the church."‡ The news of this proceeding spread an alarm among the Protestants, which was not dispelled by a proclamation, summoning their deputies to attend at Mantes on the 20th of July.§ Duplessis, in a letter to his friend Servin, laments that, as the king was resolved on being instructed, he did not invite the Protestant ministers to meet the Catholic prelates, for it will be, said he, *arma sine pulvere*.|| And in a letter to another person he writes, "I do not perceive that the bishops are called to enter into any argument, and therefore the truth will be neither examined nor defended; but, if it is for a mere matter of form that the assembly is convoked, the affair being already decided, as it is said: it would be too great a scandal to truth to place it in discussion where it should prevail, only to make it yield as vanquished."¶

The conference had naturally produced a truce between the contending parties; but the king suspected that the Spaniards were availing themselves of the opportunity, to press more diligently the election of the Infanta, as the probable conversion of the king would render it impossible, if it were not effected immediately. Great efforts were also made by that party to increase their force, and obtain supplies for Paris. Henry was then induced to renew hostilities, and took Dreux towards the end of June.**

The league was perplexed at the loss of Dreux, which was almost their only remaining town in the

neighbourhood of Paris; and many of their party were wavering, in consequence of a report that the king would certainly abjure before long: it was therefore urgent to bring the assembly to some decision, which was accordingly pressed by the Spanish agents. On this occasion the parliament resumed its independence: with a spirit of patriotism which the fate of Brisson could not daunt, they passed a decree declaring the Salic law inviolable, and protested against the election of a king by the States.* The president, Lemaitre, was ordered to remonstrate with Mayenne against any treaty being made to transfer the crown of France to a foreign prince, under the pretext of religion; and to call upon him to bring about a peace, as soon as possible, on account of the extreme necessity of the people. But though so often foiled, the Spanish agents would not desist: they continued their exertions to have the Duke of Guise and the Infanta placed upon the throne.

But nothing could preserve their falling influence when the ceremony of publicly abjuring Protestantism had taken place at St. Denis.† The king had long been satisfied that unless he joined the Romish church, he must pass his whole life in warfare, which would waste his country with fire and sword. Many other circumstances concurred in influencing him to change his religion; his favourite mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrées, wished to see the country pacified, as the only means by which her prospect could be realized of being married to the king. An expression has been currently attributed to him which is extremely probable: when his Huguenot friends were entreating him not to abandon them, he is said to have answered, "*Ventre St. Gris!* Paris is well worth a mass." But the Catholics in general declare this to be an invention of the Huguenots, who, being vexed at losing so illustrious a chief, were determined to make it appear that in his heart he had not forsaken them. The sincerity of his conversion has in consequence been strenuously insisted upon by their opponents. Cayet, who also abjured the Protestant religion, takes great pains to show that even while the king was avowedly a Huguenot, he sincerely believed in the doctrine of the *real presence*.‡ We have, however, his majesty's letter to the fair Gabrielle, written on the evening before his abjuration,§ which shows that he did not renounce the faith in which he had been educated without some repugnance; much more, indeed, than he would have felt, if he had been so satisfied upon the doctrines of the church of Rome: "To-morrow," says he, "I take the perilous leap." His situation as sovereign and common parent of a suffering nation place him beyond the reach of censure for a want of firmness. The Protestant theologian may blame his abjuration in as unqualified a manner as the popish ecclesiastic bestows his approbation; but it is to be borne in mind that, by becoming a Catholic, Henry IV. was enabled to restore a national existence to France, and posterity has ennobled his name by the title of the Great. Happily the rights of conscience are now so fully admitted, that no one presumes to question the sincerity of

* Journal de Henri IV. Cayet, liv. 5. in loc. Villeroi, vol. vi. pp. 224 et seq.

† Villeroi, vol. vi. p. 236. A considerable part of the 6th and 7th volumes of this work is occupied with accounts of the conference of Suresne. They were not composed by Villeroi, but have been added to his collection. I believe they were published at the time, under the title of *Journal de la Conférence de Suresne*.

‡ Dated 18th May, 1593. Cayet, liv. 5. p. 179.

§ This proclamation was dated 25th May, 1593.

|| Letter dated 31st May. Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 314.

¶ Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 324

** Cayet, liv. 5. p. 205. Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 33.

* This decree, dated 30th June, 1593, gave great offence to the Duke of Mayenne; and the Archbishop of Lyons went into a violent passion on account of it.—*Mém. de Nevers*, vol. ii. p. 636.

† 25th July, 1593. ‡ Cayet, liv. 5. pp. 148—222.

§ Journal de Henri IV. vol. i. p. 472. Edit. Cologne.

another's opinions: we are, therefore, bound to abstain from inquiring whether this king's convictions were real or pretended; and thus extend to his memory a privilege which could not exist while he lived, on account of the general prevalence of bigotry and prejudice.

Yet without pretending to blame the act, we may lament the sad necessity, which drove him to abjure. The different Huguenots of distinction who have left behind them memoirs or letters agree that the king was fond of easing his conscience by the project of a national council for reuniting the parties by cleansing the Roman church of those unscriptural practices and doctrines which justified the dissent of the Huguenots. Circumstances never permitted the realization of that project; and such is the force of example, that within a few years every family of distinction had returned to the Catholic church. The loss of their protectors rendered the Huguenots an easy prey to their enemies; and the recompense obtained for their services to Henry, was only an additional motive to excite his successors to oppress them.

As a cloak to their ambitious designs, the Jesuits and all the ultramontane faction, whether commissioned from Rome or Madrid, had protested that they were actuated solely by a desire to preserve the unity of the faith, by protecting religion from the design of a prince who had abandoned their church. But no sooner did the King of France consent to become a Roman Catholic, than the legate evinced great displeasure, and announced that any ecclesiastic who might go to see Henry of Bourbon, who called himself King of France, would be deprived of his benefice, and incur the censures of the church.* The gates of Paris were shut, and the people prohibited from going to St. Denis: but the attempt was useless, and multitudes went to witness a ceremony, which was to put an end to the public calamities.†

Joy so publicly testified, convinced the Duke of Mayenne that his power was nearly at an end. From this time the king was spoken of in terms of respect, and the titles Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre, or the Bearnais, were discontinued by all except the most fanatical members of the league. The preachers had recourse to their old method of serving the cause by the most violent sermons, in which the king's abjuration was represented in very odious colours. Boucher was conspicuous among them, and preached nine sermons on the subject, which were afterwards printed. He maintained that the bishops who had received the abjuration were ministers of hell; and that even the pope himself could not re-Catholicise the Bearnais.‡ The people, however, remained cool, and the appeal to their enthusiasm was no longer successful. The Duke of Mayenne, perceiving that his prospects were cut off, considered that as he must choose to submit to the king on one hand, or on the other to his nephew, if the King of Spain succeeded in placing him upon the throne, and being besides advised by his wife to make peace with the king while he could obtain good terms, he concluded a truce in spite of the opposition of the Spaniards.§

An embassy was dispatched to the pope to obtain his absolution, and thus remove every scruple which might remain in the minds of the ecclesiastics. This circumstance, coupled with the publication of the Council of Trent in Paris, appears to have excited great apprehensions among the Huguenots. Ever since the king had been joined by any of the Catholic nobility, his favours had been almost exclusively bestowed upon them; and when the Protestants knew that his abjuration was decided upon, they chiefly regretted the loss of a chief and a protector. But when they heard that the absolution was wanted, they anticipated further persecutions; and their inquiries upon every point, instead of allaying their fears, tended more to augment them. Duplessis, writing to the Duke of Bouillon, observes, "In taking the king's abjuration, it was proposed that he should swear to make war against the Huguenots, which he refused to do. This is a great boldness, to dare to make such a demand, when he was barely on the threshold of their door." He afterwards alludes to the embassy to Rome, and expects that the king will obtain absolution "on condition of his revoking the edict against the bull; and, for penance, he will be secretly enjoined to make war against the Protestants. The King of Spain will then remain to be satisfied: he can marry his daughter to the king, by which the two interests will be blended; and then the Philistines must be sacrificed as a dowry."* In a subsequent letter he mentions, "the publication of the Council of Trent, during a treaty of peace, appears to discover their intentions sufficiently. It is, in short, either to make the peace impossible for the king, or to cause a war to fall upon us."†

The absence of a Huguenot leader belonging to the royal family increased the importance of the Duke of Bouillon, who from that time was considered the head of that party; and his ambition made him assist the fervency of Duplessis, in reanimating the zeal of the Protestants. A synod had been convened at St. Maixent prior to the king's abjuration; the circumstances of the time made the Huguenots extremely attentive, and at that assembly a plan was agreed upon for deputies from all the churches to meet in the month of December, to petition the king to direct them how their affairs were henceforth to be conducted; to intreat him to order a general assembly of the Protestants; and to pray that the truce might be changed into a settled peace.‡ The king's authority was not so well established that he could dispense with the support of his tried friends; he therefore met their deputies at Mantes, assured them that his conversion had not altered his affection for them, and promised to have their affairs taken into consideration.§

CHAPTER XLIX.

Barrière meditates an attempt on the King's life—Reduction of Paris—John Chatel stabs the King—Banishment of the Jesuits.

HENRY's abjuration was no sooner known, than a considerable number of persons openly professed

* Lettre de Monsieur le Legat aux Catholiques de France, dated 23rd July, 1593. Villeroy, vol. vii. p. 84.

† Cayet, liv. 5. p. 222. Journal de Henri IV.

‡ Journal de Henri IV.

§ Dated 31st July, 1593. Cayet, liv. 5.

* Dated 10th August, 1593. Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 336.

† Mem. de Duplessis, vol. ii. p. 367.

‡ D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 364.

§ Cayet, liv. 5. p. 269.

their attachment to him : all hope of destroying his authority by arms was therefore at an end. But the legate and his fanatical associates would not abandon their design ; and by comparing the present state of their affairs with their condition when Henry III. was advancing against them with a formidable force, they were led to take measures for a similar deliverance. The pulpits had for some time resounded with appeals, calculated to excite any violent enthusiast who would undertake to preserve the church from its pretended dangers. The Jesuit Commolet, in one of his sermons, enlarged upon the death of Eglon, King of Moab ; he applauded the assassination of the late king, and described James Clement as sitting among the angels of heaven. Having thus applied the text, he exclaimed, " We must have an Ehud ; we want an Ehud : be he a monk, a soldier, or a shepherd, it is of no consequence ; but we must have an Ehud ; and this blow is all we want to put our affairs in the situation we desire.*"

Such sermons were preached at Lyons and other towns, as well as at Paris ; and among others who were moved by the appeal, was one Peter Barrière, originally a waterman of Orleans : brought up among the lowest classes, he was extremely ignorant ; but being very intrepid, he had been employed by the late Duke of Guise in an attempt to carry off the Queen of Navarre. When he had resolved to devote himself to his dreadful attempt, he addressed the grand vicar of the Carmelites at Lyons to have his opinion respecting his enterprise : the friar praised his courage. A capuchin, of whom he made the same inquiry, told him decidedly that the work was meritorious. Happily for the king a similar consultation was held with a Dominican, named Serapin Bianchi, who was attached to the royalist party, and was employed as a spy by the Duke of Tuscany.

In order to be more sure of preserving the king against the meditated attempt upon his life, the Dominican deferred giving his opinion till the following day : in the interval he sent for a gentleman named Brancaleon, and told him to take particular notice of the person he should meet. Barrière was dismissed with an exhortation to abandon his plan, and Brancaleon immediately warned the king of his danger.

Barrière proceeded to Paris and applied to Aubry, curate of St. André-des-Arcs, he being considered one of the most zealous persons of the league. Aubry told him that the king was not a Catholic, although he went to mass : he introduced him to Varade, the rector of the Jesuits, who assured him that to kill the king was a great action, but it required courage, and that he must previously confess himself and perform his Easter devotions : he then gave him his benediction, and intrusted him to another Jesuit for confession.† After this encouragement Barrière purchased a double-edged knife, which he had pointed and sharpened, and then set out to kill Henry IV. When he arrived at St. Denis, the king was hearing mass ; Barrière was awed by his devotion, and his courage failed.

* Flaidoyer de M. Arnauld, in 1594, p. 50. *Journal de Henri IV.*

† Jouvency naturally rejects this version of the affair. He says that Varade did everything in his power to deter Barrière ; but he was madly bent upon it, and would not be persuaded. (*Hist. Soc. Jesu.* lib. 12, p. 44.) Jouvency's account would appear more worthy of credit if Varade had acted like he Dominican Bianchi.

He followed the king to various places and again received the sacrament. At last he was seized by Brancaleon, who recognized him at Melun, where he was waiting for an opportunity to give the fatal blow. His answers, when examined, displayed a sort of insanity, which arose from his mind being bewildered by what the different priests had declared to him. His punishment comprised the worst kinds of torture ; and, while suffering such dreadful pain, he declared that he expected God would have rendered him invisible after killing the king. His confession was very ample, and he mentioned the names of his advisers, who were all priests or doctors in theology ; indeed there is not the least room to doubt their complicity on this occasion.*

The remainder of the year was occupied with negotiations for the pope's absolution ; the want of which enabled the clergy to declare, that the abjuration was incomplete, and obstacles were thus raised to the people's return to allegiance. But at last it became evident that the king was not the cause of the delay, for, notwithstanding the pope's refusal to receive his ambassador, he did not cease to solicit a reconciliation. The Duke of Nevers, who was charged with that mission,† was surprised, on his arrival at Poschiavo, in the Grisons' country, to meet the father Possevin, a Jesuit, who presented a brief from the pope, and informed him that he could not be received.‡ The Duke of Nevers, however, proceeded to Rome, and had several interviews with Clement, who said to him on one occasion—" Do not tell me that your king is a Catholic ; I will never believe that he is truly converted, unless an angel come from heaven to whisper it in my ears. As to the Catholics who have followed his party, I look upon them only as disobedient deserters of religion and the crown, and no more than bastards and sons of the bond-woman. Those of the league are lawful children, the real supports and true pillars of the Catholic religion.§"

The first leaguer that submitted to the king was Bois-rosé, who, directly he heard of his conversion, made an offer of his services, and gave up the towns of Feschamp and Lislebonne. This example was followed by Vitry, governor of Meaux ; the Duke of Mayenne did all in his power to retain that gentleman, but in vain. As the truce was about to expire, and there appeared a probability of the war being renewed, he called together the inhabitants of Meaux, who all agreed to his proposals ; and, in consequence, they proclaimed the king immediately : Vitry moreover addressed a manifest to the league, explaining his reasons for leaving them.||

The impulse being given, other governors went over to the king, and Pointoise was surrendered by D'Alincourt. The loss of that place was a great blow to the league, for they had no other town within fifteen leagues of Paris. Villeroy immediately advised Mayenne to treat publicly with the king, but he refused : he said he could not acknow-

Barrière was arrested the 26th August, and executed the 31st. Cayet, liv. 5. De Thou, liv. 107. *Journal de Henri IV.* Pasquier, vol. ii. p. 455.

† The instructions delivered to the Marquis de Pisany by the Duke of Nevers are inserted in Villeroy, vol. iv. p. 327.

‡ 14th Oct. 1593. *Mem. de Nevers*, vol. ii. p. 405.

§ Cayet, liv. 5. pp. 251, 260. *Journal de Henri IV.*

|| 25th Dec. 1593. Cayet, liv. 5. p. 272. *Journal de Henri IV.* *Mem. de Nevers*, vol. ii. p. 632.

ledge him without the pope's orders. The experienced statesman perceived that the cause of the union was irrecoverable, and immediately joined the royalists. Henry received him graciously, and made him a secretary of state.*

Soon after, the city of Lyons was mastered by the royalists. A revolt had taken place there in the previous September, which arose from a public dislike of the Duke of Nemours, the governor, who was placed in confinement in a castle. No thought of serving the king had been entertained by the leaders in this affair; but the royalists were thereby enabled to ascertain their strength, and from that time they formed plans for establishing the king's authority. Mayenne was urged by his family to relieve Nemours from his unpleasant situation; but he had no reason to be anxious for the release of such a rival.† The intrepid defender of Paris had, however, great claims upon the party, and a body of troops were promised to be sent to restore his authority in Lyons. This news determined the royalists to hasten the execution of their plans: they sent to Alphonso Ornano for help, and, on the night of the 7th of February, they went through the streets calling upon the people to join in their effort for liberty: in a short time the city was barricaded in every direction. The archbishop was awakened by the noise, and went to the Hotel-de-Ville, where he remonstrated with the people upon their disobedience, and told them that they ought at least to wait till the pope had absolved the king. He was answered by shouts of *Vive le Roi!* and the next day every one put on the white scarf. Bonfires were lighted, and everything done to express the public hatred of the league. The arms of Spain, Savoy, and Nemours were publicly burned, as well as a personification of the league, under the figure of an old sorceress. *Te Deum* was sung, and public entertainments were given to promote the festivity.‡

This event was highly gratifying to the king, who had found that his conversion to Catholicism had neither diminished the personal hatred of his enemies nor relaxed the efforts of Philip II. in opposing him. A courier, with dispatches from Mayenne to the Spanish court, was seized; and among other papers was a letter, stating that the communications of the bearer were deserving of attention and credit. The king discerned a good opportunity for learning Philip's real sentiments, and, having confined the bearer of the dispatches, sent La Varenne into Spain in his stead, with ample instructions for his guidance. On his arrival at Madrid, he was introduced to Philip, who informed him of all his plans for preventing the absolution of the King of France: "Do not fear," said Philip, "that the pope will grant it, unless the Prince of Bearne himself goes to Rome to demand it; and, if he go there, I will take good care that he shall not easily get back again." He afterwards saw the Infanta; and during the interview she expressed a wish to be informed about the Prince of Bearne. Varenne had expressly given that turn to the conversation, and produced a portrait of Henry, with an observation upon the happy results which might

be derived from a marriage with him. The Infanta made no reply, but kept the portrait.

Varenne concluded his errand, and had received the orders of the King of Spain; he went to take leave of the Infanta before he quitted Madrid, and, as he left the apartments, he was secretly informed that a courier had arrived with intelligence of Mayenne's dispatches having fallen into the hands of the King of France. His situation was very perilous, for his arrest would be followed by an order for him to be put to death; but, by using great expedition, he was able to make his escape, and communicate the important information he had obtained.* The legate confirmed his report, by announcing in a letter addressed to all good Catholics, that the absolution would never be granted.†

As there appeared, therefore, no probability of his obtaining the pope's absolution, and knowing that without it he could not expect the submission of many of the clergy; and being besides of opinion that, if he were crowned, many persons would be led by that circumstance alone to join his cause, he decided on having his coronation solemnized at Chartres: that ceremony took place on the 27th of February, 1594. The news of this event spread great joy among the royalists, who by this time were numerous in every part of France. Mayenne being informed of the general change of the public feeling, became fearful of being captured in the same way that the people of Lyons had seized his brother Nemours: he quitted Paris in consequence, and went with his family to Soissons in the early part of the month of March.‡

The retreat of Mayenne left Brissac, governor of Paris, at liberty to make an advantageous treaty with the king for surrendering the city, and thus take a recompense for services unrewarded by the league. St. Luc, his brother-in-law, was a royalist; him the king charged with the negotiation. A dispute had long existed between them respecting the settlement of some property; St. Luc proposed an accommodation, and the meeting was only a pretext for making known his mission. When they met at the Abbey St. Antoine, they were each accompanied by lawyers, who discussed their affairs with earnestness, while St. Luc took Brissac aside, and made his proposal, which was accepted. As it was necessary to take every precaution, even against the slightest suspicion of a conference, it was given out that the lawyers could not come to any decision, and that they had parted with feelings of great animosity: at the court, it was circulated that the king would not easily forgive Brissac's devotion to the cause of Spain.§

On his return into the city, Brissac consulted with the attorney-general Molé, and others of the king's party, who would not join in the undertaking without stipulations for their own interests. But that circumstance was not allowed to be an obstacle; Brissac had sold himself, and therefore could not reproach them for making a price. At last they were all agreed, and arrangements were made for executing the plan. The dawn of the 22nd of March was the time fixed for opening the gates of Paris to the king.

On the evening of the 21st, Brissac assembled

* Cayet, liv. 6. pp. 293, *et seq.* Villeroi, vol. ii. pp. 107, *et seq.*

† In a conversation with Villeroi he pretended to doubt the fact of Nemours being in confinement.—*Mém. d'Etat*, vol. ii. p. 88.

‡ Cayet, liv. 6. p. 298. Journal de Henri IV.

* Cayet, liv. 5. p. 276.

† Villeroi, vol. ii. p. 113.

‡ Le Grain, liv. 6. p. 272. Journal de Henri IV.

§ Cayet, liv. 5. p. 334. Journal de Henri IV.

every officer in whom he could confide. The object of the enterprise was then more fully explained, and each was appointed to the post he was to occupy in its execution. At the same time, it was by the greatest hazard that they were not foiled; for, from the communication being extended to a great number, it at last reached the ears of the Spanish ministers and the Sixteen. They sent for Brissac, and told him that there was a rumour of Mayenne having concluded a peace with the king. He professed to suppose it impossible; but at the same time admitted that great precautions were necessary, and that he would immediately go round the walls, to see that all was right. Two Spanish captains went with him; and as they had been informed he was in the plot, they were ordered to kill him directly they perceived any movement in the neighbourhood.*

Fortunately the king's troops did not make their appearance till four o'clock in the morning, when the Spaniards had quitted Brissac, who went to reconnoitre directly he heard the signal: the gate was immediately opened, and the royalists entered the city in silence; they immediately took possession of the open places and cross roads. A post occupied by some Lansquenets was the only point at which they met with opposition, and that was very soon overcome. The king's entry was quite triumphal; he was met at different parts by the public bodies, who offered their homage, while the provost presented the keys of the city. The streets resounded with shouts of *Vive le Roi!* and the power of the league was in a moment replaced by the authority of the lawful sovereign, who now appeared as generally beloved as he had lately been execrated by the multitude.

But all Henry's intrepidity could not prevent his uneasiness, lest an ambuscade were placed to cut him off; and he inquired of Marshal Matignon if he had secured the gate, and made certain of retreat in case of need.† Indeed, it is probable if a single leaguer had discharged a gun, or attempted, in any manner, to encourage his party, that a dreadful havoc would have been made amongst the king's troops. Sufficient time was given for complete occupation of the town; and the few efforts that were afterwards made to disturb the public tranquillity were without effect.

Directly the king perceived that the Louvre and the principal places were in his power, he sent to the Duke of Feria to demand the liberation of Colonel St. Quentin, who had been put in prison on account of his supposed royalist opinions. The duke and his companion Ibarra were then informed that they were at liberty to retire when they pleased, provided they made no attempts to resist the occupation of all the posts by the king's soldiers. They accepted the proposal, and left Paris the same day with all the Spanish forces. In the course of the morning, the king went to Notre-Dame, where *Te Deum* was sung; the people crowded on his passage to and from the church, and when his attendants tried to keep them off, he called out, "Let them approach, for they are eager to behold a king!"‡ Proclamation of a general pardon was made: had Henry consulted his own feelings, he

would not have shown the least resentment to any; but being convinced that some examples were absolutely requisite, the most seditious were ordered to quit the city. Even Varade, the rector of the Jesuits, who had instigated Barrière to attempt his life, was allowed quietly to depart, in company with the legate. Cardinal Pellevé died of vexation on hearing of the event; and the furious Boucher, being fearful lest he should be brought to account for his incendiary sermons, retired with several other doctors into Flanders. De Bourg, the governor of the Bastille, made a show of resistance; but when he found that the popular feeling was undivided, he surrendered the fortress: the occupation of Paris was then complete.*

As a recompense for his zeal in the enterprise, the king promoted Brissac to the rank of marshal; Molé, for his exertions in the parliament, was made president, and Le Maitre, who filled a similar dignity under the league, was confirmed in that office. These rewards were an indication of the king's disposition towards all who would join him; while the surrender of Paris contributed very much to bring about a similar change in the other towns.

The parliament, being established once more under royal authority, passed a decree, annulling all the acts and decrees which had been made to the prejudice of the king and his predecessor.† They also proceeded to investigate the conduct of the most notorious leaguers, and take measures for punishing them. Very severe punishments were announced for the preachers, if taken; but as they had time allowed them to escape, in the interval between the king's return to Paris and the re-composition of the courts, most of them remained abroad, and underwent the punishment of exile alone.

But the Jesuits were found to have been, one and all, so deeply interested for the Spanish party, that their expulsion from the kingdom was considered necessary. This question occupied a long time. The decree of the university which ordered the proceedings for their banishment was signed by the faculty without any objection.‡ The parochial clergy afterwards joined the university, and the cause was tried by the parliament of Paris in July, 1549.

This process has become memorable by the constant reference made to it on every occasion which has brought the Jesuits into collision with the parliaments; and the charges which were then exhibited against them have been always renewed whenever the public mind has been excited against that society. Antoine Arnauld was advocate for the university; Louis Dolé for the curates of Paris; and Claude Duret pleaded on behalf of the defendants. Arnauld's speech contained much violent declamation: that of Dolé was more argumentative; the defence was comprised under two heads—one, that the accusation against the society was inadmissible—the other, an answer to the accusation, if admitted.§ The public feeling was

* Journal de Henri IV.

† Arrest solennel contre ce qui s'est fait par la Ligue, &c. Dated 30th March, 1594. Mem. de Nevers, vol. ii. p. 691. The parliament was recalled from Tours, by letters patent dated 28th March.

‡ *Summa petitionis erat, ut societates Jesu, non solum Parisiis, verum etiam universo regno exterminaretur.* Jouvenci, lib. xii. p. 41.

§ Cayet, liv. 5. pp. 379 et seq. Plaidoyer de M. Antoine Arnauld, &c. 12 et 13 Juillet, 1594.

* Cayet, liv. 5. p. 336. Journal de Henri IV.

† Journal de Henri IV.

‡ Ibid.

so much against the Jesuits, and the assertions made by Arnauld entered so deeply into the experience of the nation at large, that the proscription of the order was fully expected.

The doctors of the Sorbonne had joined in the clamour against the Jesuits, and it was principally in consequence of their demand that the trial had been instituted; but two months had scarcely elapsed before the faculty rescinded their former vote, and passed a decree in favour of the fathers.* The members of the league who still remained in Paris made use of this decree to meet the accusations which were made before the parliament; and the Jesuits remained for that time unmolested.

The king was in the meantime occupied in the field; and several towns had submitted to him. Laon resisted his forces, and maintained a siege for two months, in which Givry was mortally wounded. Peronne, Beauvais, Amiens, and Noyon surrendered soon after; in November, a treaty was concluded between the king and the Duke of Lorraine; and in a short time the Duke of Guise gave in his adhesion, and took the oath of fidelity.† Everything seemed to announce the entire pacification of France, by the general establishment of the king's authority; the league was dwindling out of existence, and its decay was rendered still more rapid by a quarrel between the Dukes of Mayenne and Feria,‡ when the nation was assuaged by another fanatical attempt to assassinate the king.

On the evening of the 27th of December, 1594, Henry arrived at the Louvre from Picardy, when he was surrounded by a number of nobles and gentlemen, who pressed forward to offer their congratulations on the favourable state of his affairs. A young man had glided through the crowd unobserved, and, with a knife, aimed a blow at the king's throat. At that moment two gentlemen had approached, making their salutation by bending one knee; and the king, with his usual affability, stooping to raise them up, received the blow on his mouth. At first the king thought he had been struck by a silly girl named Mathurine, who happened to be close to him; and he expressed himself to that effect. She immediately went to the door of the apartment and declared that no one should go out. The company then looked at each other, and a young man, whose person was unknown to them, and who appeared very agitated, was at once charged with the crime. He had thrown away the knife, and at first protested his innocence; but afterwards he confessed that he had given the blow.||

On his examination it was found that he was John Chatel, son of a draper;¶ that he had studied at the college of the Jesuits; and that, having

dreadful alarms of conscience on account of depravities to which he had been addicted, and which seemed to preclude all hopes of God's mercy, he wished to expiate a part of his crimes, under the idea that it would be better to be damned as *four than as eight*;* and having constantly heard the king declared a tyrant and a heretic, he thought that the act of delivering France from his sway offered the best chance of preserving him from some part of the torments to which he fancied he was doomed. This miserable wretch suffered the dreadful punishment which awaited regicides at this period.†

The greatest alarm pervaded Paris when the news of the desperate act was promulgated; but when it was ascertained that the wound was not dangerous, and that no fears were entertained of the knife having been poisoned, the public joy was unbounded: a *Te Deum* was immediately sung at Notre Dame.

It was with difficulty the populace were restrained from taking vengeance on the Jesuits: their colleges were surrounded by soldiers; several of them were taken into custody, and the rest removed to other houses. Among those arrested were Guignard, the rector of the college; Gueret, who had been Chatel's confessor and adviser; and Haius, or Hay, a Scotchman, who had been remarkable for his zeal against the king's cause. On examining the papers found in the college, there were found in Guignard's handwriting, some propositions to the following effect: "That if some royal blood had been shed at the St. Bartholomew, they would have been spared the evils under which they laboured; that the act of Jacques Clement was heroic and glorious; that the crown of France could, and must be transferred to some other family than that of Bourbon; that the Bearnais, although converted to the Catholic faith, would be treated more mildly than he deserved if he were confined in some severe convent, there to do penance; that if he could not be deposed without war, let war be carried against him; and if that could not be done, he should be put to death;" besides others which were levelled against Henry III. and the Protestant princes of Europe.‡

The proceedings which had occupied the parliament some months previous were renewed in consequence of this event, and the Jesuits were banished the kingdom by the same decree which condemned John Chartel to death.§ Guignard was tried for his treasonable writings, and was sentenced to be hanged: he was executed on the 7th of January: his firmness at the place of execution was astonishing, and he has in consequence been revered as a martyr by the society.||

Numerous inquiries were made respecting the Jesuits in every part of the kingdom; and it was found that those connected with the society were generally in expectation of the attempt upon the monarch's life. A few days before the act was committed, two Swiss were met by some Jesuits at Besançon, on his road to Rome, who told them that, very soon, the King of Navarre would be

* *Post maturam deliberationem declaravit (concio) se quidem censere patres societatis Jesu, redigendos esse in ordinem et disciplinam universitatis; regno autem Gallico esse nequaquam expellendos.* Jouvenci, *ut antea*.

† Hist. de la Sorbonne, vol. ii. p. 147.

‡ St. Pol, an intimate friend of Guise, quarrelled with that prince for renouncing his principles, and sent for 800 Spaniards to enable him to defend Rheims. Guise heard of his design, and forbid it. St. Pol was haughty, and Guise ran him through the body. Bassompierre, *Novv. Mem.* p. 45.

§ Cayet, liv. 5. p. 407.

|| Journal de Henri IV. Sully, liv. 7.

¶ Jouvenci thus speaks of him, "*Huic monstro nomen aeterna sepeliendum obivione, Joannes Castellus, &c.*" No doubt the society would be very happy if this affair could be forgotten.

* *Ut quatuor quam ut octo.*

† Cayet, liv. 6. p. 432—435.

‡ Ibid. liv. 6. p. 436.

§ The decree, dated 29th December, 1594, is given at length by many writers: see, among others, Pasquier, vol. i. p. 326.

|| Cayet, Hist. des Derniers Troubles. Jouvenci, *Hist. Soc. Jesu.* Journal de Henri IV.

killed or wounded. The event was also looked for by the Spanish troops in Brittany, who were sent to aid the expiring league. And from informations taken at Bourges, it appeared that one Francis Jacob, a scholar of the Jesuits in that town, boasted that he would kill the king if it were not already done by another.*

Before these statements could reach the capital, the Jesuits were already commanded to leave the kingdom; they may, therefore, have been highly coloured by the enemies of the society to justify a precipitate decision. To discuss the merits of the often-renewed dispute, not only between the Jesuits and the parliaments, but also their quarrels with the secular clergy, would be foreign to our subject; but it may not be improper to remark that the declaration published by them in answer to the decree for their banishment, contains an observation which completely proves the danger and confusion which must attend their establishment in any country where the people have made the least advances in civilization. After arguing upon the bull of Sixtus V., which deprived the king of his right to the crown, and declaring that the court had usurped the authority of the church in stigmatizing as impious and heretical the maxims which Chatel had imbibed, the fathers added, "that lay-judges condemning ecclesiastics, and particularly *religieux*, the immediate subjects of the pope, were excommunicated."† As the society can increase its numbers without any control from the government, the influence of such a body refusing submission to the civil magistrate necessarily endangers the existence of the government itself.

CHAPTER L.

Henry absolved by the Pope—Battle of Fontaine Frangaise—Ham taken by Humieres—Capture of Dourlens and Cambray by the Spaniards—Sieges of La Fere and Calais—Assembly of Notables at Rouen—Siege of Amiens—Edict of Nantes—Peace with Spain.

THE ignorance which pervaded the people at large rendered the pope's absolution requisite for the establishment of the king's authority; and it is clear that, if the pontiff had already granted it, Chatel would not have felt at liberty to attempt his life: his personal safety was therefore interested in concluding the difference with the court of Rome. But, unfortunately, the expulsion of the Jesuits created fresh obstacles in the way of the negotiation, and rendered Clement VIII. less willing to consent.‡ D'Ossat was indefatigable at Rome on the king's behalf, and envoys were sent from time to time with special powers, but to no purpose; the pope complained of the restoration of the edict of Poitiers (1577), and of the banishment of the Jesuits, which he said was to be followed by the expulsion of all the religious orders from France. The Spaniards endeavoured to confirm him in such sentiments; and assured him that Henry would again become a Huguenot, when he was in possession of all power; and that, to preserve France to the holy see, it was not worth while to risk the

loss of Spain.* Clement had too much experience to take all their assertions for granted, and felt a desire to be informed of the real state of affairs: he made inquiries on all sides, and put forward various pretexts for delaying his decision, until he had received sufficient information.

He was soon convinced that the league was no longer a cause that he was interested in defending; and that the feeling of the French authorities was too decided to allow him much longer to tamper with a king who had already displayed uncommon forbearance, in continuing to solicit a thing which was valuable only because the multitude were uninformed respecting it. Early in 1595, a messenger had arrived in Paris with a bull from the pope. The Bishop of Paris told the king that it was the bull for his absolution. Henry, highly pleased that the affair had been brought to a conclusion, sent it to the parliament; but that body, either having a better knowledge of Latin than the bishop, or being impressed with an idea of its requiring a careful inspection before it could be received, had it examined with due attention; and it proved to be merely a bull for the celebration of the jubilee. The court declared that they could not receive it, and that they would not receive anything coming from the pope, until he had recognised the king, and admitted him into the church.†

This circumstance was calculated to subdue Clement's obstinacy, but another event was still more efficacious. Many of the king's advisers recommended the establishment of a patriarch at the head of the Gallican church.‡ That would have been as bad as Huguenotism in the eyes of the Vatican; and from the time that Clement received that intelligence, he became more courteous to the French envoys. It is related that a facetious observation of Seraphin Olivier convinced the pope of the danger which attended his refusals and delays. He had constant access to Clement, and was in the habit of conversing familiarly with him:—"What news," said Clement, "respecting the troubles in France." "It is said," replied Olivier, "that Clement VII. lost England by his hasty disposition, and that Clement VIII. will lose France by his dilatory procedure."§ The cardinals assembled on the 2nd of August, when Clement addressed them at length on the events which had occurred in France: he afterwards consulted each of them in private, and found the majority were for giving the absolution.|| The terms upon which it was to be granted were sent to France, and the king, finding them conformable to his intentions, authorised his envoys, D'Ossat Du Perron, to accept them. The ceremony of absolving Henry took place on the 17th of September, 1595.¶ The church of Rome requires that penitents who, having deserted her faith, wish to be again received in the fold, be smitten in public with rods; the king was not there to undergo the salutary chastisement; but his representatives, D'Ossat and Du Perron, received the blows on their

* Hist. des Derniers Troubles, vol. ii. p. 53.

† Cayet, liv. 6. p. 438.

‡ When D'Ossat waited on Clement after the news had reached Rome, the pontiff enlarged very much upon the proceedings of the parliament of Paris; he concluded by saying, "*Voyez si c'est là le moyen d'accommoder les choses.*"—*Lettres du Card. D'Ossat*, part i. p. 36, dated 31st January, 1595.

* D'Ossat, p. 66.

† Journal de Henri IV.

‡ Some lines were composed on the occasion, beginning:

*Pere saint, France vous eschappe,
Sion fait un Antipape, &c. &c.*

§ Davila, liv. 14.

|| Lettres du Cardinal D'Ossat, part i. p. 65.

¶ D'Ossat, in a letter of the same date, writes, "ga esté ce matin que l'absolution a été donnée au roy; tout s'y est passé convenablement à la dignité de la couronne."—*Lettres*, &c. part i. p. 68.

shoulders, while priests recited the *Miserere*.* In order to maintain every item of his prerogative, the pope declared null and void the absolution which the king had received at St. Denis; and after a full confession of heresy had been read aloud, he pronounced the restoration of Henry IV. to his title of Most Christian King. The sound of trumpets in the church was a signal for the discharge of cannon at the castle of St. Angelo; and while this demonstration of joy took place the king's representatives advanced, and with great fervour kissed the pontiff's feet.† The Spanish faction, unable to prevent the ceremony, had done all in their power to have it celebrated privately.‡

This negotiation had occupied a considerable part of the year, and in the interval the king had been actively employed in military operations, for he had declared war against Spain in January. The Archduke Ernest published a reply to the king's proclamation, and immediately took measures for carrying on the war with vigour; but very soon after he died at Brussels, and the Spanish government was thus deprived of his services at a time they were very much wanted.§ As he had been led to expect the hand of the Infanta, directly she was placed upon the throne of France, the reverses of the league produced a great effect upon him: his disappointment preyed upon his mind and hastened his death, the immediate cause of which was an internal complaint.

On the renewal of the war, the relative condition of the parties and their distinctions underwent a complete revolution; and the characters of a civil war were lost in the strong feelings of nationality. Instead of the Spaniards entering France to assist the league, it was a remnant of that faction that made exertions to help the King of Spain. The Duke of Lorraine's levies now followed the king's standard and put on the white scarf, while the few that adhered to Mayenne renounced their own badge, and assumed the Spanish colour, which was red.

The king's forces were making a regular progress in the reduction of a number of towns in various parts of France. Beaune, in Burgundy, surrendered to Marshal Biron;|| and Vienne, in Dauphiny, was taken by the constable Montmorency. These

events were followed by intelligence of the advance of a strong force under the constable of Castille, who had traversed Savoy, and was already in Franche-Comté, where he was joined by Mayenne. Biron intreated his majesty to hasten into Burgundy to oppose the progress of this invader. The king immediately appointed a rendezvous for his nobility at Troyes, and arrived in that town at the end of May. In a few days Biron informed him that he had recovered the town of Dijon, and was besieging the Viscount Tavannes in the castle;* but that he constantly expected the arrival of the Spaniards, who would advance to help their partisans. Henry immediately decided upon a plan which he had already adopted on several occasions with tolerable success: he set out to fall upon the advanced posts of the Spanish army, and from that movement resulted the combat of Fontaine-Française, an encounter so chivalrous and unexampled, that Mathieu compares it to a dream, and observes, "That, if it were not well authenticated, it would be classed among the romantic exploits of the Rowlands and Olivers, and the four sons of Aymond."†

The Spaniards had been detained before Vesoul, which was the only resistance they experienced in their approach; but that place was well defended, to the great vexation of Mayenne, who was eager to relieve Tavannes at Dijon.‡ Without that delay the king would not have been in time to oppose their progress; but having made choice of a thousand horsemen, and five hundred carabineers, he divided them into several companies, and sent them out by different routes, with orders to be at Fontaine-Française at a certain time. He arrived within a league of that place before the other divisions, being then accompanied by only forty gentlemen of his suite, and the same number of horsemen, who attended the Baron de Luz. The Marquis de Mirabeau, who had gone to reconnoitre, hastened back to inform the king that he had fallen in with a body of four hundred of the enemy, and that he believed the main body was at hand. Fortunately, Biron arrived at that time with a division of three hundred men; but before all the troops could arrive at the rendezvous, the king found himself engaged with a large division of the enemy's army: the assistance that Biron had brought enabled him to maintain the unequal conflict; and the determined bravery of his followers, who rallied and charged with great promptness, made the enemy retreat, for they could not believe that so small a body of men would have given battle, unless they were sure of being supported: the arrival of a division was thought to be the whole army of the royalists advancing, and Mayenne and the Constable of Castille immediately withdrew their troops beyond the Saône. The king had not nine hundred men with him at any time during the fight, and on several occasions he charged into the midst of the enemy's cavalry with less than a hundred followers: the enemy's force was at least two thousand, who were encouraged by the vicinity of ten thousand infantry.

* This circumstance has been the subject of considerable discussion: John Botero, an ultramontane, has given an account entitled *De Autoritate et potentia summi Pontificis, &c.*, in which he dwells upon the flagellation as a means of exalting the church. This work was written in Italian, and being translated into Latin, was published at Cologne in 1596. We read there, *Pontifex cum fuste, legatorum tergo et humeros turbavit, &c.* The process verbal which was published by D'Ossat at the time passes over the event in silence; stating that the absolution was given to the ambassadors *solemnitatibus assuetis*. But it is clear that the blows, if not given in reality, were in pretence; and the humiliation of royalty to the papacy was equally great. De Thou (lib. 113) complains of Botero's account; and especially of an expression *fustibus cæcos*, admitting at the same time *LEVITER supplices procuratores tangebant*. D'Ossat also complains of the account. "It was a ceremony," says he. "which we felt no more than if a fly had passed over our clothes; while, after reading this statement, you would say, that the marks of the blows would remain on our shoulders."—*Lettres du Card. D'Ossat*, 17th October, 1596, part i. p. 167.

† Cayet, liv. 7. pp. 536 et seq.

‡ D'Ossat, part i. p. 69.

§ Henry's proclamation was dated 17th January, 1595; the archduke's answer, 13th February; he died 21st February, aged 42. Cayet, liv. 7. p. 483.

|| *Prise des Villes et Chateau de Beaune*. This narrative, composed at the time, is inserted in *Mem. de la Ligue*, vol. vi. of the edition by Goujct.

* *Mem. de Tavannes*, p. 139. Davila, liv. 14. De Thou, liv. 112.

† *Hist. des Guerres entre les maisons de France et d'Espagne*, p. 35.

‡ Before the assistance could arrive the Viscount Tavannes had thought it necessary to retire to Talou. *Mem. de Tavannes*, p. 139.

The Spaniards had above two hundred killed and wounded; the French lost only six persons.*

There appears temerity in this action on the part of the king; for, if he had fallen on the occasion, it is highly probable that France would have been overpowered by the Spanish faction. But it was observed by a contemporary that, whether he fought or retired, the danger was equally great.† Indeed, if he had not arrested the enemy's progress as he did, Dijon would have been again lost, and a protracted war would have been the consequence. He is said to have been urged to retreat before it was too late; but he observed that he wanted assistance, not advice. His experience, moreover, satisfied him that the enemy would have overwhelmed him had he attempted to retreat; and he was so convinced of his danger, that he said afterwards he had fought for his life rather than for victory.‡

This check prevented the Spaniards from effectually co-operating with their forces in the north of France, on which side they had always made their approaches. They already possessed three towns in Picardy; viz., Ham, Soissons, and La Fère. The former place was taken at the end of June by Humières. The garrison very obstinately defended the town; and at last set fire to the houses, in order to expel the assailants, who had gained admission by means of an understanding with a concealed royalist. Advice had been sent to the Duke of Bouillon of what was passing, and by his assistance the place was mastered, and the garrison put to the sword. Humières himself was killed at the beginning of the fight, and it was the great attachment of his followers to him that caused them to give no quarter in their exasperation.§

The Spaniards compensated for this loss by taking Castellet and Doulens: they besieged the latter place at the close of July. The Dukes of Nevers and Bouillon and Admiral Villars were all pressing forward to relieve the town; and their united force was fully adequate to keep in check the Count de Fuentes, who commanded the Spanish army. But unfortunately there was a want of proper understanding, by some attributed to mutual jealousy, each wishing to obtain the honour of raising the siege. The consequence was, that Villars was engaged with a force far superior to his own, and sustained a total defeat. When it was known that Villars was a prisoner, several officers of the league reproached him with having deserted their cause. Sassenval, his companion, a prisoner, addressed some spirited remarks to them on the disgrace of wearing the livery of an enemy of their country. He was immediately assailed with many reproaches, and both Villars and himself were put to death on the spot. Doulens surrendered soon after, when the Spaniards executed dreadful reprisals upon the inhabitants. They spared neither sex nor age, and called to each other to avenge the taking of Ham. More than three thousand persons were put to death.||

* 5th June, 1595. Cayet, D'Aubigné, Mathieu, Davila, Sully, and *Mém. de Guillaume de Tavannes*, at the end.

† Mathieu, *Hist. des Guerres entre les Maisons de France et d'Espagne*, p. 36.

‡ Péréfixe, *in loc.* Mathieu, vol. ii. liv. i. p. 187.

§ Cayet, liv. 7. p. 502. *Hist. des Derniers Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 59.

|| Sully, liv. 7. *Journal de Henri IV. in loc.* Cayet, liv. vii. p. 505–507. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 358. Mathieu, *Hist. des Guerres*, &c. p. 37.

Fuentes then besieged Cambray, which he took after a resistance of two months. His force was seventeen thousand men, and seventy pieces of cannon; but the Duke of Rethelois, the governor,* assisted by De Vic, made such a defence, that he was preparing to convert the siege into a blockade, when the people of the town revolted, and opened the gates to the Spaniards. The governor and his friends retired to the citadel, and afterwards obtained very honourable terms.†

Had such reverses occurred at an earlier period, they would have seriously prejudiced the king's cause; but while these events took place in the north of France, the king received his absolution from Rome, and Mayenne treated with him for a general suspension of hostilities.‡ There was now very great hope of peace being restored to this distracted country; for, although Mayenne's adhesion was not completed till several months later, it was evident that the chief difficulties in the way of a pacification were overcome. Still the king would not relax his operations against the Spaniards; and, instead of remaining idle during the winter, sent Laverdin into Brittany, while he commenced the siege of La Fère.§

This siege lasted six months,|| during which interval the king received the submissions of many persons of rank, and recovered possession of several towns. Marseilles was regained from the enemy almost at the moment it was to be delivered over to the Spanish government by the Consul Casault, who was in treaty with Charles Doria for that object. Peter Liberta, who kept one of the gates of Marseilles, observed that Casault and Louis d'Aix, his chief confederate, went out of the town every day with their guards; and, being desirous of serving the king, he resolved to shut the gates upon them when they were out, or to kill them by an ambuscade near the gate; after which the town could be easily mastered. He informed the Duke of Guise of his plan, which was carried into execution on the 17th of February, 1596. Casault was killed by Liberta and his brother, and the town immediately resounded with shouts of *Vive le Roi*.¶

Toulouse was brought back to the king's authority by Joyeuse, who received the dignity of marshal as the price of his submission. The Duke of Nemours, son of the governor of Paris, who had died a few months previous, had no difficulty in obtaining an edict from the king: it was granted at the same time with Mayenne's, which, however, required some discussion, and was not registered by the parliaments without opposition. He obtained three towns as security, which he was to hold for six years, and no charge whatever was allowed to be brought against him for any part he had taken in the late troubles.**

The siege of La Fère was an irresistible inducement for D'Aubigné to offer his services to the king. His speeches at the synodical meetings had been very free, and the king had in consequence become so inveterate against him, that he declared he would

* Son of the Duke of Nevers.

† 9th Oct., 1595. Cayet, liv. 7. p. 528. Mathieu and D'Aubigné, *at antea*.

‡ Articles dated 23rd Sept., 1595.

§ Nov., 1595. Cayet, Mathieu, D'Aubigné.

|| It was the longest that Henry had on hand: the town was extremely well fortified, and had a numerous garrison. Sully, liv. 8.

¶ *Hist. des Derniers Troubles*, vol. ii. pp. 62 et seq. Cayet, liv. viii. p. 585. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 375.

** Recueil des Edits de Henri IV.

have him put to death if he could take him. The extreme danger which presented itself did not deter D'Aubigné from going to the camp; and to the surprise of all, he was received in a very friendly manner. Henry consulted him in private, and treated him with great affability. Chatel's recent attempt on his life becoming the subject of conversation, he addressed the king to the following effect: "Sire! as you have as yet renounced God with your lips alone, they alone have been pierced; but whenever your heart renounces him, that will receive the blow." During the siege the king had a severe illness, and his mind was harassed by reflections upon his abjuration of the reformed religion. He unbosomed himself to D'Aubigné, and asked his candid sentiments on the subject. D'Aubigné wished to introduce a minister who would be better able to discuss such matters; but that could not be done without alarming the Catholics, and therefore was not permitted. Henry then locked the door of the chamber, and called upon D'Aubigné solemnly to declare his conscientious opinions respecting the sin he had incurred by changing his religion. They conversed together for several hours, and joined in prayer at intervals: the king's mind became more easy, and his fears considerably diminished; but his disorder soon after began to abate, and as he was then able to take part in the active scenes of government, he never renewed the discussion.*

La Fère was so closely blockaded, that to use the expression of a contemporary, the garrison had nothing free but the air.† They supported all their fatigues and privations by confident expectations of relief, which the Cardinal Albert was bringing to them. Although his education and pursuits had nothing in common with military affairs, he proved himself to be fully qualified for commanding an army. He quitted Brussels with a declared intention of relieving La Fère; but instead of going there, he suddenly attacked, and took possession of Calais: Ardres was his next object, but that siege occupied him a month; and before he had finished the enterprise La Fère had capitulated.‡

The citadel of Calais held out some time after the town was taken, and Henry sent over to Elizabeth for assistance, reminding her of her often repeated promises.§ Sancy was first sent, and afterwards the Duke of Bouillon; but as she found they were too faithful to their own king and country to allow her to suppose that she would be permitted to retain Calais, she told them that she would communicate with their king through the medium of her own ambassador, Sidney. He informed Henry that the Queen of England would give him great assistance in carrying on the war with Spain, on condition that Calais, when retaken, should be given up to her as a security for the sums of money she had advanced. Henry was indignant at the proposal, and said, as he turned away from the ambassador, "If I must be bitten, it may as well be by a lion as by a lioness."|| Afterwards, when the Spaniards obtained full possession of the town, he was far from testifying regret, but exhorted those around him to take courage, "For with the help of

Heaven," said he, "we will recover the place before it has been as many days in the hands of the Spaniards as our ancestors suffered it to remain years in the hands of the English."*

In order to obtain the means of carrying on the war with vigour it was necessary to introduce order into the state, and an assembly of notables was convoked at Rouen. The meeting was opened on the 4th of November, 1596, when the king pronounced a discourse which has been preserved by many French historians, who consider it a model of candour and eloquence. "If," said his majesty, "if I wished to acquire the reputation of an orator, I should have learned some fine long harangue, and have spoken it here with great gravity; but my desire extends to two more glorious titles, the deliverer and the restorer of the state. For that purpose I have assembled you: you know to your own costs, as I know to mine, that when God called me to this crown, I found France not only ruined, but almost lost for Frenchmen. By divine assistance, by the prayers and counsels of my faithful servants, by the swords of my brave and generous nobles, and by my own toils and exertions, I have saved France from destruction: let us now preserve her from ruin. Participate, my dear subjects, in this second glory, as you have done in the first. I have not called you as my predecessors did, to order you to approve of my wishes; I have assembled you to have your advice, to place confidence in your opinions, to adopt them; in short, to place myself in your hands. It is a desire that rarely seizes veteran and victorious kings, but the ardent love which I bear my subjects makes me find everything easy and honourable. My chancellor will inform you more particularly of my wishes."†

The whole winter was taken up with the discussions of this assembly. Many plans were proposed for establishing a good system of finance; but it would be some time before they could come into operation, and the king required money for carrying on the war. He made Sully his superintendent of finances, which was his readiest way to restore order in the public accounts. That exemplary man diminished the expenditure by proper reforms, and procured a supply of funds by turning into the public coffers large sums which the distracted state of the kingdom had allowed to be swallowed up by greedy and extravagant individuals. "Whatever fraud or error," says Sully, "might have crept into the finances, I imagined that neither of them could be so secret, nor so general, that we could not ultimately find the origin and the proof."‡ The old courtiers were alarmed at such a reform, and regretted their supineness in suffering him to join the council.§

But the scantiness of his pecuniary supplies was not the only circumstance that impeded Henry's government; the Huguenots had renewed their meetings, and represented in a memorial that they were entitled to privileges more extensive than those granted by the edict of Poitiers. The king begged them to defer the discussion of their claims until the public affairs gave him a better opportunity of securing and defending the rights and interests of all parties. However, as the Protestants had taken up

* D'Aubigné, *Mem.* p. 136. *Hist. Univ.* vol. iii. pp. 376, 377.

† Mathieu, *Hist. des Guerres*, &c.

‡ Calais was taken 17th April, 1596. Ardres, 23rd May; La Fère capitulated 16th May. Cayet, Mathieu, D'Aubigné and De Thou.

§ Discours de M. Sancy, pp. 98, 99. Villeroy, vol. v.

|| Mathieu, vol. ii. liv. 2. p. 223.

* De Bury, *Hist. de Henri IV.*, vol. iii. p. 33.

† Cayet, liv. 8. p. 629. Percefixe, liv. 2.

‡ Sully, liv. 8.

§ *Messieurs du conseil du roi* pûrent à la vue de mon projet, Sully, liv. 8.

an opinion that the king was no longer their friend, every measure which bore any relation to such an idea was highly coloured and enlarged upon by the more zealous members of their synods; and meetings were held at Vendôme, Saumur, Loudun and Châtellerault, in furtherance of their general plans.* The Duke of Mercœur, who still maintained himself in Brittany, was encouraged by the hope that religious differences would again destroy the regal authority, in which case he confidently expected to establish an independent sovereignty in his province.† Other nobles secretly indulged similar hopes; and the king was fearful that along with those contemplated principalities a religious republic would spring up in the heart of his kingdom. He did not object to the Protestants having privileges; but he wished them to be conferred by him, not obtained by them; and for that reason, he was careful that all their public acts should bear the character of royal sanction, although they were directly in opposition to his wishes.

The Spaniards, in the mean time, continued their operations and astonished the king, and indeed the whole nation, by seizing upon Amiens by stratagem. Having placed a sufficient number of men in ambuscade around the town, a few were sent in disguised as countrymen. They were stopped at the gate, and asked various questions. Pretending to be very fatigued, they placed their loads on the ground, and rested at the gate, until they observed some of their confederates approaching, who were also disguised and conducting a waggon. One of them then took up his load to put it on his shoulders, and having secretly opened the sack's mouth, he let fall a great quantity of nuts at the gate. The guards amused themselves in collecting the countryman's nuts; and while they were thus occupied, the waggon had arrived within the gate-posts. One of the confederates immediately loosed his horses, leaving the waggon to prevent the gate being shut, while the others fell upon the guards. The signal was then given to the Spanish troops in the neighbourhood: they advanced immediately, and completed the enterprise.‡

The possession of Amiens enabled the Spaniards to make excursions to the gates of Paris, and it was imperative that the recovery of the town should be immediately attempted. When the king heard of it he seemed to reflect upon himself for devoting so much of his time to the pleasures of his court and the society of his mistress. He observed with emphasis, "We have had enough of the King of France, it is now time to be King of Navarre;" and told the weeping Gabrielle d'Estrées, that he must again leave her to undergo the fatigues and dangers of another war.‡

Sully hastily equipped an army with a good train of artillery, ammunition, provisions, and conveniences for the sick and wounded.§ But to obtain funds for supplying this, he was obliged to raise fresh imposts upon edicts which required to be registered by the parliament. Instead of money that body sent remonstrances. Henry wrote to the President Harlay, that those who defended the state ought to be supported and provided for. "Give me

an army," said the king, "and I will cheerfully give my life to save you and restore France." The edicts were notwithstanding rejected, and the president went to the king to represent the necessities of the state. "The greatest necessity of the state," replied the king, "is to be cleared of its enemies; you are like the fools at Amiens who refused me a subsidy of two thousand crowns and have lost a million. I am going to fight the enemy, and if I get shot in the head you will find out what it is to have lost your king." Henry IV. could not obtain the registration of his edicts without using compulsory measures: he effected his object to preserve his dignity; but with unequalled goodness of heart he revoked the edicts afterwards.*

The king besieged Amiens with resolution and promptitude, and as the town was of great importance, the French nobility and gentry hastened to assist their sovereign; while the Spanish government assured Hernand Tillo, the commander of the garrison, that he might depend upon the arrival of relief. The siege lasted six months, and produced examples of great spirit on both sides.

Cardinal Albert did not make his appearance till September, by which time the town was reduced to great extremity. He brought with him a good army, and made an attempt to relieve the besieged; but after a skirmish with the king's troops, he drew off his forces to Doullens. This so dispirited the garrison, that they immediately proposed to capitulate; and the king entered Amiens on the 25th of September.† This event was a death blow to the expiring league, and there remained only the Duke of Mercœur to subdue or win over: he had lately lost Rochfort and Craon, his frontier towns; and Dinan, his stronghold, had been surprised by the people of St. Malo. He was, therefore, quite ready to accept the terms which he understood the king was willing to grant; and when Henry went early the following year into Brittany to settle the affairs of that province, Mercœur met him at Angers, took the oath of allegiance, and delivered up all the places he held;‡ he afterwards obtained an edict of indemnity, similar to those granted the other chiefs of the league.§

The court of Spain was by this time convinced of the necessity of making peace with France, and persons on both sides were commissioned to discuss a treaty. The king, at the same time, took measures for settling the affairs of the Huguenots. He had been obliged to purchase the submission of many leaguers; some with governments, others with money: but the Huguenots' price was of a different description; they feared that ultimately they should become victims of the bigotry of the Catholics, and loudly demanded securities from the king, as a protection from their enemies. Henry was not unwilling to grant their request; he remembered that he had long been their chief, and that their blood had been freely shed in his cause. Commissioners had been previously appointed to draw up articles for them, and for above twelve months the king had been solicited to sign the edict: this he refused to do, alleging, as his principal reason, that it would be more satisfactory for him

* Hist. du Parlement de Paris, ch. 38.

† Cayet, Mathieu, and D'Aubigné, *in loc.*

‡ According to Sully, the people of Nantes were preparing to deliver Mercœur into the king's hands. *Mem.* liv. 3.

§ Cayet, liv. 9. p. 710. Recueil des Edits de Henri IV.

* Their resolutions, declarations, and general proceedings are given at length by Soulier, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 7 and 8.

† Cayet, liv. 9. p. 668. D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 387. De Thou, liv. 118.

‡ Journal de Henri IV.

§ Sully, liv. 9.

to grant the edict after he had subdued his enemies and was in full possession of his authority; for then it could not be said that the Huguenots had extorted it from him in a time of need: and, before the edict was signed, he gave a proof of his independence by retrenching some articles which did not please him.*

The edict of Nantes was signed on the 30th of April, 1598. From its provisions it appears to have been modelled upon that of Poitiers, and comprised the conventions of Bergerac and Fleix. The Protestants were allowed the most ample liberty of conscience; but the public exercise of their religion was limited to certain parts of the kingdom. They were compelled to submit to the exterior police of the Romish church, by keeping festivals, paying tithes, &c. They were declared eligible to all offices; their poor were to be received into the hospitals; and for their protection mixed chambers were to be established in all the parliaments.

The parliament of Paris refused to register the edict, and made a remonstrance to the king: the counsellors expressed themselves with great warmth, and declared that they would not receive their new colleagues contemplated in the edict. The king answered them in an authoritative tone, and told them that he knew how to put down those who opposed him; adding, in his pithy style, "I have climbed the walls, and can easily get over the barricades."† But the monarch who had sent for the unruly counsellors, and threatened to enforce his will, would not dismiss them from his presence without displaying the feelings of a common parent: he appealed to their sense, their patriotism, and their justice, and by that means induced them to yield to his wishes.

That the edict should meet with opposition at Paris is not surprising; but even at Rochelle, there was so much discussion upon the subject, that several months elapsed before it was received and acknowledged. The more ardent Huguenots appear to have entertained the project of accepting what suited their views, and rejecting the rest. The commissioners sent by the king to receive the adhesion of the Protestants were Parabère, a gentleman of Poitou, and Martin Langlois, formerly provost of Paris. They perceived the aim of the party opposed to the edict, and Parabère addressed the magistrates to this effect:—"In receiving the edict, you must receive all its clauses and provisions. If you reject some, the Catholics will have a right to reject what displeases them; and by the non-execution of the law, your churches will lose what you think to gain for them." A consistory was held on the 3rd of August, when considerable clamour was raised against those magistrates who were persuaded by Parabère's appeal. A final effort was made to dissuade them from consenting, but without effect; for the municipal body consented to re-establish the Catholic worship, and gave up two churches for that purpose. Symptoms of riot were displayed by the populace, but the tumultuous feeling was easily suppressed.‡

The peace with Spain was concluded at Vervins, and signed by the plenipotentiaries on the 2nd of May: the king ratified it at Paris on the 22nd of

June.* The last treaty with Spain which was that of Cateau-Cambresis in the reign of Henry II. had cost France many towns; but the treaty of Vervins was entirely advantageous. Henry was aware that Philip was more in want of peace than himself, and therefore made his own terms: but common justice required the restitution of the towns improperly held by the Spaniards; while the haughty Philip consoled himself for his defeat by an empty protest that the plenipotentiaries did not represent him, but the Viceroy of the Netherlands.

"Thus," says Sully,† "in spite of so powerful a league, comprising the pope the emperor, the king of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, and all the ecclesiastics of Christendom, the king effected his designs, and crowned them with a glorious peace."

The treaty of Vervins delivered France from the evils of a foreign warfare; while the domestic peace of the country was settled by the edict of Nantes, which procured the Protestants their civil and religious rights. By a singular coincidence, the town of Nantes witnessed the close of the civil wars and troubles, which had commenced with an assembly held in that very place, nearly forty years before, when the violence and ambition of the Guises drove the Huguenots to seek for safety in a confederacy. Such a measure offered a hope of gaining protection, if not redress; but failing in the execution, it contributed to assist their enemies, and was in reality the spark which originated the political conflagration.

CHAPTER LI.

Condition of the Huguenots under Henry IV.—Biron's conspiracy—Restoration of the Jesuits.

THE second period of King Henry's reign opened under circumstances which appeared favourable only by comparison with the previous distracted condition of France; for the general state of the country was still deplorable. Distress, the exhaustion consequent on a protracted civil war, and the unsatisfied ambition of many chieftains, were serious barriers to the internal pacification of the kingdom. The Dukes of Mercœur, Bouillon, and Biron, with other powerful nobles, endeavoured to re-establish the feudal sovereignties of the middle ages; and their interested efforts greatly impeded the operations of the royal government. At the same time, many of the gentry had become habituated to the restlessness of a partisan warfare, and expected a continuation of the impunity which anarchy had sanctioned during a long series of years: this also materially retarded the returning prosperity of the country.

More than one instance on record will show the extent of this evil, and the length of time requisite to restore public order. Three gentlemen of Brittany, named Guillery, sustained a siege against the king's forces. After an obstinate defence, the younger brother, who commanded, attempted to escape; but he was taken prisoner, and terminated his bold career on the scaffold, along with a considerable number of his adherents, whose attach-

* D'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 460.

† D'Aubigné, *ut antea*. Soulier, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, p. 323.

‡ Arcere, vol. ii. pp. 77—80.

* These dates are given by Mathieu, *Hist. des Guerres*, &c.; but Le Grain in his *Decade*, liv. 7, says, the treaty was published 12th of June.

† Mem. liv. 9. at the end.

ment to their leader had been stimulated by hopes of future booty, and encouraged by the success of previous depredations.* Nor was a prospect of plunder the sole cause of violence, for angry personal feuds occasionally broke out. In August, 1607, there was a combat on the borders of Poitou and Anjou, in which thirty gentlemen were engaged; twenty-five of the combatants were killed, and the others very much wounded.†

Another serious inconvenience had arisen out of the civil wars: the leading characters of each party had contracted a habit of entering into treaties for assistance from foreign powers; and the frequency of such negotiations proves that the state of affairs, by rendering them necessary, had destroyed their reprehensible character.

The rival pretensions of the house of Lorraine were annihilated, when Henry's right was acknowledged by the pope; but the king's marriage with Margaret of Valois left him without any hope of posterity. The junior branches of the Bourbon family looked forward with but ill-concealed impatience to the succession; and the termination of the war was but half of what the nation claimed of its rulers. Still the king's personal character was a guarantee for firm government; and a series of valuable measures might be confidently expected, when the royal council comprised such men as Sully, Sillery, Jeannin, and Villeroy. It is, however, worthy of remark, that Sully complains of the jealousy of his colleagues, who wished to exclude him from all interference in foreign negotiations; and, on one occasion, Villeroy was so highly offended at the appointment of Bethune, Sully's brother, to the embassy at Rome, that the king was obliged to interpose, expressing himself greatly offended at such scenes in his presence.‡

The heads of the Huguenot party at this time were Rohan, Soubise, La Tremouille, and Bouillon. The Prince of Condé and the Count de Soissons had been educated as Catholics.§ Lesdiguières, though nominally a protestant, was not considered likely to make any sacrifice for the cause. Duplessis-Mornay was their chief adviser; d'Aubigné their most active agent. Henry Châtillon de Coligny, the admiral's grandson, had inspired great hopes among the Huguenots; but he was killed at the siege of Ostend, in 1601. His rising qualities promised much; being noted for cool courage, prudence, comprehensive understanding, and an affability that won the affections of his soldiers. The king's mind was unhappily poisoned against him by various misrepresentations: he was reported to be ambitious without bounds; inspired by a fanatical impulse to surpass his father and grandfather; and ready to sacrifice life for his religion. His relationship to one whom the king had professed to revere as a father, and his zeal against Henry's worst foes, the Spaniards, presented great claims on his behalf. But the King of Navarre had become King of France, and feared the dawning importance of such a dangerous spirit. According to the statement of his confidential minister, Henry appeared consoled by the news of

Coligny's death, and manifested such a dislike to his family, that Sully desisted from any application in behalf of his mother and brother.*

The fact of the protestants having Sully as their representative and advocate in the king's council was less important, from the admitted necessity of public tranquillity: besides which, the stern character of that minister made him ready to suspect a seditious motive for the expression of conscientious scruples; so that he can hardly be viewed as one of their party.† And he has, in consequence, been charged with studying to gain the pope's favour, "seeking," says an accusing writer, "the applause of the Romish hierarchy, rather than the approbation of his brethren."‡

The edict of Nantes, precious as it was to the protestants, was not free from defect; and during the year which elapsed between its signature by the king and its registration by the parliament, various attempts were made, on both sides, to alter its enactments. The protestants complained of their exclusion from many public charges, while the popish party considered its provisions awfully liberal; although the protestants were not at first permitted to baptize their children in Paris. In 1603 a greater latitude was allowed, on account of the danger to which infants were exposed in the journey to Ablon, a village three leagues from Paris.§ This was the nearest protestant place of worship until August, 1606, when public service was performed at Charenton. Berthier, bishop of Rieux, in the name of the clergy, remonstrated against the latitude of the edict: that body contended that it should give the protestants no other privilege than that of suffrage; they were not to be questioned as to their opinions, but should be prohibited from holding any assembly or synod, without the king's express permission, and were forbidden to attend any such meetings in other countries.||

The university of Paris was not backward in the career of illiberality, and the rector demanded the exclusion of Protestant children from the colleges: but all opposition was fruitless; the edict was declared just and necessary, and in consequence passed through all the formalities requisite to make it valid.¶ Nor was it beneficial to the protestants alone; for in above two hundred and fifty towns, and two thousand rural parishes, where the mass had been prohibited nearly fifteen years, the old ceremonial was restored: in some cases in spite of local influence; and particularly so at Thouars, where the Duke de la Tremouille in vain endeavoured to maintain the ascendancy of his brethren in religion.** The public were in general satisfied: the majority from indifference to Romish interests; and the more experienced from a conviction that the hope of advancement would cause many of the Huguenots to abjure.††

The marriage of the king's sister Catherine with the Duke of Bar was an event of some importance, from the elevated rank of both parties; the princess

* Sully, liv. xii.

† Benoit says he was very jealous of the protestant leaders. *Hist. de l'édit de Nantes*, vol. i. p. 173.

‡ Arcana Gallica, p. viii. London, 1714.

§ Journal de Henri IV.

|| Cayet, *Chron. Septennaire*.—De Serres, *Hist. de France*, vol. ii. p. 67.

¶ Registered in parliament of Paris, 25th of Feb., 1599.

** Bournisseaux, *Hist. de la Ville de Thouars*, p. 183.

†† D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ.*, vol. iii. p. 634.

* Mercure Français, 1608, vol. i. p. 289.

† Journal de Henri IV., in loc.

‡ Sully, liv. 12.

§ Condé was so zealous as to give his livery servants fifteen sols each, every time they confessed; and, in order to claim the money, they were provided with certificates. Amelot de la Houssaie. *Mem. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 140.

being at that time the presumptive heiress of Navarre and Bearn, and her affianced husband heir of Lorraine. It assumed, however, a still more important character from the difference of religion. Like her mother, Jane d'Albret, the princess was most fervent and uncompromising in her attachment to the protestant faith, and would on no account assist at the celebration of mass as part of the marriage ceremony, which in its principles and nature presented ample materials for discussion, from the sacramental character claimed for it by one party, and as decidedly refused by the other. The Duke of Bar was equally unyielding; and Du Perron was commissioned by the king to exert his eloquence in persuading the duke to be married according to the custom of the Huguenots, since the princess was determined to follow the example of her mother, and remain steadfast in the religion in which she had been educated. Whether the point in dispute might not have entirely broken off the marriage is a problem; the king was at last fatigued with the unceasing theological controversies, in which were frequently mingled some allusion to his sister's firmness contrasted with his own abjuration. He resolved on a plan for settling the point in question, and summoned his sister and her future husband to his cabinet. The archbishop of Rouen, Henry's natural brother, was waiting to receive them; he had been induced to grant his ministry by Roquelaure,* and at the king's command performed the ceremony; the presence of the sovereign being admitted by the clergy to compensate for the absence of the other solemnities which usually accompanied a marriage.† On quitting the king's presence, the princess conducted her husband to the Louvre, where she regularly maintained the protestant worship in her apartments; and the nuptial benediction was there given by a protestant minister.‡

Meanwhile the agents of Spain and Savoy were actively fanning the discontent of those nobles whose services gave them strong claims upon Henry's gratitude; while the recompenses they had obtained, by falling far short of their expectations, only extended their means of opposing the government. According to their connexions, they took measures for increasing their partisans, by well-timed appeals to the feelings, framed according to their respective principles. The Huguenot nobles invariably professed much anxious doubt respecting the sincerity of the king's intentions towards them; and to maintain a corresponding tone in the minds of their followers, they described the humiliating condition to be apprehended, whenever the complete restoration of order should place them at the mercy of their unrelenting foes. The opposite party was also suspicious of the king's designs: the reality of his conversion was doubted, and his relapse into heresy declared most probable, whenever the time arrived for him to throw off the mask, and again declare himself a Protestant. This party, guided and encouraged by experience, appealed to the bigotry and fanaticism which had wrought such wonders in the time of the league. The riches of Spain were lavished to that end, but happily without their intended

effect; each successive attempt at insurrection tending rather to strengthen than injure the royal power.

Among the discontented nobles of this time, the foremost was Charles Gontaut, Duke de Biron, who at the age of forty had obtained the rank of marshal, and was admitted to the councils, and even the intimacy of his sovereign; possessing in addition a splendid fortune, and enjoying a reputation for military excellence, equal to, if not surpassing his father's. Brantome is exceedingly warm in the praise of this marshal, whom he calls the first in Europe; and adds, that "next to King Henry, he was the greatest captain in Christendom; the bravest, the most daring, and most valiant ever seen."*

The celebrity of this first example of Henry's severity renders it almost superfluous to detail the particulars of his conspiracy and condemnation. He was lamentably ensnared by the Duke of Savoy, and Don Pedro Henriquez de Azevedo, Count de Fuentes. The latter was the recognised agent of Spain in Italy, and was so violent in his hatred to Henry IV., that he never mentioned his name without an opprobrious epithet; he gave a cordial welcome to all whose disaffection led them into exile, and is accused of having instigated several attempts against the king's life, as he deemed it impossible to renew the civil war in France so long as he lived.† Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, had a personal dislike to Fuentes; but he cordially co-operated with that busy intriguer, whose plans, if successful, might enable him to extend his limited territory at the expense of France, whenever the dismemberment of that country could in any way be effected. He promised Biron the hand of his third daughter; and it was agreed with the King of Spain that an independent sovereignty, consisting of Burgundy and Franche-Comté, should be vested in him, on occasion of the marriage.‡ All these transactions were reported to the king, who was remarkably active in procuring intelligence concerning public affairs; and to such a degree, that he astonished the Spanish ambassador by his knowledge of what passed in the councils of Madrid.§

Biron's discontent was in consequence early known: yet when it became necessary to use coercive measures with the Duke of Savoy, he obtained an important command. He was already in league with the duke, and warned the governor of Bourg that on a certain day and hour he would be attacked. "All this," observes Sully, "has been subsequently proved." The treachery did not however prevent the town from falling into the power of the king's troops. Nor was Biron's turpitude confined to disloyalty towards his sovereign; he most treacherously endeavoured to deliver Sully into the hands of the Duke of Savoy.||

The successful termination of this campaign was followed by Henry's second marriage. So long as Gabrielle d'Estrées lived, none of the king's ad-

* Vie du Mareschal de Biron et de son Fils.

† Mathieu, vol. ii. p. 814.

‡ Sully, liv. xii. Mathieu, vol. ii. p. 491.

§ The Nuncio, having asked the Spanish ambassador his opinion of the king, was told in reply: "Il sçait tout, et m'a dit des choses tenues au conseil d'Espagne, qui m'ont fait rongir pour les avoir nices, et qui estoient très vraies: il est plus que le diable." *Journal de Henri IV.* Oct. 1608.

|| Sully, liv. 11.

* Roquelaure, subsequently marshal, was the archbishop's boon companion, and had persuaded the king to elevate him to the see of Rouen.

† 30th of Jan., 1599.—Sully, liv. 10.—Cayet—De Serres.

‡ D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ.* vol. iii. p. 601.

visers exerted themselves to obtain a dissolution of his first marriage: their ideas of a suitable union for the "eldest son of the church" made them shudder at the bare possibility of his raising a concubine to the throne; and such might have been the case, as Gabrielle possessed great influence over him, and appears by all accounts to have merited his attachment.

There was something very tragical in her death. She had quitted Fontainebleau for Paris, where she intended to perform her Easter devotions. After hearing *Tenebræ* at the church of Saint Antoine, she was seized with violent convulsions, from which she did not recover. She expired on the morning of Good Friday, after giving birth to a still-born child, her features being so distorted as to defy recognition.* La Varenne (Henry's confidential agent in matters of gallantry) communicated this event to Sully in a mysterious manner, which leaves room to suppose that he thought she was poisoned; but whether this death was the effect of such machinations, or the general tribute of nature under a more terrific form than usual, can never now be known, as most of the circumstances were concealed from the king himself.†

From this time the divorce encountered no obstacle: but Henry felt considerable repugnance to a second marriage; and in a conversation with Sully, after enumerating the qualities which in his opinion were necessary to produce a happy union, he added with a sigh, "That he feared no such person could be found." He subsequently yielded to reasons of state, and conferred his hand on Mary de Medicis: the ceremony was performed at Lyons, in November, 1600.

Ambition must have greatly hardened Biron's heart, or he would have been touched with his sovereign's magnanimity on this occasion. Although Henry was fully persuaded that Biron was engaged in a traitorous correspondence with the enemy, he hoped by kindness to reclaim the faulty nobleman. Taking the marshal apart in the cloisters of a church at Lyons, he asked him under a promise of pardon, what was the extent of his correspondence and conventions with the enemies of the state? Biron, unhappily for him, made an incomplete avowal; the king promised oblivion for the past, but warned him that a repetition would have fatal consequences.

Still Biron continued to conspire; and the king, unwilling to consider him irrecoverable, was still inclined to try every means to reach his heart, but without effect. The marshal's unfortunate destiny hurried him to destruction. He was unhappy in the choice of his confidants: the baron de Luz‡ was his bosom friend and instigator; an advocate, named Picoté, was employed to flatter the marshal, and work upon his weakness; and a crafty wretch named Lafin, after urging him on in the tortuous path of treasonable correspondence, betrayed him to his offended sovereign. The Spaniards had endeavoured to corrupt Biron before the termination of the war: their agents had discovered his foible, and flattered his hopes of obtaining one of the great fiefs into which France was to be divided. They perceived, moreover,

that Biron, who had hitherto been very indifferent as to religious observances, now went into the contrary extreme. The Spanish agents encouraged this feeling; and it was repeated in his hearing, that he was the last and sole resource of religion and liberty. The late brilliant position of the Guises incited him to take their place, and become the champion of popery;* as he imparted his views to others, discontented like himself, he could behold their ambition take fire at the prospect he unfolded; and he succeeded in forming an association for dethroning the king, by men who, above all others, were bound to serve and defend him. The Duke of Bouillon, who had acquired the sovereignty of Sedan entirely by the king's support and recommendation; Charles, Count D'Auvergne, brother of the king's present mistress, Henriette d'Entraigues; La Tremouille, Soubise, and Montpensier, a prince of the blood, were engaged in this cause; but Bouillon was considered the soul, D'Auvergne the trumpet, and Biron the arm of the conspiracy. However, so far as Bouillon and La Tremouille were concerned, it was all suspicion, for proof was wanting.† De Fresne-Canaye sent timely notice of their proceedings in Italy, but his intimations were disregarded; and it was by the treachery of Lafin that Biron's plot was discovered. That artful man, perceiving his patron's obstinacy and bad judgment, took immediate measures for his own safety, and solicited an audience of the king, when he delivered up the marshal's papers and correspondence. Sully being immediately summoned to Fontainebleau, was informed by the king that he was implicated by the marshal's letters. With a smile, he replied to Henry's inquiries respecting his knowledge of the affair: "If the others know no more of it than myself, your majesty has no occasion to take any trouble about the matter." "Nor have I paid any attention to it," answered the king, who then ordered him to assist Bellièvre and Villeroi, in examining the correspondence.‡ The result of their investigations was a summons for Biron to appear at court. Deceived by Lafin, he imagined that silence on his part would be sufficient protection, and set out for Fontainebleau, although informed by various friends that his life was in danger.§ When the king endeavoured to draw from him a confession of his guilt, he replied disdainfully, that he was not come to justify himself, but to learn the names of his calumniators, and be avenged on them. Henry gave him clearly to understand that he knew all; conjured him to be candid; and promised a free pardon.|| His proud spirit would not submit: he left the royal presence, and was soon after arrested by Vitry, captain of the guards. When disarmed, he appealed to his past services; and being led across the hall of the guards, exclaimed, "See how good Catholics are treated!"¶ These expressions almost suffice to account for his tragical end. The first proves his excessive presumption; the other indicates the source from which he expected to derive support. The rest of his history is a matter of notoriety.**

* Mathieu, vol. ii. p. 489. † Sully, liv. 13.

‡ Sully, liv. 12. § Cayet, p. 288.

¶ Henry, deeply affected, was heard to say, as he paced his apartment, "Il faut qu'il ploye ou qu'il rompe." Mathieu, vol. ii. p. 500.

¶ Sully—Bassompierre—Mathieu.

** He suffered 31st July, 1602.

* Bassompierre, vol. i. p. 61.—D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ.* vol. iii. p. 635.

† Sully, liv. 10.

‡ Nephew of Espinac, archbishop of Lyons, a most violent leaguer, and therefore easily accessible to Spanish influence.

How far Bouillon and D'Auvergne were implicated with Biron is unknown. Sully persuaded the king to be merciful, and privately advised all the parties involved to sue for pardon. Montpensier confessed his fault, and begged the king's forgiveness on his knees. The constable Montmorency, who was charged with being concerned, confessed a knowledge of the affair, though he denied having taken any part in it: he also asked and obtained pardon. The Duke of Epemon made no attempt to conceal his friendship and intercourse with the marshal, but denied all knowledge of his design,* and Sully expressed much satisfaction at being able to declare his innocence. La Tremouille was summoned to appear, but made repeated excuses of confinement by the gout.†

The Duke de Bouillon appears to have entertained great apprehension, as he passed the frontier, to avoid the consequences. In reply to a letter from the king, he states his willingness to set out in obedience to the summons; implores his majesty to believe that his accusers are perfidious, disloyal, and false; and entreats him to be perfectly satisfied of his innocence. But instead of proceeding to Paris, he went to Geneva, from which place he wrote a second letter, again protesting his innocence.‡ That this was a case of more than usual importance, is to be inferred from the fact of the French ambassador in London submitting to Queen Elizabeth the king's letter of summons, with a request for her candid opinion. Elizabeth immediately instructed her ambassador in Paris to see the king; to thank him for his frankness and confidence; and to assure him, that although she would rather decline giving an opinion, still the king's request demanded sincerity on her part. The following part of the instruction at any rate proves the interest Bouillon excited at the English court: "When we consider that a part of the accusation is founded on his conspiracy with Marshal Biron (with whom we well know he never had a good understanding, but rather enmity and emulation), we hope that the king will find the accusation altogether feeble; at which no one will rejoice more than ourselves." The instruction continues with an argument upon the great improbability that the Huguenot leaders could be in league with the King of Spain, their mortal enemy.§

Scarcely ever has there existed a plot with more ramifications, and combining a greater variety of opposing interests, than that which brought Biron to the scaffold. In the first place, the Duke of Savoy promoted the undertaking in the hopes of extending his territory, and converting his duchy into a kingdom. Biron was himself seduced by a similar prospect; and to gain the Huguenot leaders to his party, some of the southern provinces of France were to be assigned to them, free from all control of the Catholics. Bouillon being induced to co-operate, secretly summoned nine of the most considerable of his party, to whom he communicated the dangers which threatened the Protestants, and the means of deliverance which had been suggested to him. He declared to the meeting, that

six months had elapsed since a proposal had been made, to which he long refused to listen; but which he would not altogether dismiss on his private judgment. The association which he had been invited to join, consisted of princes of the blood, great officers of the crown, governors of provinces, and many persons of weight and respectability; that all of them, including the old members of the league, were indignant at the king's ingratitude to the Protestants, who ought not to remain ignorant of an engagement lately formed, and signed by the king and the ambassadors of Spain and the empire, for a crusade to exterminate the Huguenots: that the time for the execution of the project, and the contingents of men and money which each should supply were specified, and the war was to be continued until the Huguenots were extirpated. After stating that the Duke of Savoy, who was in possession of an authentic copy of the convention, bearing original signatures, was willing to place it in the hands of the Protestant body, the Duke de Bouillon unfolded the plan of territorial remuneration, proposed by the originators of this measure; and called upon d'Aubigné for his sentiments respecting the offer. That gentleman explained his views with eloquence, and severely criticised the character of the principal confederate, Biron; who notwithstanding his education under a Protestant mother, and a father who was an enemy to bigotry, had, since his intimacy with the Duke of Savoy, exchanged the licentiousness of an atheist for the superstition of a monk. He ridiculed the idea of such a combination against the Protestants; and expressed his conviction that, if this pernicious offer were accepted, they would be quickly betrayed to the king. The company unanimously approved d'Aubigné's opinion, which the Duke of Bouillon at once adopted as his own; and one of the party was sent to Lyons, where the king then was, with instructions to act according to circumstances—making such communication to Sully, as should preserve their fidelity from impeachment, yet concealing names, to avoid compromising the parties.*

In 1603, the Protestants were again made the tools of Bouillon's ambition. Persisting in his voluntary exile, he continued indefatigable in his negotiations with James I. and the Elector palatine, evidently with the design of inducing those princes to espouse his cause, by representing himself as the champion of the reformed religion. He even published pamphlets, apparently directed against the Protestant body, with replies unfolding the great dangers which were impending. Duplessis-Mornay was so much deceived as to defend the duke's character, and enlarge on the value of his services; and at an assembly held at Gap,† the discussions and resolutions were so animated as to threaten some insurrectionary movements. An effort was made to insert in the body of their articles of confession that the pope was antichrist. The king, on hearing this, desired Sully to interfere, and put an end to such a scandal: at the same time, Lesdiguières, Bouillon, and La Tremouille violently decried the loyal statesman, and represented him as corrupted by the court: yet he had sufficient influence with the Huguenot deputies, residing at Paris in pursuance of the edict of Nantes, to have the ob-

* Girard, *Vie du Duc d'Epemon*, p. 208.

† Sully. liv. 13.—Bassompierre, *Nouveaux Mémoires*, p. 181.

‡ Both letters are in Villeroy, *Mém. d'Etat*, vol. v. The first is dated St. Cire, 30th Nov. 1602; the other, Geneva, 2nd Jan. 1603.

§ Villeroy, vol. v. p. 129.

* D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ.*, vol. iii. p. 674.

† 1st Oct. 1603.

noxious article suppressed. Duplessis thus explains the cause of this proceeding.* After describing the condition of the French churches, in terms diametrically opposed to discontented feelings, he relates that a professor of divinity at Nismes had proposed as a subject for argument, *De Antichristo*; for which he was summoned before the parliament at Toulouse, as a perturbator.† The Protestant ministers, seeing that they might be accused of sedition for their sermons, brought the matter before the synod for discussion.‡ The pope was really alarmed, lest a declaration so hostile should become a matter of deliberation in all the European universities: but he availed himself of the circumstance to pretend great offence, and would not be pacified with anything short of the recall of the Jesuits, whose re-establishment is the next event in which the liberties of the Huguenots were interested.§

Henry had been induced in the preceding year to promise it, and the Nuncio assisted the fathers Cotton and Mayes, in their efforts to realize that promise. Cotton had for some time been in the habit of preaching before the king, who thought favourably of his learning and talents. The Jesuits, in 1603, obtained permission to reside in certain towns: this did not however satisfy them; they required a formal recall, and the repeal of the decree against them. Henry had promised it when at Metz; and the parliament of Paris deputed their chief-president Harlay to remonstrate against the proposed measure. His address is a repetition of the general charges against the society. The authenticity of the king's answer, as reported by several writers, is hardly maintainable: it contains a rather laboured apology for the Jesuits, excusing their faults and concluding for their support, on account of their usefulness.|| But whatever may be the terms used by the king, it is evident they expressed displeasure at the sentiments uttered by the parliament; and whether he wished to conciliate, from a fear of their intrigues, or to act on genuine principles of liberality, the result was equally favourable to the Jesuits. Sully opposed the measure in the council. He admits that Sillery excited his ill humour at the meeting, by a pretended compliment, which but ill disguised his jealousy. He called on Sully to open the consultation, both on account of his experience, and from being best acquainted with the king's views. To this Sully objected. "So it appears," observed Sillery, with a malicious smile, "we must wait for your opinion, until you have made a journey to the banks of the Seine, four leagues off;" alluding to Ablon, where the Protestant ministers held their meetings. Sully replied with firmness, that in religious matters he was not led by man, the word of God being his sole guide: but in affairs of state he was entirely guided by the king's will, of which he must be more informed before he could pronounce.¶

* In a letter to M. de la Fontaine, then in London, dated 26th March, 1604.

† Ferrier, who afterwards abjured, was the professor implicated.—Benoit, vol. i. p. 394.

‡ Duplessis, *Mém.*, vol. iii. p. 49.

§ Sully, liv. 16.

|| Harlay's speech, delivered 4th Dec. 1603, is preserved in the *Mercurie François*, vol. ii. pp. 164 et seq. But the Jesuits published, in French, Latin, and Italian, a falsified abridgement, with the answer attributed to the king. The latter pieces are to be found in Villeroy, vol. vii., and are referred to as unquestionable authority, by Father Daniel, and others of the ultramontane school.

¶ Sully, liv. 17.

The following day he conversed at length with the king upon the subject. After hearing his minister's objections, Henry summed up his sentiments in a manner that proved his intentions were already decided. He had been persuaded that by driving the Jesuits to despair, their audacity would have no bounds.* This was clear from his reasonings; and instead of attempting further to refute his arguments, Sully declared that if the king's personal happiness and safety depended on the re-establishment of the Jesuits, he would promote it as readily as the most decided of their partisans. This declaration illuminated the king's countenance with satisfaction; and he voluntarily pledged his royal word, that no influence of the Jesuits should induce him to make war against the Protestants. The result of this interview was speedily communicated to the king's confessor elect, father Cotton, who the next day visited Sully, loading him with flatteries and commendations.

CHAPTER LII.

Death of La Tremouille—D'Aubigné's conversation with the King—Meeting at Chatellerault—Reduction of Sedan—Death of Henry IV.

SULLY being named governor of Poictou, visited that province in the summer of 1604. He was well received at Rochelle; and endeavoured to convince the leading Huguenots of their error, in acting perversely towards the government. La Tremouille and Rohan both expressed unshaken loyalty to Henry; but the experienced statesman declares that in his opinion the followers of those noblemen were quite as refractory and discontented as they had been represented. Sully's voyage produced a very beneficial result to the regal authority, though it hastened the ruin of the protestant cause: by distributing pensions to the more pacific and moderate, he reduced the cabal in that province to insignificance, and La Tremouille's death, which occurred soon after, deprived them of their principal leader.† This nobleman had married a daughter of the prince of Orange; and being thus allied to the duke de Bouillon, attained great importance in the Protestant party, whose interests he so warmly espoused, that, had he lived longer, it was the king's intention to bring him to justice.‡ Orders were sent at one time to besiege him in his château at Thouars; and when La Tremouille was informed of the advance of some detachments towards his residence, he wrote to his tried friend D'Aubigné, reminding him of a mutual vow they had made, to share each other's dangers. D'Aubigné hastened to Thouars; and in conjunction with La Tremouille, commenced measures of defence, by collecting the gentlemen of their party. In one of their rides they perceived the heads and bodies of some malefactors, left for exposure. La Tremouille changed colour at the sight; on which D'Aubigné took him by the hand, and observed, "You must learn to look at such melancholy spectacles with a good grace: for engaged as we are, it is requisite to familiarise ourselves with death."§

* *Ventre Saint-Grís!* me repondez-vous de ma personne?"

was Henry's reply to one who endeavoured to dissuade him.

† Sully, liv. 18.

‡ Bassompierre, *Nouveaux Mém.*, p. 181.

§ D'Aubigné, *Mém.*, p. 154.

D'Aubigné declares that the death of this nobleman was the cause of his resolution to quit the kingdom; having no longer any one in whom he could confide, for his defence against the secret manœuvres of the court, all the other Huguenot leaders being corrupted by pensions. With this intention he had made preparations for his departure, and the greater part of his property was embarked in a small vessel, hired for the purpose. While his two last cases were being conveyed from his home, he received a letter from the king, and another from La Varenne, both assuring him that he was wanted at court, and would be well received. Those letters made him change his resolution, and decided his return to Paris, where the king employed him nearly two months in superintending the preparations for some jousts and tournaments: yet without giving the least intimation of a desire to converse with him respecting his conduct in the protestant assemblies, which was after all the real motive of the invitation.

At length Henry took an opportunity of speaking to him alone, and endeavoured to persuade him to join the court party, by representing the selfishness and venality of his partisans. He admitted that D'Aubigné himself attended the meetings in good faith; but that the majority were corrupted, and that nothing would be henceforth carried against his wishes. "This is so true," added Henry, "that one of your number, connected with the first families of France, has cost me no more than five hundred crowns to serve as my spy, and inform me of all that passes in your assemblies."

D'Aubigné in reply stated, that being elected a deputy, he felt bound to serve his constituents conscientiously; and the more so, since they had lost their royal protector: at the same time he well knew that, with the exception of the late duke de La Tremouille, all the chiefs had sold themselves to the court. Henry then embraced his old companion in arms, and recommended him to cultivate the friendship of Jeauin, observing, "He has managed all the affairs of the league; and I shall have more confidence in you and him, than in those who have played a double game." Henry was turning away, but D'Aubigné detained him; and firmly, though without disrespect, inquired what was the cause of his displeasure.—The king turned pale, as was customary with him when his feelings were moved, and replied, "You were too much attached to La Tremouille. You knew I hated him; and still you gave him your affection." "Sire!" replied D'Aubigné, "I have been brought up at the feet of your majesty, where I learned never to abandon those in affliction." Henry again embraced him, and they separated.*

Henry sent a confidential agent to question Duplessis on D'Aubigné's friendship with La Tremouille, and other subjects affecting his character for loyalty. The agent's report to the chancellor was decidedly favourable.†

The conspiracy of the Entragues family does not enter into our subject, being an affair of private ambition, in which no Huguenot of distinction was implicated. The counts D'Entragues and D'Auvergne were condemned to death; and the marchioness of Verneuil was sentenced to perpetual

imprisonment.* The king's promise, given at the dying request of Henry III., in behalf of D'Auvergne, effected a commutation of his sentence into confinement in the Bastille;† and his passion for Madame de Verneuil caused the punishment of her father to be limited to banishment from the court, and an order to reside on his estate; the marchioness, as may be easily imagined, obtained a free pardon.

The chronicles of this period abound with incidents, which would be deemed insignificant if they did not serve as an index for judging of the state of public opinion. The conversions of monks and other ecclesiastics are carefully noted; as well as laymen, whose position gave them interest. But although we find only an occasional notice of proselytes to the Romish church, it is too well known that court favour, the hopes of advancement, and the prospect of fortune, led many to desert their faith. In addition to those motives must be mentioned the effect of prejudice, which to many is irresistible; for the stake and the scaffold will excite firmness, when the silent contempt of connexions and neighbours will shake a well-founded resolution. The controversy between the rival creeds was zealously maintained; but principally by a few individuals, on behalf of the Protestants. The English ambassador was for many reasons bound to stand forward; and on occasion of the *fête-Dieu*, he not only refused to place hangings before his hotel, in the Rue de Tournon, but declared that he would set fire to any that might be placed, contrary to his will. The procession of St. Sulpice, to avoid extremities, was in consequence ordered to pass by another street.‡

But unhappily the dispute was not always limited to opinions or protestations: in a moment of excitement, a placard was posted in different parts of Paris, inviting the university students to meet with clubs and other weapons, for the purpose of resisting the insolence of the *maudite secte huguenote et abloniste*. An individual named Robert, returning from worship at Ablon, was attacked and murdered: his son who accompanied him, in desperation avenged his father, by killing the assassin on the spot.§

The protestants having demanded a general assembly, by virtue of the edict of Nantes, the town of Chatellerault was named for the meeting; and Sully was appointed to receive the deputies, and address them in the king's name.|| This was a disappointment to those of the protestant nobility who were influenced by political motives: they knew Sully's firm loyalty, and were well aware that his energy would enforce respect to the king's instructions, known to be directed against any renewal of the offensive proceedings at the synod of Gap. None could be admitted as the deputy of an individual, not even from Lesdiguières; and there was a positive prohibition against receiving letters from any foreign princes, and particularly from the Duke de Bouillon, his conduct towards the king requiring some public mark of displeasure.¶ In the event of the assembly manifesting a feeling of insubordination, Sully was instructed to avail himself of his authority, as governor of the pro-

* 1st Feb. 1605.

† Bassompierre, vol. i. p. 464. Nouv. Mém., p. 199.

‡ Journal de Henri IV, 23rd June, 1604.

§ Ibid. IV, 18th Sep. 1605.

|| His commission is dated 3rd July, 1605.

¶ Sully, liv. 21.

* D'Aubigné, *Mém.*, pp. 148–152.

† Dated 8th March, 1605. Duplessis, vol. iii. p. 91.

vince, and to inform the seditious members that the king was well aware of their designs. A letter from Bouillon had in fact been intercepted, which proved the existence of irritated feelings; and manifested a prevalent desire on the part of many members, to improve the position of the body by a vigorous effort.*

Sully's opening speech was not well received by the assembly. He endeavoured to convince the meeting, that the number of towns assigned to them under the edict of Nantes, so far from being to their advantage, was an injury to their cause; as the dispersion of their forces would render them an easy conquest, if any serious design against them were meditated: even Lesdiguières, their Achilles, could not hold out in such a case, although he should await compulsion to induce his submission; a thing not likely considering his interested views. This insinuation was intended to show how well the court knew the secret dispositions of all the party.

The assembly refused Sully the honour of their presidency, only two votes being given in his favour; and they commissioned D'Aubigné to inform him, that he must desist from appearing there, unless he had anything to propose from the king.† Such an affront, where he had calculated on obtaining marked distinction, renders it necessary to make some deductions from his account of the proceedings, which he represents as very tumultuous. He excluded Duplessis from participating in the discussions, on the ground of his not being deputed by any province; and although the deputies of Dauphiné exclaimed, that nothing could be done in his absence, Sully enforced his authority, and compelled the assembly to forego the opinions of Duplessis, as well as those of the Duke de Bouillon, who, together with Lesdiguières, are severely censured in his memoirs for their conduct at this period. In conjunction with D'Aubigné and others, they are charged with having signed a memorial, in which was laid the basis of a Calvinist republic in France: the result of the meeting rendered the project useless; and Duplessis fearing the consequences, sent his excuse to the king, with a disavowal of the memorial.‡

The mere conception of such a scheme was calculated to alarm the friends of the monarchy; and Sully endeavoured to learn the general feeling of the Protestants on that point. The answer he obtained from the deputies with whom he conversed was to this effect. If Henry were immortal, the Protestants having full confidence in his word, would at once renounce all precaution, give up their places of security, and reject foreign support; but the fear of finding very different sentiments in his successors compelled them to continue measures adapted for their safety. Sully was satisfied that the partisans of the project did not exceed the number of six or seven persons; but the king was not so easily convinced, and was deeply struck with the danger to which the state would be exposed after his death.

This consideration had some share in originating the expedition for reducing Bouillon to submission. The Duke was summoned; passports were sent to him; and he was even threatened with vigorous

measures, in case of non-compliance, but in vain. He persisted, and it was not until Henry was on his march to Sedan, that this proud subject showed any signs of submission. At first Bouillon boasted that he would bury himself under the ruins of his little principality. He then proposed to treat with the king on the footing of an independent sovereign; and finally requested that Villeroy might be sent to discuss the terms of surrender. The conditions were very lenient: Henry did not wish to ruin an old companion in arms, who had privately confessed his readiness to submit, provided he could do so with honour: he was satisfied with humbling him, by the means of hereafter keeping him in check. It was evident that Bouillon in rebellion was less dangerous to his government while at Sedan than in the heart of France; and the duke, although clear of criminal participation in Biron's conspiracy, was conscious that there was sufficient evidence in his correspondence with the marshal to cause him trouble: a treaty was speedily concluded, by which Bouillon was restored to Henry's good graces without losing his territory, the king reserving only the right of placing a French garrison in Sedan.* And afterwards when the Jesuits requested permission to establish a college there, they were informed that the consent of the Duke de Bouillon was indispensable.†

Henry entered Sedan on the second of April, 1606, when the duke offered his homage and submission.‡ He presented himself at the king's chamber, before he had risen, and conversed with him for some time on his knee. Henry afterwards placed in his hand a letter of abolition, on receiving the duke's renewed protestation of fidelity. From that time, observes a contemporary, he conducted himself with as much independence and hauteur, as if nothing had happened.§

Thus ended an expedition which caused so many remonstrances and complaints from the Protestants, that an attempt to rise in the duke's favour was at one time apprehended. But the condition of the place completely refutes the idea: a garrison scarcely amounting to three hundred men; the cannon in bad condition; and scarcely any supply of the most common requisites for maintaining a siege, are proofs that the Protestant body had no intention of espousing the duke's personal cause, as at all connected with the interests of religion.

The affairs of the Protestants during the remainder of this reign present no event of importance. Sully expresses his regret that the king too readily listened to the complaints of their enemies: at the same time it is impossible to deny that occasionally their zeal led them beyond the bounds of propriety, no less than of good policy. It is needless to detail the routine of their periodical synods for electing deputies: they were uniformly accompanied by attacks upon the Romish doctrines, and frequently gave occasion for treating their sovereign with disrespect. It is not hazarding too much to assert that this empty right, grounded upon the edict of Nantes, was highly injurious to their cause; for, instead of contentedly sitting

* Sully, liv. 23. *Merc. Franç.*, vol. i. p. 104.

† *Journal de Henri IV.*, Sept. 1606.

‡ On the same day, Henry sent an account of Bouillon's submission to Duplessis. This communication was official and countersigned; but many of the king's letters were private, and written entirely by him. Duplessis, vol. iii. p. 157.

§ Bassompierre, vol. i. p. 171.

* Sully, liv. 21.

† D'Aubigné, *Mém.*, p. 154.

‡ Duplessis, vol. iii. pp. 122–126. Sully, liv. 22.

§ Sully, liv. xxii.

down "under their vine and their fig-tree," they acquired a habit of meddling with state affairs, censuring the king's appointments, and remonstrating against his measures. In short, no government could complacently regard such an *imperium in imperio*; political necessity in consequence furnished a pretext for, and sanctioned the subsequent faithless conduct of the French crown towards the Protestants. However, under Henry IV., there was no fear of violence: persecution had given place to controversy; and with the exception of a certain degree of acrimony in some cases, wherein the Jesuits took part, their theological disputes passed off quietly.

In 1607, father Cotton sent a brother Jesuit, named Gaspard Seguiran,* to Rochelle; but being certain of a refusal from the king, he privately obtained letters from the secretary of state.† On reaching that city, the father was rudely sent away, without being permitted to pass the gate. The partisans of the Jesuits took occasion to incense the king against such disrespect. Henry made a show of adopting the complainants' views, and appeared inclined to chastise the delinquents; but taking Sully aside, he admitted that the Protestants were not entirely to blame; and that if he had known that such letters had been applied for, he should have forbidden them. "However," he added, "you must endeavour to settle this, without disavowing the secretaries of state; for it may hurt the importance of their other dispatches." Sully easily arranged the affair. He wrote to Rochelle, to explain that, above all other considerations, the king must be respected; and that by yielding to his authority, they would more easily carry their point, especially as those letters were given without his sanction. Seguiran then presented himself a second time, bearing a letter signed by the king himself: he was admitted, and even allowed to preach; but in a few days after his arrival, he was recalled.‡

Sully's correspondence, it may be well supposed, was not made known to any other than the leading characters at Rochelle; and as the whole population felt deeply interested, a deputation arrived at Paris, when the speaker, named Yvon,§ was so indiscreet, in his address, that the king charged him with sedition.|| This feeling of insubordination, which had grown out of their habits of warfare, blended with theological controversy, was their most offensive quality in Henry's eyes; and on a subsequent occasion, when Sully complained of the seditious sermons of the Jesuit Gontier, the king admitted that his complaint was well founded; but added, that the Protestant ministers preached still more seditiously.¶

As the Protestants had but few opportunities for advancing their tenets by means of preaching, we find their ministers much engaged in controversial publications; many persons, in consequence,

became persuaded of the necessity and expediency of freeing the Roman Catholic religion from various glaring errors and abuses. On the other hand, the staunch supporters of the Romish hierarchy were averse to all concession; and three preachers were engaged, during the remainder of this reign, in vindicating its doctrines and rights. They were the Jesuits Cotton and Gontier, and a cordelier, styled *le Père Portugais*: the latter was surnamed the *Doctor*; Cotton, the *Orator*; and Gontier, the *Preacher*. Gontier was patronised by the Duke of Epermon, and made very violent attacks upon the Protestants: he was at length so vehement, that the king deemed it requisite to intimate his displeasure.* A reply to Gontier's sermons, from the pen of the minister Dumoulin, was written with such caustic severity, that the sale was forbidden.†

The press was tolerably free at this period; and although we not unfrequently meet with the suppression of a work, the condemnation of authors was rare. A publication, urging the convocation of a council, excited some attention, and drew forth several replies; which, being supported by the authorities, obtained the honours of the dispute. A careful, observing contemporary remarks, "The king cared little about those publications; his attention being devoted to the general good, and the embellishment of his city of Paris."‡

The records of this period present several instances of great excitement, which arose altogether from religious prejudice. The Cardinal de Sourdis, Archbishop of Bordeaux, had acted with so much ill-judged tyranny, striking Protestants for alleged disrespect to the cross, disinterring bodies, and other similar excesses, that a complaint was made to the king, who promised justice, and sent orders to put an end to the prelate's folly.§

The king's interference alone preserved the peace in a similar case where the judges of Orleans, with the approbation of the bishop, gave a decree for disinterring a Protestant lady, on the pretext that the cemetery was too near the Catholic burial-ground. Above two hundred noblemen and gentlemen met at the grave, and vowed to expose their lives rather than suffer such an indignity. The king being informed, sent orders for all functionaries to keep away, and summoned the judges to answer for their decrees.||

An attempt was made about this time to reconcile the differences between the two religions, as there were sincere Catholics desirous of terminating the dispute by mutual concessions. The ministers Dumoulin, Chamier and Durand, were ardently engaged in the task; and D'Aubigné, whose character for argument stood high, was welcomed to their party. Having decided on the outline of preliminaries on which the discussion should be based, they agreed to reduce all their controversy to the discipline of the church during the four first centuries. With an authority to that effect, D'Aubigné proceeded to the king, who at once referred him to Cardinal Du Perron. At first the cardinal objected that the Huguenot body would disavow the proposition; but D'Aubigné engaged his honour and life, that they would stand by the result. Du

* Afterwards confessor to Louis XIII.

† It must be borne in mind that this was a subordinate employ, not a cabinet minister. *Secrétaire d'Etat* and *maréchal de Camp*, translated literally, give a very erroneous idea of either of those posts.

‡ *Arceve, Hist. de la Rochelle*, vol. ii. p. 120.—Sully, liv. 24.

§ Paul Yvon, seigneur de l'Aleu, mayor of Rochelle in 1616. At the conclusion of the siege, he became Catholic, and fixed his residence in Paris. He devoted his attention to mathematics, and has left two works on that science.

|| *Journal de Henri IV.*, 23rd Feb. 1607.

¶ *Ibid.*, Dec. 1609.

* *Mercurie Frang.*, vol. i. p. 377.

† *Journal de Henri IV.*, 8th May, 1609.

‡ *Mercurie Frang.*, 1607, p. 227.

§ *Journal de Henri IV.*, July, 1609.

|| *Ibid.*

Perron then took him by the hand and replied, "Give us forty years beyond the four hundred?" "I see what you are aiming at," replied D'Aubigné; "you want to have the council of Chalcedon in your favour; but I will agree to it, so that we may enter upon the discussion." To this the cardinal observed, that the elevation of the cross must then be admitted, as the usage was sanctioned by that council. D'Aubigné agreed to make that concession for the sake of peace; "but," added he, "you will never dare to propose to reduce the pope's authority to its limits during the first four centuries: on that head, we can afford to give you two hundred years more." The cardinal terminated the conversation by a remark, that the question must be decided at Paris, if it could not be settled at Rome.

The king being informed by D'Aubigné of what had passed at the interview, asked him why he so readily consented to give the additional forty years, on commencing the discussion. "Because, Sire! in asking for the additional period, the doctors of the Romish church tacitly confess that the four first ages would not be for them." Several bishops and Jesuits who were present began to murmur at the reply: the Count de Soissons condemned such remarks as improper; and the king abruptly turning away, withdrew to the queen's chamber.*

The affair, trifling as it may appear at this distance of time, was however deemed so important by the king's friends, that he was advised, and even solicited to put to death, or at least imprison the indefatigable and zealous Huguenot. Henry desired Sully to confine him in the Bastille; but the threatened danger was warded off by a friendly hint from Madame de Châtillon; and D'Aubigné having boldly sought an interview with the king, gave a detail of his long services, and concluded by requesting a pension. That was a sufficient submission to induce the monarch to countermand the order, which D'Aubigné was afterwards assured by Sully himself had been really given for his imprisonment.†

The close of Henry's reign was signalized by extensive preparations for some military expedition, the object of which is shrouded in mystery. To suppose his passion for the Princess of Condé would have been a motive is most preposterous; and the settlement of the duchy of Cleves was not of sufficient importance. "The enterprise," observes Sully, "being limited to that single object, would be insignificant." The Protestants all rejoiced in the possibility of a war, which they believed was destined to curtail the Austrian power; and the ultramontane or popish party spread reports, that the king's object was to assist the heretics. Some accounts of the time would almost induce the idea that Henry aimed at the empire of the West.

Even Sully can only conjecture this monarch's design: the various hypotheses built on the project are therefore valueless. During several months Henry could think of nothing else: many of the sparkling phrases and anecdotes which have been handed down to us may owe their origin to deep laid political precaution; and in some measure to the prudent suggestions of Sully, who relates, that on one occasion he took the liberty of pulling the king's cloak, in the midst of a public conversation, when he was rather too communicative.‡

* D'Aubigné, *Mém.*, pp. 156-161. † Ibid., p. 162.

‡ Sully, liv. 27.

At length the arrangements for his departure were completed: the queen's coronation and its attendant festivities were at hand; and Henry, addressing one of his intimate friends, observed, "I will sleep at St. Denis on Wednesday; I shall return on Thursday; Saturday I will hunt; Sunday my wife will make her public entry; on Monday my daughter's wedding; Tuesday the feast; and on Wednesday to horse!"*

Yet this tone of confidence did not prevent his being assailed by painful apprehensions, which have been repeated by every writer who has treated of this period. Astrology and prophetic declarations had then great hold upon the imagination; and there is a prevalent idea of his having been told, that the first display of pageantry in which he was concerned would prove fatal. He frequently cursed the approaching ceremonial; and Sully endeavoured during three days to persuade the queen to renounce the honour, but in vain.†

After receiving intimation from many quarters of an intended attempt against his life, the predicted blow was finally given, and on the 14th of May, 1610, the Great Henry fell under the knife of a fanatic.

That Ravaillac was the mere instrument of some party appears beyond doubt: his feelings had evidently been worked upon, in the same way as those of his precursor, Jacques Clement; and this supposition will admit of his remaining completely ignorant of his instigators, in which respect his answers were uniform. Both in the common interrogatories, and under the torture, he always denied having any accomplice, and declared his sole motive was, that he heard the king was about to make war against the pope; and when, at the last extremity, the wretched man implored absolution, which his confessor refused to give until he had revealed his accomplices, he begged it might be given, even with a reserve that his damnation should be certain, if he spoke falsely. His ejaculation at the Place de Grève, "That he had been deceived, and thought the people would be pleased,"‡ is by no means in contradiction with his denial of accomplices, if we assume that his imagination had been inflamed by artful devices of spectacles, which he considered supernatural visions; and by violent sermons on the causes which would justify regicide.§

This fatal and infamous instigation has for two centuries weighed heavily against the Jesuits, not from historic proof, for it cannot be had, but in a great degree from the prevalence of certain opinions at this period cherished by the society; and which opinions not only led Ravaillac to commit the crime, but caused others to envy the wretched distinction he thus acquired, and to avow a readiness to imitate him. At the time, public feeling was unequivocally against the Jesuits. The clergy, both regular and parochial, impugned them in their sermons; and the accusations found an echo in lay publications. In the courts of law and at meetings in the market-place, that society was alike believed to have prompted the assassin.

There would be a cruel injustice in contributing to perpetuate this sentiment, in the absence of

* Mathieu, vol. ii. p. 804.

† Sully, liv. 27. According to Mathieu, the queen did not care for the honour of the ceremony, yet felt slighted that she alone, of all the queens of France, should be excepted.

‡ Journal de Henri IV.

§ Mercure Franç., vol. i. pp. 440, 441.

regular evidence, if the Jesuits had not subsequently been in a situation which enabled them to justify the reputation of their body. The two succeeding kings had Jesuits for confessors; and although everything tended to facilitate the elucidation of this event, not the least effort was made to render public the investigations and statements, which the parliament of 1610 had consigned to secrecy. It would be useless to repeat the numerous incidents, or rather anecdotes on record, concerning the death of King Henry; which, however true, would be rather grounds for inference than bases for an accusation.* It will be clearly seen that justice was impeded, in tracing the proceedings of the parliament of Paris; and our entire ignorance of the influence then wielded gives immense latitude to conjecture.

Sully, after alluding to the information communicated by the female, so conspicuous in the judicial annals of this epoch, as La Coman or D'Escouman, and who charged the Duke of Epemon, the Marchioness of Verneuil and others with preparing a plot, adds, "The incident will not be overlooked by those who are inclined to attach importance to the suppression of the particulars of the trial," and his editor (the Abbé de l'Écluse) remarks, in a note, "that this concealment of the proceedings by the parliament was universally known."†

A widow named St. Matthieu denounced a soldier named Martin. He had accosted her on the Sunday before the king's death, as she was proceeding to public worship at Charenton. He told her, that within a week there would be strange doings in Paris; and those would be fortunate who were away. He admitted that he was not going to hear the sermon, but to form an opinion of the Huguenots' means of defence; that all the beggars and cripples about were thieves, and spies of the King of Spain; and that there was one in particular whom he was surprised not to see there. The appearance of Ravallac completely agreed with the description he had given. When the king's death was known, this man, to her great surprise, called at her house, and engaged her to leave Paris: she consulted her friends, and had him arrested. But the lukewarm manner in which this affair was treated became so notorious, that L'Estoile observes thereon, "The cowardly proceedings adopted in the investigation of this important fact (in which it would seem they are afraid of finding what they seek) will be probably without result."‡ And at a subsequent date, the same writer states, "The trifling enquiry made at this time, into the late king's death, and the little desire shown to bring the guilty to justice, offended many persons, and caused animadversions."§

While in prison, Ravallac dictated a testamentary confession; but the clerk employed to take down his words wrote it in a manner that defies the most skillful decipherers: a circumstance which must at once strike every reader as most

singular, since no man thus employed would have dared to act so, unless assured of impunity.

The decision of the parliament of Paris respecting La Coman is of the same character. During that trial, the Duke of Epemon acted so indecorously as to excite the indignation of the chief president Seguir; and when the public officers of the crown proposed their conclusions, viz.: to defer judgment till after more ample enquiry; to liberate the accused, and imprison the accuser, there was a general assent to that decision. Seguir's reply to the queen's inquiry, respecting his views of the question, proves the importance of the real criminals.* Sad as is the misfortune for a nation to produce such wretches as Clement and Ravallac, it is a still more serious calamity to have a servile magistracy. What induced the parliament to incur this reproach is now an unfathomable mystery. As a body it could not be suspected of any bias in favour of the Jesuits; the opposition of its members to the recall of the society being a sufficient guarantee. The secret influence must therefore have been individual in its nature: the Jesuits, supposing them innocent, were deeply interested in making known that motive; but this they have declined doing. What their conduct was, with a consciousness of existing suspicions, will next claim our consideration.

When the news of the king's assassination reached the Louvre, Father Cotton, as if conscious of a coming accusation, instinctively aimed at diverting suspicion from his party; and exclaimed, "Ah! who has killed this good prince; this pious, this great king? Is it not a Huguenot?" Afterwards, when he visited Ravallac in prison, he cautioned him against incriminating *les gens de bien*.†

Father D'Aubigny, another Jesuit, who had been consulted by Ravallac, was particularly questioned by the chief president, respecting the secret of confession. But the wary ecclesiastic answered only by sophisms: he stated "That God, who had given to some the gift of tongues, to others prophecy, &c., had conferred on him the gift of *forgetting* confessions."‡

The decided expression of public opinion caused Father Cotton to make an effort, surpassing in impudence anything of the kind on record. Accompanied by two other Jesuits, he went to the attorney-general; and in the name of the society entreated him to sanction the publication of an apology; with a prohibition for all persons, of what quality soever, to contradict or reply to it. The application was too monstrous to be received.§

The liberty of the press was sufficiently established to expose the Jesuits to some very rude attacks: but at a later period the monarchy became absolute; nothing could then be published without an *imprimatur*; and writers on French history either slur over this important event, or else adopt the good-natured conclusion of the archbishop of Paris: "If I am asked, who were the demons that inspired this damnable idea, history answers that she knows nothing: even the judges who interrogated Ravallac did not dare to open their mouths

Hist. de la Réforme, de la Ligue, et de Henri IV., vol. viii. p. 372.

* Journal de Henri IV., Feb. 1611.

† Journal de Henri IV. Sully, liv. 28, ad init.

‡ Journal de Henri IV., 19th May, 1610.

§ Journal de Henri IV., June, 1610.

* Among other curious hypotheses, one of the most remarkable is the accusation raised against the queen and the Prince of Condé: they are charged in a recent work with having instigated Ravallac, who is said to have met the prince at Brussels a short time previous. Roderer, *Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire de la Société polie en France*, p. 15. Paris, 1835.

† Sully, liv. 27.

‡ Journal de Henri IV. 17th May, 1610.

§ Journal de Henri IV., June, 1610.

|| Fontanier, *Portefeuille*, No. 456, quoted by Capifigue,

upon the subject; and never spoke of him otherwise than by shrugging their shoulders."* L'Ecluse, the commentator on Sully, is likewise imbued with this feeling. Because Father D'Orleans, in his life of Cotton, says nothing about his caution to Ravallac, he maintains that it is not true; and since Pasquier, a great enemy of the Jesuits, is silent, it must be assumed that they were considered innocent by that writer. The Jesuit D'Avrigny's argument is all of this negative kind.†

To conclude—supposing the Jesuits' guilt fully established, their successors are not to be held responsible for a crime, in appreciating which the barbarity of the times must be taken into account. The principles of the Jesuits may be still the same; but the mighty revolutions which have since occurred render them less dangerous;‡ they were long called the *pope's militia*; and in many cases withstood the progress of reformed religion; but the rights of conscience are now admitted; and a general apprehension of their intolerant and grasping policy has essentially promoted a feeling in favour of protestantism.

Henry IV. occupies too conspicuous a place in the annals of religious contention, to allow us to enter upon his successor's reign, without an attempt to portray his character as a man, as a captain, and as a king.

In the first point of view, his biographer has the painful task of recording many blemishes, chiefly attributable to his passion for the fair sex. His unblushing attachment to the princess of Condé is at once disgraceful and disgusting. The aged Constable Montmorency had selected Bassompierre for his son-in-law; and in that marshal's memoirs we have a glowing description of his joy at the unexpected honour thus accorded to his personal merit. So long as Henry believed the gay soldier was chiefly enamoured of the brilliant alliance, and that there was a chance of his being a complacent husband, he encouraged the match; but on discovering the existence of a sincere affection for the beautiful Charlotte de Montmorency, he interfered; and declared his wish, that she should be the wife of his cousin Condé. Bassompierre could not conceal his disappointment; and at the wedding, Henry maliciously held him close to the bridal pair.§ The Prince of Condé, aware of the king's intentions, kept his wife from the court as much as possible; but neither this intimation of vigilance, nor the affairs of state, nor the variety with which Henry's disposition was pampered, could divert him from his base design. He degraded himself so far as to engage the prince's mother in his interest. He had great claims on her compliance; having "destroyed the proofs against her when charged with her husband's death. This may palliate her conduct a little; but she was severely punished when Henry taunted the prince, who complained of his tyranny: "I never acted as a tyrant, but when I caused you to be declared what you are not;"|| an abandonment of generosity, at variance with the character popularly attributed to

him. A few months afterwards, when the prince set out privately for Flanders, the king's rage was excessive.*

Yet Henry's character had some redeeming points; and several who long knew him intimately have left their testimony in his favour. Sully revered him; D'Aubigné invariably bears witness to his goodness of heart, attributing his severity and ingratitude to the misrepresentations of envious courtiers; and Bassompierre, even when relating the loss of his betrothed, calls him "the best of men."

Respecting Henry's military talents there is no difference of opinion. His enemies admit his consummate courage and unrivalled skill. Many of his battles surpass the most celebrated actions of antiquity, if we consider how cruelly his means were limited, in comparison with the importance of his object; and in the details of those engagements his prowess was almost romantic, so much so, that his bravery nearly amounted to temerity.

But it is as a sovereign that his character must be submitted to investigation. The éclat of a victory will still censorious judgments on the merits of a cause; but state decisions, and the severe exercise of authority after long commotions, cannot escape the complaints and cavils of unsuccessful competitors for power. The administration of justice was excessively rigorous; capital condemnations following offences of almost every kind and degree. But those laws were not of his enacting: he unfortunately found society overrun with numbers of reckless individuals, and the enactments appear more severe from their frequent application.

An expression is attributed to the most celebrated of his successors, when accused of usurping the crown. "*Comment usurpée? Je l'ai ramassée dans la boue!*" Henry of Navarre, the lawful heir of the crown of France, was also treated as a usurper, and compelled to win his right by his sword. Had the monarchy been altogether prostrate, his task would have been comparatively easy; but he had to contend against the most formidable European powers, with what success is notorious. We make no attempt, however, to draw a parallel between Henry and Napoleon: each re-established a fallen throne, and the memory of both is cherished by the nation over which they successively reigned; but the similarity extends no farther.

To form a due estimate of Henry's domestic policy, it should be placed in comparison with that of Louis XVIII. Henry consulted the sympathies of the conquered party—the Catholic majority. He showed himself their paternal monarch, and braved the charge of ingratitude by neglecting his old supporters, the Protestants. This restoration was permanent. Louis, on the contrary, was unwilling to convince the nation that he placed public affection in the foremost rank, by confining within the bounds of private generosity his regard for the emigrant nobles, indebted like himself to foreign support. His sovereignty took no root in public feeling, and the natural consequence was experienced by his successor.

In foresight and political judgment Henry IV. was very great. Accustomed from his boyhood to parry the intrigues of a hostile court, he was

* Péréfixe, *Hist. de Henri le Grand*.

† Mémoires Chronologiques et Dogmatiques.

‡ Yet they are still formidable. The recent refusal of ecclesiastical sepulture to the Count de Montlosier, entirely on account of his *Mémoire à consulter*, is a proof that an undoubted attachment to the Romish Church does not compensate for a dislike to the society.

§ Bassompierre, vol. i. p. 222.

|| Journal de Henri IV., June, 1609.

* Bassompierre, vol. i. p. 261.

nurtured in the difficulties of government, and made use of corruption as a weapon for counteracting opposition to his sway.

There are several points of view in which he may be placed in comparison with our Alfred, the Danish invasion bearing some analogy to the league. But Henry's abjuration places him in an isolated position, no other prince having sacrificed religious principle to secure the possession of the crown; and this suggests an inquiry into the sincerity of his conversion.

During his life there was a very general doubt of his being a decided Romanist; yet several instances attest his orthodoxy. He endeavoured to persuade Sully to change his religion; and as an inducement proposed on one occasion to make him constable; on another that his natural daughter, Mlle. de Vendôme, should marry the Marquis de Rosny.* After the public debate between Cardinal Du Perron and Duplessis-Mornay in 1600,† Henry wrote to the Duke of Epemon, that the victory of the diocese of Evreux over that of Saumur was one of the greatest advantages obtained by the church of God for a long time; and that by such means more Protestants would be reclaimed, than by fifty years of violence.‡ During the siege of Montmélian in 1600, Henry, accompanied by the Count de Soissons and several nobles, having ventured rather close to observe the works, a masked battery was suddenly opened on them, which caused the king to cross himself. "By that," observed Sully, who was present, "I recognize the good Catholic."§

To these evidences of his Catholicity, we can only oppose one slight incident, to mark any remembrance of his Protestantism: he refused to hunt on St. Bartholomew's day, on account of the peril to which he had been exposed in his youth.||

Voltaire observes that Henry could not but yield to adverse circumstances and abjure, having the pope, the King of Spain and three-fourths of his subjects against him. Gustavus Adolphus or Charles XII. would have been inflexible; but they were essentially soldiers, while Henry IV. was a politician.¶

CHAPTER LIII.

Regency of Mary de Medicis.—Assembly at Saumur.—States General.—Insurrection of 1616.

HENRY'S position had been embarrassing: he was obliged to conciliate opposing interests, and was in consequence exposed to the distrust of each. The Protestants complained of his disregard of their long services: the Catholics were incensed at his tolerance of heresy. The moderate party, composed of the principal judges and advocates, had not acquired sufficient influence to turn the wavering balance. At a subsequent period their opinions gave importance to the

Gallican and Jansenist parties; but at Henry's death the intolerant faction prevailed, and Epemon triumphed over Sully. The former, assured of the queen's support, had already taken his measures: while the latter was waiting the king's visit by appointment. The news of the assassination overwhelmed him; and when he left the arsenal, he was so deeply affected, that L'Estoile represents him as more dead than alive.*

Having collected his attendants, and being subsequently joined by his personal friends, he set out for the Louvre on horseback: but as he advanced, several intimations of danger had been given; and after consulting with Vitry, whom he met at the *Croix du Trahoir*,† he decided on returning to the arsenal. He then sent a message to the queen, with the assurance of his ready obedience; and informed her, that he watched with additional vigilance over the Bastille, the arsenal, and other places in his charge. However, before he had regained his quarters, he was pressed by several, in the queen's name, to go as soon as possible to the Louvre, and be attended with but few persons. Sully's distrust however increased as the message was quickly reiterated. He maturely weighed the warnings he had received, with the information since brought, of archers being seen about the gates of the Bastille, and sent an excuse deferring his visit till the following day.‡ His wife was so commissioned, with a view to observe the state of the court.§ Bassompierre, after describing his meeting with Sully in the Rue St. Antoine, states, "He shut himself up in the Bastille, sending at the same time to seize all the bread he could find in the market, and in the bakers' stores. He also dispatched a messenger to his son-in-law, the Duke de Rohan, to march upon Paris with six thousand Swiss, under his command."|| But this excessive caution, which has exposed Sully to a charge of disloyalty, is scarcely reprehensible, when every feature of the case is brought into view. Notes arrived at the Bastille from many quarters, containing most alarming intelligence: a great consternation had seized the Protestants, many of whom could remember the St. Bartholomew; and rumour revived and magnified reports, threatening a repetition of that dreadful scene. The king's death was no sooner known, than many Protestants quitted the capital; and more would have gone if they had not been deterred, some by persuasion, others by force, until their alarm was proved to be groundless.¶

The Count de Soissons hastened to Paris on learning the news of Henry's death: he came well attended, and confident of unlimited influence over the Duke of Epemon; but on reaching St. Cloud he had the mortification to learn that the regency was already disposed of. He would not probably have opposed it, but wished to have made certain conditions.** Although a community of feeling existed between Soissons and Epemon on various points, and particularly in hatred to Sully, the young prince failed in his attempt to gain the aged courtier to his views; and to his astonishment the

* Journal de Henri IV., Nov. 1608. Sully, liv. xxv.

† Usually termed the *Conférence de Fontainebleau*: there is a long account of it in the *Chronologie septennaire*. Duplessis was too much shackled by the king's restrictions to hope for success. D'Aubigné composed a Treatise on the occasion, entitled *De dissidiis Patriæ*; but though Henry undertook that Du Perron should refute it, the cardinal made no attempt. D'Aubigné, *Mém.*, p. 148.

‡ Sully, liv. xi. § Ibid.

§ Bassompierre, vol. i. p. 152.

¶ *Essai sur les Mœurs*, rem. 15.

* Journal de Henri IV., in loc.

† At the corner of the rue de l'Arbre Sec, a place where executions often took place.

‡ Sully, liv. xxviii. Mathieu, *Hist. de Louis XIII.* p. 3.

§ Mémoires du Maréchal d'Estrees, p. 3.

|| Bassompierre, vol. i. p. 284.

¶ *Mercurie Française*, vol. i. p. 463.

** D'Estrees, p. 5.

duke made him desist from his project of murdering Sully in the court of the Louvre.*

Such violence being contemplated, there was reason to apprehend serious consequences from the rumours in circulation among the Protestants. Every day beheld an increase of the evil; and a trifle would have sufficed to inflame the kingdom. This was observed by Epernon, who deemed it advisable to calm the public mind, by a declaration confirming the edict of Nantes.†

Mary de Medicis was certainly indebted to Epernon for the post of sole regent. That nobleman took ample measures for suppressing all opposition to his plans, by placing guards on the Pont-Neuf, and in the streets surrounding the convent of the Augustins, where the parliament was to hold its sittings. The president Seguier, with whom he had consulted on the intended measure, had no sooner assembled the members, than Epernon entered, holding in his hand a sword, still sheathed. He appeared agitated and confused; and informed the assembly that his sword was as yet in its scabbard, though he apprehended that, unless the queen was instantly declared regent, it must be drawn, and might cause great trouble and confusion. The boldness of his proceeding astonished the assembly, and the proposal was adopted forthwith.‡

The Prince of Condé, then at Milan, was excited by Fuentes, the Spanish ambassador, to make an effort to obtain the crown. The assistance of the Spanish government was promised as an inducement.§ He arrived on the fifteenth of July, accompanied by fifteen hundred gentlemen; which gave some alarm to the queen, who was fearful that Sully might deliver into his hands the Bastille, the cannon, and treasure of the late king. The prince on his side had considerable apprehensions: three or four letters were delivered to him, stating that the queen, instigated by the Count de Soissons, intended to arrest him and the Duke de Bouillon; and, notwithstanding his favourable reception, he continued for some days in a state of readiness for quitting Paris, at the first disturbance which might arise; but when this apprehension was at an end, he advanced his claims to power.||

The prince, his cousin the Count de Soissons, and Epernon, were each at the head of a distinct faction. The Duke de Bouillon advised the prince to return to the reformed church, and declare himself its protector.¶ The want of an ostensible head had greatly injured the Protestant body, as a party; and if the prince had listened to Bouillon's suggestion, the cause of the Huguenots might have been placed on a very flourishing basis: but that result could only have been effected by establishing an independent government. Sully could not forget what he owed his country; and Condé was not destined by nature for so distinguished a career.

We have the testimony of a respectable contem-

* Girard, *Vie du Duc d'Epemon*, p. 246. Le Vassor, *Hist. de Louis XIII.*, vol. i. p. 19, 4to. Amsterdam, 1757.

† Girard, p. 252. The declaration, dated 22 May, 1610, is in the *Mercurie Français*, vol. i. p. 463.

‡ Girard, pp. 241—243.

§ D'Estrees, p. 5.

|| Hist. de la Mère et du Fils, vol. i. p. 102. This work, published under the name of Mezeray, is very generally attributed to the pen of Richelieu, who is thought to have composed it during the administration of Luynes. Father Daniel is of opinion that Richelieu retouched and corrected it.

¶ Le Vassor, vol. i. p. 27. Rohan, *Mémoires*, liv. i. p. 4.

porary, by no means their partizan, to the quiet deportment of the Huguenots during this crisis. "Instructed by experience, they then displayed great moderation, and made no pretensions to innovation; *feigning* to have no wish to undertake anything, provided they were allowed to live according to the edicts. This produced the king's declaration, that to maintain harmony among his subjects, it was his desire that the edict of Nantes should be inviolably respected." They were, according to this author, so well treated, that they had no pretext for agitation.*

The vast preparations for Henry's expedition terminated in the taking of Juliers, which surrendered to Marshal de la Chastre on the second of September. Sully's opinion respecting this campaign was disregarded: it was useless for him to struggle any further in competition with Epernon; and, to use his own expression, the conduct of the regent completely destroyed all hope of his ever being able to bring back the council to a wholesome line of policy. He retired to the country; but was in a short time invited to return. An agent communicated her majesty's desire to have him for her confidential adviser, on the same footing as under the late king.†

Had Mary de Medicis been sincere, and candidly followed up this proposal, her fortune would in all probability have taken a different turn. But a spirit of bigotry was prevalent among the new ministers; and at an early meeting of the council, Villeroy, in expressing his opinion, took occasion to tell the queen, that the Huguenots were the worst enemies she had to fear; as they had the means, and probably more serious intention than ever, of making an attempt against the government: he concluded by an insinuation against Lesdiguières. Unhappily a conspiracy had been formed before the king's death, to take arms in Poitou; for which Du Jarrige, a Protestant, and two accomplices were hanged in Paris,‡ and the circumstance gave importance to Villeroy's remark. Sully was engaged in conversation at that moment; but his colleague's observations were reported to him: they confirmed what he had heard of a secret council held at the house of the nuncio; and he was indignant at an attempt, evidently intended to revive the wars of religion. He advanced towards the queen, who was still talking with Villeroy, and complained of his unfair insinuations against the Protestants.§ This breach was never healed; and at the beginning of the following year, Sully was deprived of his posts of superintendent of finances and governor of the Bastille; but he continued governor of Poitou, and grand master of the artillery.||

The edict of Nantes had, unfortunately for the interests of the protestants, conferred a political existence upon that body; and the queen was no sooner named regent by the parliament of Paris, than her government was formally acknowledged by all the Protestant provincial assemblies. The whole kingdom was divided into fifteen provinces; and at the assembly of Saumur there were present seventy deputies: viz., thirty nobles, twenty minis-

* Bernard, *Hist. de Louis XIII.* p. 12, Paris, 1646.

† Sully, liv. xxix.

‡ Journal de Henri IV. 4 Sept. 1610.

§ Sully, liv. xxix.

|| Journal de Henri IV.—Bassompierre.—Mere. Français, and Hist. de la Mère et du Fils.

ters, sixteen elders, and four delegates from the corporation of Rochelle. In addition to the deputies, Sully, Rohan, La Tremouille, and others of equal importance, were invited to be present.* The Huguenots were so much pleased with occasions of meeting for discussion and mutual encouragement, that it is asserted they held them on every pretext.† D'Aubigné attempted to raise an opposition in the assembly of Poictou, on the grounds that such an election should have been submitted to the states-general, and not to the parliament of Paris. This ill judged act of independence did not prevent his being deputed to assure the queen of the submission of that province. He was already known for his persuasive qualities; and with his unflinching principles, it was useless to attempt corruption: an effort was therefore made to ruin him in the opinion of his party. The queen summoned him to Paris, to consult him in private: he remained alone with her for two hours at a time; and soon after, when he set out for the assembly at Saumur, he received such attentions from the government agent, that the queen's object was in a great measure effected.‡

This assembly had been convoked for Chatellerault; and its removal to Saumur was an unequivocal proof of the rising jealousy and ill will, which soon after gave a mortal blow to the Huguenots' cause. Indeed their enemies assert, that great designs were to be prepared by them at this meeting, which caused much alarm.§ Chatellerault was in Sully's government; and the duke of Bouillon had sufficient influence to effect a change, calculated to hurt the feelings of one whom he considered a rival, if not an enemy.|| At the same time, the queen being impressed with apprehensions of an insurrection, ordered Duplessis to be watchful in his government, as the deputies were attended by an unusual number of armed followers.¶ Bouillon was corrupted at the very commencement of the regency. Immediately after King Henry's death, he made an attempt to awaken Condé's ambition; but the queen, aided by the Marquis de Cœuvres, and skilful negotiators, won him to her cause: his policy then assumed a diametrically opposite character; and being constantly in opposition to Sully, he sided with the court against the Protestant party; his own interests at the same time urging him to hasten the ex-minister's ruin, as he was promised the reversion of his employ."***

The memorials prepared for the consideration of the assembly, being confided to the Duke of Bouillon, were by him communicated to Villeroy; and in consideration of a promise of the government of Poictou, with three hundred thousand livres, and some minor stipulations, he undertook to have all the resolutions changed in the discussion; and engaged that everything should pass off to the queen's satisfaction.††

A contemporary nobleman relates that Bouillon, with his secret instructions, received money to recompense those deputies whom he could gain

over; and proceeded to Saumur, where the results justified his assertions. The prudence, skill and firmness he displayed on this occasion were considered signally serviceable to the state.*

This treacherous conduct could not be entirely concealed from the Protestant deputies; and although the duke made great efforts to obtain the presidency, Duplessis was elected by a great majority. The vice-president chosen was Chamier, a most zealous and courageous Huguenot minister, the same who had assisted in drawing up the edict of Nantes. Bouillon's disappointment made him give utterance to violent expressions of resentment, declaring that no trouble he had ever experienced affected him like that. The interference of friends became necessary to pacify him; and during an interview with Sully, who in expostulating complained of the removal of the assembly from Chatellerault to Saumur, Bouillon replied by complaints against his rival, for having aided an expedition, the object of which was to ruin a church so renowned as that of Sedan. An apparent reconciliation was however effected; and Bouillon declared that he should ever be as ready to bring his cannon from Sedan to defend the cause of religion, as Sully had been to bring those from the Bastille to ruin him.‡

Bouillon's animosity towards Sully, and his jealousy of Duplessis being too evident to admit a doubt, a common interest excited those individuals, who had long been kept apart by mutual diffidence. Sully was apprehensive that Duplessis might be led by his zeal into projects hostile to the French monarchy; while the latter had openly represented the situation of confidential adviser to an apostate king as incompatible with a sincere attachment to the Protestant religion. The friends of Duplessis also contributed to widen the breach, by insinuating the existence of envy at his acknowledged talents. However, the events of the preceding year convinced them of Sully's integrity; and the whole Protestant body took an interest in his personal welfare. They entreated and even enjoined him not to give up his charge, especially that of grand master of the artillery, and promised their united aid in his support.‡ This demonstration greatly annoyed the Duke de Bouillon, who made such a representation to the queen, that she wrote a letter to the assembly in the king's name. The nature of this communication may be inferred from the fact, that Duplessis-Mornay deemed its suppression necessary, through fear of the irritation it would cause.§

To return to the proceeding of the assembly, the king's commissioners announced the favourable intentions of the government towards the Protestant body; but when the *cahier* or statement of demands was presented, they declared it indispensable to consult the king's pleasure, their powers not authorizing an approval of the changes proposed. This statement astonished the assembly; and during the tedious negotiation which followed the court agents actively pressed the nomination of the deputies who were to remain at Paris, that being the ostensible cause of the convocation. The more experienced Huguenots were however resolved to wait for a reply, as they foresaw that the assembly would be dissolved as soon as the de-

* *Mercure Français*, vol. ii. p. 73.

† Bernard, p. 18.

‡ D'Aubigné, *Mém.* p. 167.

§ Daniel, *Hist. de France*, vol. xiii. p. 54.

¶ *Véritable Discours de ce qui s'est passé en l'Assemblée politique des Eglises réformées de France, tenue à Saumur.*

** 25 May, 1611. Duplessis, *Mém.*, vol. iii. p. 294.

*** D'Estrees, pp. 65—66.

†† Rohan, *Mém.* liv. i. p. 11.

* D'Estrees, p. 66.

† *Véritable Discours*, etc., pp. 24—27.

‡ *Merc. Franç.* vol. ii. p. 27.—Rohan, *Mém.* liv. i. p. 17.

§ Supplement to Sully, by the abbé de l'Écluse.

puties were named. The Duke de Bouillon meanwhile insidiously attempted to injure the Protestant body, by representing the exertions he and his friends had been compelled to make, in order to preserve peace; and it was maliciously reported to the queen, that Sully, Rohan, D'Aubigné, and others, were anxious to renew the civil war.*

The demands of the assembly comprised above sixty articles, which it is needless to recapitulate.† The eighth is one of the most remarkable: in that the Protestants complain of their being compelled to qualify themselves in all acts and deeds, as members of *la religion prétendue réformée*. To this grievance they obtained no redress; as the government replied, that they must use the term adopted in the edict of Nantes. Their eleventh article requests that preachers may be punished for abusive and seditious attacks upon them in sermons; and for interdicting all social intercourse with them, under threats of perdition. The government reply is evidently directed against the petitioners; for it enjoins *all* preachers to abstain from exciting language, confining themselves modestly to what will instruct and edify their hearers. A spirit of equivocation pervades the answer to each article; and bears testimony to the bigotry of the age, which is at once its explanation and excuse. The answer to the *cahier* is dated 23rd of July, 1611.‡ On its arrival at Saumur, the Duke de Bouillon obtained a power from the queen, authorising the minority, consisting of twenty-three members, to elect the deputies without the concurrence of the others. Such a measure was excessively irritating; and a contemporary writer, who makes no attempt to disguise his partiality, accuses Duplessis of filling an adjoining chamber with armed men, to massacre those who were willing to comply with Bouillon's recommendation: but that the determination of the minority, who filled the courts with their friends and attendants, foiled the plan, and secured a general acquiescence; in consequence of which the deputies were elected, and the meeting separated on the 3rd of September.§

The readiness of this writer to use opprobrious epithets against the Protestants is perfectly consistent, and converts his approbation of Bouillon into a complete corroboration of the venality laid to his charge. The government, he observes, was very well satisfied with him; and on his return he had the grant of an hotel in the faubourg St. Germain; but he was not equally satisfied, for he fully expected a greater reward, and calculated on being received into the cabinet: he threatened revenge, and from that time instigated the Prince of Condé to hostilities.||

During the animated discussions at Saumur, the intimate friendship which for many years had subsisted between Bouillon and D'Aubigné received a violent shock. The latter relates that it was in a great degree through his exertions that Bouillon failed in the election for president; and that he warmly opposed all his proposals, which were palpably intended to gain favour at court. D'Aubigné's remarks were often severely cutting, particularly on occasion of a pathetic appeal to the

loyalty of the deputies, in which Bouillon advised them to renounce their cautionary towns, and rely altogether on the good faith of the government: his address concluded by exhibiting great want of tact, in alluding to the glory of voluntary exposure to martyrdom. This remark, by admitting the existence of danger, completely destroyed the effect of his argument; and D'Aubigné, after criticising his project, observed that it was certainly the duty and characteristic of a true christian to be ever ready to suffer martyrdom; but to expose others, and facilitate their destruction, was to act like a traitor or an executioner.*

The tenacity of the Protestants at Saumur was calculated to make them more odious to the court. That meeting was looked upon as the first token of disaffection; and the feeling against them was greatly heightened by the publication of an attack on the papacy, entitled *le Mystere d'iniquité*, by Duplessis-Mornay. Immediately on its appearance it was condemned by the Sorbonne;‡ and a bookseller was sent to prison for the publication.§ It is however worthy of note, that the advocate-general, Louis Servin, being requested to reply to the obnoxious work, after consenting to undertake it, declined the task.||

From this time abjurations became very frequent among the Protestant nobles and ministers; and the Duke de Rohan was so disliked by the government for his conscientious exertions, that he retired to St. Jean d'Angely, where he assembled some friends and followers. D'Aubigné at the same time withdrew to a fortified mansion at Doignon, suspected by the queen and ministers, and feared by the bigoted party for the sarcasms of his writings, and the energy of his disposition. D'Aubigné's motions were watched with suspicion, and Rohan was obliged to act with vigour, to maintain his rights against an attempt of the queen, at Bouillon's instigation, to infringe on his privileges. Rohan had proceeded to Paris to justify himself from the charge of sedition at Saumur; but the court, prepossessed in Bouillon's favour, secretly took measures for placing a mayor at St. Jean d'Angely, opposed to Rohan's interests. The duke being informed thereof, and feeling that this measure, if successful, would ruin his importance, quitted Paris under a pretext of news that his brother Soubise was ill; and though the government agent had arrived before him, he succeeded in regaining his authority, after the threat of an armed force to subdue the town. Two gentlemen whom he had sent to Paris were arrested; and his mother, wife, and sisters were forbidden to leave that city. But the affair was peaceably arranged by Themines, governor of Quercy, to the disappointment of Bouillon, who confessed he had so acted, to take revenge for the affront he received at Saumur.¶

We pass by the intrigues and negotiations, which attended the project of a double marriage between the French and Spanish crowns. Bouillon was sent to assure King James that England had no cause of apprehension from the alliance. He availed himself of the opportunity to accuse Rohan

* Véritable Discours, etc., p. 65.

† Merc. Franç., vol. ii. pp. 88 et seq.

‡ Printed at the end of the Véritable Discours, etc.

§ Hist. de la Mère et du Fils, vol. i. p. 143.

|| Ibid. p. 147.

* D'Aubigné, *Mém.* p. 169.

† Bernard, p. 10.

‡ Merc. Français, vol. ii. p. 109.

§ Journal de l'Estoile, 19th July, 1611.

|| Ibid., 21st Aug. 1611.

¶ Merc. Franç., vol. ii. pp. 382—385. Rohan, liv. i. p. 57.

and the Huguenot leaders as rebels; and endeavoured to obtain from the English monarch a condemnation of the proceedings at Saumur, declaring that the pope's views towards the lost Protestants were limited to their conversion by preaching and good example. James, naturally averse to hostilities, was ready to believe anything calculated to promise the duration of peace; and in what concerned the alliance with Spain, Bouillon's mission was successful. Rohan however had a confidential friend who accompanied the ambassador, by whose means the king was informed of the position and conduct of the Protestants; he therefore advised Bouillon to be reconciled with Rohan. A synod was held soon after at Privas, when an accommodation was signed by all the Protestant nobles.* The Jesuit d'Avrigny observes: "Rohan was a sincere Huguenot, and aimed at the good of his party. Sully was not very devout, but felt sore at being excluded from public affairs. Bouillon was politic, making religion forward his interests, and doing more harm to the Catholics than to the Protestants."†

The dissensions among the leaders of the party were terminated, but the designs of the court against the reformed religion were still suspected by the Protestant body, and a meeting was summoned at Rochelle, which gave rise to a tumult, on the interference of the government to prevent it: however, nothing serious followed; for the king gave another edict, confirming that of Nantes, and coupling an entire amnesty of the late disturbance with a prohibition against such assemblies.‡

The year 1614 witnessed an attempt of the Prince of Condé to excite a revolt. Jealousy of marshal d'Ancre was the ground of his discontent; but he was urged on by Bouillon, and encouraged by the adhesion of many leading nobles, who quitted the court soon after his departure from Paris.§ In the hopes of deriving advantage from the co-operation of the Protestants, he sent the lieutenant of his guards to the Duke de Rohan, conjuring him to take arms, and promising to conclude no treaty which had not his approbation. Rohan, however, was not only aware that Bouillon was of the party; he knew that, even before hostilities had commenced, there had been preparations for a treaty; he sent a confidential friend to deliver a verbal reply, and learn the prince's exact position: at the same time he wrote to the queen, stating his unchanged attachment to the reformed interest, and assuring her that by satisfying the Protestants' claims she need not fear the disaffected party. ||

The prince lost no time in publishing the reasons for his conduct, in a letter to the queen-mother, ¶ in which he complained of the disordered state of the government, and the exclusion of the princes and peers from public affairs: they were sacrificed, he asserts, to the interests of three or four individuals, who in self-defence excited distrust and ill-will among the nobility: he concluded by demanding that the states-general should be convoked.

About the same time a messenger was sent by Condé to Duplessis, to win him over to the cause,

but in vain. Duplessis replied by expressing his confidence that the prince would choose lawful means for redressing public grievances; and would avoid violent measures, which were worse than the ills to be removed. At the same time he informed the queen of the political aspect of his province, giving a faithful account of the movements and meetings that came to his knowledge; he likewise addressed the pastors and principal Protestants, recommending quietness and loyalty. The queen was highly pleased, and informed him that she approved of his answer to the prince.*

No one has ever impugned the authenticity of the Letters and Memoirs of Duplessis-Mornay; yet the enemies of the reformed religion (and such were all authors whose works could be published in France during a long period) agree in passing over this and similar incidents unnoticed, and actually charge the Protestants with having caused the evils which originated with their opponents. On the other hand it is beyond doubt, that if Rohan and Duplessis had listened to Condé's proposals, France would have speedily become the scene of a general insurrection.

The court was seriously alarmed at the extent of the conspiracy, and from the prevalent readiness to suspect those who are oppressed, it was generally feared that the Huguenots would join the malcontents, and plunge the country into a civil war of some duration; but Epernon, who had passed through the troubles of the league, was satisfied that a want of the means of war would preserve the kingdom from that extremity: he urged the propriety of sending a strong force to suppress the insurrection, and concluded by assuring the queen that, if the king were to accompany the troops, there would be an easy conquest. The ministers thought the experiment dangerous, and Epernon lamented the disgraceful, conciliating line of policy adopted in preference; the queen being so ill advised as to purchase a peace, which a little vigour would have enabled her to dictate.† The treaty of Ste.-Menehould, where Condé had been secretly negotiating from the time he left Paris, was signed on the 15th of May. Condé obtained Amboise; the other confederates were gratified in various ways; and the convocation of the states-general was agreed to. The king's marriage with the Infanta was also to be postponed; but of that the prince received a previous assurance, in a letter from the queen.‡

The states-general, which continued its deliberations from the 24th of October, 1614, until the end of March in the following year, was at length dissolved without a single measure being voted, the interested disputes of the nobility neutralizing every individual effort of the more enlightened members. The clergy displayed the full measure of their undiminished bigotry by demands which could not be acceded to, without a complete abandonment of humanity and justice. Their obstinacy in urging the publication of the council of Trent may be excused, as those decrees are a compendium of popery, and have become its infallible canon, in opposition to the right of free commentary claimed by Protestants. In this instance they were consistent and reasonable; yet in the worst period of popish illiberality there has been a determined

* 16th Aug. 1612. Rohan, *Mém.*, liv. 1. p. 38.

† D'Avrigny, *Mém. Chronologiques*, vol. i. p. 68.

‡ Merc. Franç., vol. ii. pp. 476—487. The tumult occurred in September, and the king's declaration was dated 15th December, 1612.

§ Merc. Franç., vol. iii. p. 306.

¶ Rohan, *Mém.*, liv. 1. p. 49.

¶ Dated 19th Feb., 1614. Merc. Franç., p. 317.

* Duplessis, *Mém.*, vol. iii. p. 557 *et seq*

† Girard, *Vie d'Epernon*, p. 266

‡ Merc. Franç., p. 427 *et seq*.

opposition to the reception and sanction of those decrees by the French parliaments. But it is difficult to mark with adequate abhorrence some of the proposals, gravely made and seriously maintained by the clergy; a few will suffice as a specimen. They demanded the condemnation of all books injurious to the pope; authority for bishops to condemn to the galleys; prohibition against printing any books without the bishops' licence; that Protestants should not speak or write against the sacraments of the Romish church, under severe penalties; that their ministers should not visit the sick, and that their colleges should be suppressed.* As an argument for justifying these demands, which were fully satisfied at a later period, Richelieu, then Bishop of Luçon, laid stress on a recent tumult at Milhau, in the diocese of Rodez, where the consecrated ornaments, and even the host, had been trampled under foot. The king's indignation was kindled on hearing of such a sacrilege; but notwithstanding his vow to avenge the outrage, the affair was entirely laid aside. It was found on investigation, not only that the accounts had been mischievously aggravated, but that the popish party had committed even greater excesses in the same diocese.†

The president of each state having delivered his *cahier* to the king, all the suggestions were referred, for the sake of form, to the council, but without any intention of their being examined. However, among the deputies of the *tiers-état*, the demands of the clergy were so seriously scrutinised, that there was an outcry against the prevalence of heresy in that body. There were Protestants among the deputies, and the alarm which they manifested at the great zeal of the clergy induced Louis to publish a declaration, renewing and confirming the edict; hypocritically expressing a hope that the divine mercy would unite all his subjects in one faith, since violent measures were useless. The states-general were then dissolved, and the inutility of such assemblies being completely evident, the institution may be said to have been from this time abolished; for the states of 1789, though bearing the same appellation, were altogether different in character and object, the monarchical power being then virtually overthrown, and instead of the body alluded to being the representation of general interests, it proved the medium for announcing that noble, feudal, and ecclesiastical privileges had been all swallowed up by the increased importance of the popular body.

The Duke de Bouillon had indulged a hope that, with the assistance of the states-general, he could drive marshal d'Ancre from his post. The aspect of the assembly favoured his views: many of the deputies were indignant at the manner in which Ravallac's trial had been conducted; and contended that his accomplices could have been discovered, if sought for in earnest. Marshal d'Ancre was detested throughout France; and the majority of lawyers who had been elected by the *tiers-état* were offended at the indifference of the court, which was construed by them into disdain. The parliament was in consequence easily induced to adopt a proceeding, intended to assert its dignity, which was in some measure violated by the dissolution of the states without knowing the opinion of

that body upon the proposals presented; and a decree was passed for assembling all its members, inviting the princes, peers, and officers of state to join in deliberating on certain proposals for the general good. This step was met by an intimation of the king's severe displeasure, and a prohibition so positive, that the parliament made no other opposition than a remonstrance, indicating a long series of inconveniences (many being merely social or municipal) which it was desirable to remedy.*

As the princes had founded their hopes on the energy of the *tiers-état* and the firmness of the parliament, this conclusion brought back affairs to the condition in which they stood prior to the treaty of Ste.-Menehould. Condé again displayed the standard of revolt, withdrew to Creil, and sent his cannon to Sedan. The king wrote several letters urging his return to court, and afterwards sent the aged and experienced Villeroy to persuade him; but Condé, in reply, denounced D'Ancre and his partisans as enemies of the state. This was followed by a general proclamation from the prince, addressed to all orders of the state.†

But before that address was made public, the king had sent against him an army of ten thousand infantry, and fifteen hundred cavalry, under marshal Bois-Dauphin; while another force, commanded by the Duke de Guise, escorted him to the Spanish frontier where he was to meet his affianced bride.‡

Condé, being informed of the favourable disposition existing among many of the principal inhabitants of Rochelle, proceeded there in December; and was received with every demonstration of honour by those who revered his father's memory. The minister Merlin was led to hope for his conversion, from the candid admissions elicited during his conversations with the prince. But a selfish ambition was his motive; and in treating with that jealous municipality he consented to greater restraints than he would have endured in the lawful service of his king.§

The Protestants at the same time held an assembly at Grenoble; and Condé deputed thither a gentleman named La Haye, to request their co-operation with him, in effecting a reformation of all abuses. His promises were calculated to ensnare a considerable number of the Huguenot deputies, who were stimulated by Bouillon, to perceive much advantage in the proposals. On the other hand, Lesdiguières was in correspondence with the queen, and exerted his influence to prevent the meeting from acceding to the offers.|| Rohan and Sully varied in their determination, according to circumstances; but Duplessis-Mornay was decidedly averse to mingling the cause of religion with politics. His letters to the queen, Villeroy and Jeanin, and his representations of the danger to which his government would be exposed, if the prince marched into Poitou, are unquestionable proofs of his loyalty: on the other hand, the official replies from the king and his ministers prove that such honourable conduct was justly estimated.¶

In one of his conferences with the Chancellor Sillery he observed: "Since the Jesuits, in their sermons, openly declare that the object of the

* Merc. Franç., vol. iv. pp. 6-110. Hist. de la Mère et du Fils, pp. 327 et seq.

† Merc. Franç., vol. iv. p. 197. Rohan, *Mém.*, liv. 1. p. 63.

‡ Bassompierre, vol. i. p. 392. Rohan, *Mém.*, liv. 1. p. 64.

§ Arcère, vol. ii. p. 139.

|| Bernard, p. 52. Merc. Franç., vol. iv. p. 193.

¶ Duplessis, *Mém.*, vol. iii. pp. 812-835.

* Arcana Gallica, p. 46.

† Merc. Franç., p. 398. Benoit, v. ii. p. 149. Arcana Gallica, p. 51.

double marriage is to root out heresy, can you be surprised that our churches take the alarm?" Yet he endeavoured to tranquillize his friends; and when a proposal was made to transfer the assembly to Nismes, in order to escape the interference of Lesdiguières, he considered their proceedings legally null, as the royal sanction was requisite to give their votes validity. The king, being solicited, consented to their meeting at Montpellier; but Chatillon was a Protestant of the same dubious character, and the deputies persisted in selecting Nismes for their sittings.*

Among the French nobility none was more decidedly inveterate against the reformed religion than the Duke of Epemon; but to the surprise of all, his son, the Count de Candale, declared himself a Protestant.† His position created great interest, and gave him considerable influence. He recommended the union with Condé; and a treaty was voted, though only by a majority of two votes. Condé, who really hated the Protestants, was lavish in his concessions to the party: but Mayenne, whose interests were similar, refused to grant anything likely to benefit Calvinism.‡ The government duly appreciated the conduct of the minority, in a royal declaration which appeared soon after;§ and the effects of this prudent conduct make it the more to be regretted that it was not followed by measures of a similar character: for the majority of the Huguenots disavowed the assembly at Nismes as a complete party affair.

D'Aubigné was induced to take a part in this revolt, and was chosen by Condé for his *maréchal-de-camp*; but that gentleman declined the prince's commission, and would only receive his appointment from the assembly at Nismes. This war, as he observes, gave rise to no event worth recording; and was soon concluded by the treaty of Loudun.|| Condé had, in council, called him his father, but ultimately behaved to him most dishonourably: he never reimbursed a large sum which D'Aubigné advanced for supplies; and on returning to Paris, denounced him to the king, as one capable of troubling the government. When the treaty of Loudun was signed, Condé knowing that D'Aubigné's character would still keep him from court, exclaimed, "D'Aubigné! begone to your fort at Doignon!" To which the veteran replied, "And you to the Bastille!" The prediction was very soon realized.¶

CHAPTER LIV.

Condé arrested—Death of Marshal D'Ancre—Re-establishment of the Romish religion in Bearn—Notice of D'Aubigné.

THE negociations for the treaty of Loudun were conducted principally with a view to draw Condé from the path of revolt; and the deputies who attended to defend the protestant interests were treated as mere ciphers. The queen is represented,

* Arcana Gallica, pp. 74, 75. Bernard, p. 54.

† Merc. Franç., vol. iv. p. 279.

‡ 27th Nov. 1615. D'Avrigny, vol. i. p. 92.

§ 7th Dec. 1615. Merc. Franç., vol. iv. p. 331. The President Jeannin thus wrote to Duplessis: "Vous vous estes conduit, pendant ceste misérable guerre, en sorte que leurs Majestés en ont contentement, et y reconnaissent votre prudence et fidélité." Duplessis, *Mém.*, vol. iii. p. 856.

¶ 3rd May, 1616. The negociations are minutely detailed in the *Mercure François*.

¶ D'Aubigné, *Mém.*, p. 174.

by one who knew her well, to have aimed at winning the prince to her party; but as she could not refrain from making him feel his dependence upon her favour, her plan failed.* She changed her ministers: Barbin, a man of inferior condition, but great talents, became comptroller of finances; the seals were given to Du Vair; and to gratify the prince, Marshal D'Ancre was ordered to exchange the government of Picardy for that of Normandy.† But notwithstanding these concessions, the harmony of the court was far from being established. Epemon was in a manner disgraced; but an attempt to enlist the Dukes of Bouillon and Mayenne against that nobleman having completely failed, Marshal D'Ancre found his position at once uncertain and dangerous.

The extraordinary elevation of Concini was a source of jealousy to the French nobles. This Florentine, whose principal merit was that of being a favourite, had been raised to the rank of Marquis D'Ancre, and the dignity of marshal; and Condé's efforts were directed to his overthrow, on principles similar to those of his grandfather, in opposition to the House of Lorraine. The prince's cause was warmly espoused by Mayenne, Longueville, and Vendôme; but his chief strength was in the influence of the Duke de Bouillon, which assured him of the friendly feeling of the Protestants, even supposing that he could not command assistance from that body. The treaty of Loudun having changed his relative position, he was no longer D'Ancre's enemy.

Notwithstanding the change in Condé's deportment, D'Ancre was not ignorant of the dangers of his position: gifted with acute perception, he knew that the transfer of authority from the queen mother to her son would be attended with his disgrace: still his haughty demeanour was calculated to increase the popular odium, already directed with violence against him. Under such circumstances, a trivial incident sometimes becomes important; and an unfortunate encounter arose, in which D'Ancre's name was blended, though without the least blame accruing to him. The marshal proceeding to his house in the faubourg St. Germain was stopped for want of a passport, at the Porte de Bussy, by a shoemaker named Picard, on duty as serjeant of the quarter. The marshal was compelled to return, after submitting to some most insulting remarks; and a threat of firing was even made, if he did not go back. As this occurred before the conclusion of the peace, the shoemaker was justified by the instructions for garrison discipline during the war; and there the affair might have terminated, as the humble condition of the individual would sufficiently have protected him against the marshal's resentment. It was, however, publicly stated that the insult was intentional; that the serjeant was one of Condé's partisans; and that he boasted in public of what he had done. An esquire of the marshal's, indignant at such conduct, employed two valets to waylay the serjeant, and beat him so unmercifully, that he was left for dead. The valets were taken, and hanged a few days afterwards.‡

The excitement arising out of this circumstance had not subsided when Condé arrived in the capi-

* Bassompierre, *Nouveaux Mém.*, p. 196.

† Hist. de la Mère et du Fils, vol. ii. p. 20.

‡ June, 1616. Merc. Franç., vol. v. Bassompierre, vol. i. p. 160.

tal, and was conducted in triumph to the Louvre by the people, who took that opportunity of showing their hatred of the marshal. He was induced by the situation of affairs to come to Paris, notwithstanding the danger to which he was exposed. About this time Lord Hay, afterwards Earl of Carlisle, arrived with a splendid embassy to ask the hand of one of the princesses for the Prince of Wales. He was most magnificently received, each of the leading nobles endeavouring to outvie the others, in the sumptuous entertainments given in his honour. At the fête given by the Prince of Condé, the marshal appeared, accompanied by about thirty gentlemen: this step has been commented on as very bold, for it is well known that his enemies were then assembled, and were anxious to take advantage of the opportunity to kill him. The prince, however, had pledged his word for the marshal's safety; but the following day, Condé sent the Archbishop of Bourges, a mutual friend, to inform him of the extreme difficulty he had experienced in keeping his adherents within bounds; that they all threatened to abandon him if he did not discontinue his protection; and in consequence, he advised the marshal to retire to his government in Normandy.*

The queen mother became alarmed at the aspect of affairs: Condé's influence was very menacing; his confederates were known to be already making preparations for another campaign; and Longueville obtained possession of Peronne, a town belonging to D'Ancre.† In addition to these overt acts, the Archbishop of Bourges informed the queen that the conspirators intended to seize the king's person, and place her in a convent.‡ She might have disregarded this intimation, from a feeling by no means rare among individuals of high spirit, which prompts them to neglect what is to their personal advantage; but she could not disregard the advice of Sully, who forgot his injuries, and demanded an audience for the purpose of making known the danger of her situation. That experienced and loyal statesman declared that he did not deem her safe in Paris, but should consider her much better off with her children in the country, attended by a thousand horsemen, than in the Louvre in the present state of the public mind; and frankly exposed the fatal consequences of a want of energy on her part. Bassompierre, then colonel-general of the Swiss troops, was presently admitted; and his opinions coinciding with those of Sully, he was ordered to make arrangements for a vigorous measure.§

It was intended to arrest at once the Prince of Condé and the Dukes of Vendôme, Mayenne, and Bouillon; but the first alone fell into the queen's power. A marshal's baton recompensed Themines for arresting him in the Louvre, while receiving the homage of a crowd of courtiers. Mayenne and Vendôme were warned in time to leave Paris; and Bouillon, who had gone to public worship at Charenton, learned the news of Condé's arrest on his return: he hastened to join his friends, and take measures for their common safety.||

The Princess dowager of Condé rode through the streets, accompanied by several gentlemen, and excited the people to avenge her son, who, she said, was murdered by Marshal D'Ancre. An infuriated mob rushed to his hotel in the Rue de Tournon; it was exposed to pillage during two entire days; and property was destroyed to the value of two hundred thousand crowns.* At the same time the nobles and gentlemen of Condé's party threatened to murder Sully, as the instigator of the measure. This has been assigned as the cause of a very inconsistent remark, which escaped him in the queen's presence, when the state of affairs was passed in review. Villeroy and Jeannin were both of opinion that the prince should be liberated; and Sully, forgetting his recent recommendation, declared that whoever had thus advised the queen had ruined the state.† The prince alone being arrested, he may have viewed the affair as a failure, and perhaps wished, in consequence, to retrace his steps; for Duplessis-Mornay wrote to the Duchess of Rohan, that the advice was given out of hatred to M. de Bouillon.‡

From this time D'Ancre was exposed to the vengeance of Condé's partisans, whenever his ill fortune should enable them to resent the injury. In a conversation with Bassompierre, he confessed his desire to return to Florence; or at any rate to remove to Caen, whence an embarkation for Italy could be easily obtained. At one time he had everything prepared for departure; but a sudden illness prevented his wife from undertaking the voyage.§ He fortified his residence at Quillebeuf, and came to Paris no more than was absolutely necessary; but a new enemy had arisen to supplant him in the royal favour, Albert de Luynes, who became a most formidable instrument to effect his ruin. This young man rapidly gained the king's confidence, by his fascinating manners and adroit pliancy to the feeble monarch's wishes: his next step was to undermine the queen's influence over her son; and to that end some inferior functionaries were employed to give him, as if undesignedly, a most exaggerated account of public affairs. Louis at first entertained a dislike to his mother for her misgovernment; he then burned with ambition to take the reins into his own hands; and as among the courtiers there were many reckless individuals, impatient for the marshal's overthrow, a dastardly project was formed for murdering the queen's favourite. Vitry, captain of the guards, was selected for this dishonourable deed; and the rank of marshal was again made the price of violence: his commission was executed on the 24th of April, 1617, when the unfortunate D'Ancre received the contents of three pistols, as he entered the Louvre. The atrocious act was followed by shouts of *Vive le Roi*, on which the king presented himself at the palace window, to acknowledge the loyal service.||

This put an end to the regency: the queen was closely guarded; and the marshal's widow and partisans were arrested. The scenes which followed attest the brutality of the French populace. D'Ancre's remains were disinterred, exposed with

* Bassompierre, p. 462. Rohan, *Mém.*, liv. 1. p. 85. D'Estrées, p. 216.

† Aug., 1616. Merc. Franç., p. 180.

‡ Hist. de la Mère et du Fils, vol. ii. p. 72.

§ Bassompierre, vol. i. p. 466.

|| 1st Sept. 1616. Merc. Franç., p. 198. D'Estrées, p. 218. Bassompierre, p. 478.

* Bassompierre, p. 481. Rohan, liv. 1. p. 87.

† Hist. de la Mère et du Fils, vol. ii. p. 94.

‡ 6th Sept., 1616. Duplessis, vol. iii. p. 989.

§ Bassompierre, p. 501. Hist. de la Mère et du Fils, vol. ii.

p. 67.

|| Hist. de la Mère et du Fils, vol. ii. p. 185.

the greatest indignity, and publicly torn to pieces. The unfortunate widow, Eleonora Galigai, was afterwards treated with a severity which can hardly be justified, even if all the charges preferred against her were well founded. The parliament of Paris was unfortunately affected by the ferocious spirit of the age.

Blois was selected as the scene of the queen's exile, or rather captivity, for she was debarred every vestige of liberty, and experienced repeated insults. After some time she wrote to request an interview with her son: but the policy of Luynes rendered it necessary to prevent the meeting, if possible; and the Jesuit Arnoux was sent to dissuade her from reiterating the proposal. Various arguments were used to persuade her, followed by threats of harsher treatment; and she was finally induced to make a declaration on oath, that she would never go to the king, unless sent for; and that, being sent for, she would not interfere with public affairs. A declaration to this effect was signed at the Jesuit's proposal.*

Yet even this did not satisfy the queen's persecutors, who thought of imprisoning her in the castle of Amboise: which intention being communicated, added to the vexations of captivity, caused her to meditate some plan for the recovery of her liberty. Her confinement, which lasted nearly two years, was at length terminated in February, 1619, by a spirited exploit of the veteran Duke of Epemon, who executed a most romantic expedition for effecting her release.†

A tedious series of negotiations and intrigues followed; and in September the king met her near Tours, after which Angers was selected for her abode. She resided in that town until the following year, when it became a rendezvous of discontented nobles to such an extent, that the king was obliged to bring an armed force before it. As the troops approached, the queen's friends showed a disposition to negotiate: but Condé, who had recovered his liberty, was endeavouring to make himself valuable to Louis; and being probably instigated by resentment against the queen-mother, pushed affairs to an extremity, by attacking the Pont-de-Cé, a small place in the neighbourhood of Angers.‡ The result of this engagement quickly induced a surrender. Still the king was disposed to act leniently towards his mother's adherents; and a convention was signed, by which the prisoners were liberated and an amnesty granted.§

The king was advised to take advantage of the present moment, when he had a respectable force at his disposal, to subjugate the province of Bearn, where the protestant religion had taken deep root, and attained almost general adoption, under the protection and encouragement of Jane D'Albret. These Protestants were obnoxious, not only on account of the heretical notions they held, in common with the general body of the Huguenots; they had besides been so favoured by their zealous sovereign, that all the church property was in their hands: in consequence, every ecclesiastic having

access to the royal council, would urge the prosecution of a measure for removing such a scandal. Condé approved of the plan, principally because he was anxious for a war, in which he might gain importance; and the king was easily persuaded to attempt what coincided so well with his feelings. This epoch is, on that account, important in the annals of the protestant religion; for upon the fate of this undertaking depended the subsequent prosperity of the reformed religion in France.

To preserve a greater degree of perspicuity in this narrative, the more immediate affairs of the Protestants have given place to events which, however important in themselves, were far less interwoven in the proceedings of that body. It will now be requisite to return to the year 1616, when the Prince of Condé, after involving many Huguenots in a contest with the crown, took especial care of his own interests in the treaty of Loudun, and unfeelingly left his dupes to their good or ill fortune.

The character of Duplessis-Mornay stands too high to allow any suspicion of his integrity; but his aversion to resistance, and his constant dissuasions from vigorous efforts, even when all hopes of averting the threatened ill had passed away, caused incalculable injury to his party. The line of conduct he pursued from conscientious loyalty was followed by other Huguenot chiefs from sordid motives; and it is established beyond doubt, that the constable's sword and a marshal's baton were the bribes for detaching Lesdiguières and La Force from the Protestant interest. Even Châtillon could not be deemed staunch in the cause for which his ancestor had been a martyr. It was probably a knowledge of the sentiments entertained by the leading Huguenots which made Duplessis write to the assembly at Rochelle, that the churches would sooner or later be afflicted.*

The disposition to molest them was evident: Epemon's conduct in the province of Aunis was a specimen of the treatment to be expected at a future time; and when lord Hay came to Paris on a mission in 1616, he begged the queen to withdraw that haughty nobleman from the province, as the Protestants of Rochelle had sought the assistance of Great Britain, which could not be refused if they were molested in their religion. The queen, who expected a communication relative to the demand of her daughter in marriage, was quite surprised at his observations; yet she replied in general terms of a satisfactory nature.†

A few days afterwards, when the tidings of Condé's arrest reached Rochelle, the inhabitants were greatly apprehensive of some violent measure to their prejudice; and as a precaution for securing the navigation of the Charente in the event of a war, they seized upon Rochefort, a small town in the neighbourhood. Blanquet, Gaillard, and some other Huguenot pirates, observes the courtier Bernard, had assembled four ships of war and some small vessels, with a view to command the mouth of the Charente. They were defeated by Barraut, vice-admiral of Guyenne, and the ill-fated Blanquet and Gaillard were broken on the wheel at Bordeaux. Cameron, the minister who attended them previous to execution, published an account of their last moments, which was condemned by the parliament of Guyenne to

* Hist. de la Mère et du Fils, vol. ii. p. 212.

† Relation de la Sortie de la Reyne Mère de Blois, par le Cardinal de La Valette. This piece is inserted in the *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu*, par Aubery.

‡ 7th Aug. 1620.

§ Hist. de la Mère et du Fils.—Merc. Frang. Bassompierre.

* 17th Dec. 1616.—Duplessis, vol. iii. p. 1025.

† 27th Aug. 1616. Bassompierre, vol. i. p. 470.

be burned by the executioner. It was not clearly shown whether the expedition was a private scheme of the individuals concerned, or a measure sanctioned by the party. But as the vessels were chiefly fitted out at Rochelle, the proceedings afforded Epèrnon a pretext for attacking that town;* and at the same time justified his levying men, for protection against the known hatred of D'Ancre's party.† However, his expedition altogether failed; and instead of surprising the city, of which he hoped to get possession, he withdrew to Guyenne. It was subsequently feared by the court that Rochelle would take an interest in Condé's captivity, and declare in his favour. Villette, son-in-law of D'Aubigné, was in consequence sent to assure the Protestants that the edicts would be punctually observed, and the stipulations of the treaty of Loudun fulfilled.‡

From this time until the period of the expedition against Angers nothing of moment occurred. The protestant synods and assemblies were frequently held—too frequently for their own prosperity, because when the king's sanction was not given, they met as if in defiance. Yet, with the exception of the affairs of Bearn, their discussions were entirely on questions of divinity and discipline. But the condition of that province had occupied the attention of the government for some years. Henry IV. seems to have wished to leave the principality as he received it from his mother; but from 1614 representations were repeatedly made on the subject. The states-general of 1614 demanded the restoration of the Romish religion, and the annexation of the province to France. The bishop of Beauvais made a similar demand in the name of the French clergy. In the state councils, at the assemblies of the clergy, and, in short, on almost every occasion, the government was exhorted to re-establish the catholic worship, and restore the church lands.§ The bishop of Maçon assured the king that Christians were better treated in Mahometan countries than in the principality of Bearn, where the property of the church was applied to the support of its enemies. The king was greatly moved by the appeal; and his ideas of piety caused such a direct sanction of heresy to lay heavy on his conscience.||

An *arrêt* was soon after given by the king in council for the complete restoration of the Roman Catholic worship in Bearn, with a resumption of the church lands, which was followed by a declaration of the assembly at Orthez, that the execution of this decree should be resisted; and the president Lescun, who was deputed to remonstrate with the government, was so far led away by the warmth of his feelings and party zeal, that, although the king permitted him to expose his arguments, he obtained no other result than an edict confirming the previous *arrêt*. From that time his violence against the government exceeded all bounds: he was the most active promoter of the opposition at the assembly at Loudun in 1619, where, according to the statement of Catholic writers, he proclaimed the necessity of taking arms to prevent the resumption of the church property.¶ This show of resistance only served to increase the efforts of the

clergy in persuading the king to adopt strong measures for vindicating his own prerogatives, no less than for serving the cause of religion.*

The king being in the field at the head of an army, travelled southward, and on reaching Bordeaux, resolved to proceed in earnest to terminate the affairs of Bearn.† The parliament of Pau refused for some time to register the king's edict for restoring the church lands to the Catholics; and on the 10th of October, 1620, Louis set out from Bordeaux to compel the submission of that body. The advocate-general of the parliament, accompanied by La Force, met the king on the road, and presented the decree which had been voted on hearing of his determination. That did not, however, prevent the king's advance: he reached Pau on the 15th of October, and ordered the Romish worship to be celebrated in the cathedrals and churches, from which it had been excluded sixty years. Within five days from his arrival, a decree was registered for incorporating Bearn with France.‡

The campaign of 1620 was calculated to discourage altogether the disaffected of every class and party, from the facility with which the queen's adherents were subdued. D'Aubigné, who had declined an invitation to join that party, was nevertheless exposed to suspicion, and marked as a subject for persecution. The approach of the king in person with a formidable force was serious to one so circumstanced: he decided on retiring to Geneva, and quitted St.-Jean-d'Angely with twelve horsemen well armed. Although orders for his arrest had been given in every direction, and the commanders were furnished with his portrait, in order to recognise him, he completed his journey in safety. After a series of unusual difficulties and dangers he arrived at Geneva on the 1st of September, where he was received with every demonstration of respect which the authorities of that city could devise for one whose ardour for religious liberty was unrivalled.§

In addition to an inflexible disposition, which rendered D'Aubigné obnoxious to the court, he had recently become still more so by the freedom of his publications. His *Histoire Universelle* was burned by the common hangman, almost immediately after its appearance.|| Having been an eye-witness of the most important military operations during the long civil wars; moving in a sphere which enabled him to converse with the leaders of each party; and enjoying a reputation for great probity and discretion, which won their confidence, he was well qualified to relate the eventful scenes in which he had taken part. But the naked truth appeared in the light of an accusation, and the work was condemned. The Jesuits had persuaded Henry IV. to forbid the composition; but Cardinal du Perron had that order countermanded: the hostility displayed by those ecclesiastics at its subsequent publication is quite natural. D'Aubigné wrote likewise several

* *Histoire des Troubles de Béarn au sujet de la Religion, dans le 17^e siècle*, par le P. Mirasson, Barnabite, pp. 20—45.

† Berule, afterwards famous as cardinal, resorted to a pretended inspiration, in order to confirm the king's resolution. At a private audience, he assumed a prophetic tone, and declared that the Almighty would conduct him; that his appearance alone would overcome all opposition; and that complete success would attend his purpose, for restoring the authority of Jesus Christ. Mirasson, p. 47.

‡ Merc. Franç., vol. vi. pp. 350—354.

§ D'Aubigné, *Mém.*, pp. 189—192. || 4th Jan., 1617.

* Bernard, p. 147.

† Girard, p. 280. Arcère, vol. ii. p. 143.

‡ Arcère, vol. ii. p. 147. § Merc. Franç., in loc.

¶ Bernard, p. 149.

¶ Lescun was subsequently executed for high treason.

humorous pieces, in which an extraordinary vein of satire was remarkable. *Le Baron de Fœnesté*, in particular, was severely cutting upon the Duke of Epèrnon, whose party was powerful, and who was a warm friend to the Jesuits. D'Aubigné's voluntary exile was therefore easily accounted for. During his residence at Geneva, the general assembly of Rochelle sent messengers to testify their regret at the injustice he had received from that body in his private affairs; to express their sympathy in his exile, and the loss they suffered by his absence; and to authorise him to negotiate with the Swiss and Dutch Protestants for levies and supplies. He also received proposals from the Venetian ambassador at Berne to take employment in the service of that republic, as general of the French troops in their pay. The latter proposal was nearly agreed to, when Miron, the French envoy, sent word that the Venetian republic would not fail of incurring the extreme displeasure of Louis, by employing a person he held in abomination: * thus tacitly avowing the importance of this excellent man, of whom it may be truly said, that his uncompromising principles alone prevented him from obtaining the highest honours; his prospects in youth being more than usually favourable, from the personal friendship of the King of Navarre, and his acknowledged merit surpassing that of many who obtained the rank of marshal. Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné was born at St. Maury in Poitou, in February, 1550: he died at Geneva, in April, 1630.

CHAPTER LV.

Assembly at Rochelle—Riots at Tours—St. Jean D'Angely subdued—Siege of Montauban—Violence of a mob in Paris.

THE abolition of the provincial independence of Bearn was the pretext for a general assembly at Rochelle. It was to no purpose that the king published a declaration, forbidding the meeting: the huissier sent to signify the publication to the mayor received no other answer, than that he might leave when he pleased.† This conduct was regretted by the principal Huguenots, who foresaw the natural effect would be to irritate the government. The Duke de Rohan did all in his power to persuade his friends to submit, but in vain: he was accused of being sold to the court.‡ La Force, Châtillon, and Favas, from interested motives, urged the deputies to be firm; and a solemn fast preceded the opening of the session, on the 25th of December.§

Even if the limits of the present work did not preclude the attempt, it would be useless to detail every proceeding of this assembly, represented by the Duke de Rohan as the source of all the ills which followed.|| Warnings and monitions were addressed from every side. Teliuus, a minister of great celebrity, published an address; La Tremouille assisted Rohan in the endeavour to persuade; and Lesdiguières wrote three times, exhorting the Huguenot body to desist from setting the royal authority at defiance.¶ Duplessis was

not discouraged by several failures: he persevered in sending his memorials to the assembly, commissioned his son-in-law, Villarmoul, to deliver a final address, and wrote a private letter to the mayor of Rochelle, in which he exhorted him to reflect seriously on the consequences of his dangerous policy.*

The threatening aspect of affairs made it important to secure the co-operation of Lesdiguières; and the king offered to revive the dignity of constable in his favour, on condition, however, that he became a Catholic. Lesdiguières received the intimation at Grenoble, and immediately hastened to Paris, to express his sense of the obligation, and give evidence of his loyal zeal, by endeavouring to convince the assembly at Rochelle of their error. He could not, however, decide upon abjuring his religion; and declined the proposed honour, with a recommendation of Luynes as a more fit person to fill that important post. Condé and Guise approved of the selection, and the nomination of Luynes was registered by the parliament of Paris.†

There had been some movements at the close of 1620, in the Vivarais and Bearn, which made it more requisite to enforce respect for the authority of the crown; and the king took the field with a force adequate for suppressing the insurrectionary bodies, as well as for humbling the obstinate assembly of Rochelle. At the same time, to encourage the loyal portion of the Protestants, he published a declaration, assuring them of his intention to maintain the edicts in their favour.‡

It was the king's intention, on leaving Fontainebleau, to remain some time at Blois, from which central position the moral effect of his presence with an army might render military operations needless. He was however induced to hasten on to Tours, where a conflict between the Protestants and Catholics had threatened to produce serious consequences. It originated with the funeral of a Protestant, named Martin Le Noir, an inn-keeper, whose character was not calculated to honour the religion he professed, if a correct opinion can be founded on a popular refrain.§ As his body was taken to the cemetery, a number of children followed, singing the couplets alluded to; and in the market-place the people hooted at the procession. At the place of burial the children continued singing; on which some of the party turned, and striking them, caused two of the disturbers to fall into the grave. The consequence of this was an interference on the part of the populace: the Protestants were attacked with stones, and compelled to seek shelter. The ignorant people, ever ready to gratify the brutal feelings engendered by prejudice, and on this occasion urged by revenge, rushed to the cemetery, and took up the body of Martin Le Noir, with the intention of hanging and burning it. At the same time the houses and stores of the Protestants were broken into and devastated. The magistrates were unable to quell the tumult: the body was however deposited in the grave, and such of the goods as were not destroyed were placed in safety; but it was beyond their power to restore

* Arcère, vol. ii. p. 163.

† 22nd April, 1621. Merc. Franç., vol. vii. p. 277.

‡ 24th April, 1621. Ibid., vol. vii. p. 286.

§ Le plus grand cornar

Qui soit en la France,

C'est Martin Le Noir:

Telle est ma croyance.

Merc. Franç., vol. vii. p. 291.

* D'Aubigné, *Mém.*, pp. 193—200.

† Merc. Franç., vol. vi. p. 459.

‡ Rohan, *Discours sur les Derniers Troubles*, p. 101.

§ Arcère, vol. ii. p. 155.

|| Rohan, *Discours*, &c., p. 101.

¶ His letters are given at length in the *Merc. Franç.*

order. The following day the mob set fire to the Protestant temple, and prevented the authorities from interfering to stop the conflagration. The sedition continued with short intermissions until the king's arrival, on the 6th of May. A species of fury animated the mob, who renewed their attacks on fresh pretexts, each succeeding day; till at length nearly thirty of the ringleaders being arrested, the future tranquillity of the town was secured by a severe example. Five were condemned to walk barefoot from the prison to the market-place, where they were hanged, and their bodies burned, which sentence was executed without any disturbance. The remainder were pardoned, and soon afterwards set at liberty.*

From Tours the king proceeded to Saumur, where he remained five days.† His authority was there exercised rather severely. Duplessis, whose loyalty and moderation had been uniformly praised at court, was ordered to resign the keys of Saumur: impartiality will however admit some excuse for this harsh decision: it was reported to the king that the assembly of Rochelle purposed sending a body of six thousand men to hold Saumur, and cut off all communication with the capital.‡ That such a violent measure was really contemplated is not proved; but there is evidence of readiness to adopt it, in the organization of the Huguenot forces, by dividing France into eight circles, with a commander appointed to each.§ It was in fact establishing a feudal republic, only without entirely disclaiming a nominal allegiance; and such a defiance was necessarily followed by energetic measures on both sides.

The siege of St. Jean d'Angely was commenced on the 16th of May, by Count d'Auriac, with a division of four thousand men. The town was well defended; and the inhabitants showed themselves worthy of their ancestors, who had sustained three sieges of considerable celebrity. Even the women shared the labours and dangers, working night and day at the fortifications, and preparing cartridges.|| Soubise commanded the place;¶ and his brother, Rohan, within three days after the beginning of the siege, threw in a reinforcement of a thousand soldiers, and above one hundred gentlemen; after which he proceeded to Guyenne, the circle intrusted to him by the assembly.**

A royal ordinance was issued,†† declaring the inhabitants of Rochelle, St. Jean d'Angely, and their adherents, guilty of treason. Subsequently a herald called upon Soubise to open the gates to the king, under penalty of being declared a traitor, with degradation from his nobility, and the confiscation of all his property. Soubise having explained that he was there on behalf of the assembly at Rochelle, gave the following answer: "I am the king's very humble servant; but the execution of his command is out of my power.—BENJAMIN DE ROHAN."‡‡

Meanwhile the king's army had been joined by

* 10th May, 1621. Merc. Franç., pp. 291-304. Bernard, pp. 209-211.

† From 12th to 16th May.

‡ Merc. Franç., vol. vii. p. 304.

§ Bernard, liv. 6. p. 221 et seq.

¶ Merc. Franç., p. 533.

|| Benjamin de Rohan, seigneur de Soubise, was elevated to the dignity of duke in 1626; but his patent was never registered by the parliament: he is however generally known by that title.

** Rohan, *Mém.*, liv. 2. p. 122.

†† Dated Niort, 27th May, 1621.

‡‡ Merc. Franç., vol. vii. p. 526.

reinforcements of men and artillery, and the place was severely cannonaded. The besieged made several bold sallies, but without succeeding in destroying the preparations for an assault; and although their danger became daily more evident, they maintained the defence with spirit, until Haute Fontaine, the confidential friend of Soubise, was killed. That loss, and the fact of some extensive mines being prepared, made Soubise more willing to capitulate. He accordingly wrote to the king's minister Luynes, who had recently been named constable; and after several discussions on matters of form, the king sent word that he should make no treaty, but, at the humble supplication of the inhabitants of St. Jean, he would give a full pardon to every one on the sole condition of its being asked, and on their swearing fidelity and obedience for the future. The offer was accepted and the gates were thrown open.* The fortifications were destroyed, and the place completely dismantled; not only as a measure of precaution, but also of punishment, the royal ordinance declaring, that, in times of trouble, the inhabitants of St. Jean d'Angely were always the first to revolt.†

During this siege the king's authority was established in all the towns of Poitou, Saintonge, and the adjoining provinces. The Duke of Vendôme restored order in Brittany; Bouillon wrote with submission to the king; La Tremouille went in person; Châtillon and La Force were either paralysed in their operations or seduced by promises. Rohan and his brother alone remained faithful to the Protestant cause; and their fidelity was the more meritorious, as Luynes had married their niece, and great efforts had been made to win them to the court interest.

The historian of Rochelle, a father of the congregation of the Oratoire, complains of the inconsistent conduct of the Protestants, who were clamorous for the execution of the edict of Nantes, and yet violated its conditions, by refusing to allow the celebration of the Roman Catholic worship, and oppressing the followers of that creed with constant odious vexations. The Oratorians were the only Catholic clergy in Rochelle: they had formed an establishment in 1614, but the advance of the king's forces, and the alarming state of affairs, caused a strong feeling against them. In consequence, a vote of the assembly ordered them to quit the city. "The more violent," says Father Arcère, "were for burning them in their church, or pitching them over the ramparts." The mayor however assisted them in retiring from the city, and lamented his inability to protect their continued stay. To avoid the clamours of the multitude, they quitted the town at dinner-time, in a boat prepared by that magistrate.‡

Previously to the king's departure for Guyenne, he ordered Epéron to press Rochelle, by sea as well as by land. That nobleman decided on blockading that town, and therefore kept parties of horsemen constantly in the neighbourhood, to prevent the arrival of provisions.§ Skirmishes often took place, and all supply from the land was cut off. But it was different on the sea-coast, the

* 25th June.

† The ordinance given at Cognac was registered at Bordeaux, 6th July, 1621.

‡ Arcère, vol. ii. pp. 167, 168.

§ Girard, *Vie d'Epéron*, p. 364.

ships stationed at the mouth of the harbour not being able to prevent the entrance of small vessels. In general the confederates were superior at sea to the king's forces; and their success induced them, at a later period, to attempt a measure of some importance, and bar the entrance to Brouage, by sinking some vessels laden with stones at the mouth of that port. St. Luc, the royalist marine commander, having intimation of the design, hastily threw up a redoubt at the water's edge, which effectually prevented the approach of the Rochellese.*

The king's progress in the south of France was almost every where hailed by submission. La Force and his son, who intended to make a stand at Bergerac, retired to Nerac, where the Huguenots hailed him as commander of the circle.† Being joined by Rohan, the Catholic counsellors of the justice-chamber were dismissed; and after establishing La Force in that place, the duke set off for Montauban, where he arrived in the middle of July. In that journey he was obliged to take a circuitous route of thirty-five leagues, to avoid Marshal Themines, at the head of a considerable force.‡

The Duke of Mayenne, governor of the province, was then laid up at Bordeaux with a fever; not a levy had been made, nor any order given for repressive measures, in consequence of this insurrection. La Force availed himself of Mayenne's inactivity to strengthen his army; but on the news of his operations reaching Bordeaux, the emergency of the case, and his serious responsibility as governor, caused the duke to disregard his illness: he set out in the night to join the Duke of Epemon, and ordered two regiments to follow him.§ Nerac held out with spirit for some days: as a diversion, La Force obtained possession of Caumont, and besieged Sept-Fons: but the king's forces were so much superior in numbers, that ultimately the insurgents were everywhere defeated, and Nerac surrendered on the 9th of July.

Clerac, another Gascon town, detained the king from the 20th of July until the 5th of August, after which the siege of Montauban was resolved on.|| Rohan had apprehended this decision, from the tidings he received of such general submission to the king; and early in July he had visited Lower Languedoc, to rally his friends, and obtain supplies for the assistance of Montauban; which town was invested on the 21st of August by the king in person, attended by the constable, the Duke of Mayenne, and Marshals Praslin, Chaulne, Themines, and Lesdiguieres.¶ Sully, who had for some time withdrawn from public life to his states at Quercy, came to the king's head-quarters, and offered to use his influence with the inhabitants, whom he imagined he could persuade into submission; but his intentions were frustrated by the zeal and firmness of the town-council, of which body the minister Chamier was president. Sully's recommendations were disregarded, the council being determined on the question of refusing to submit: they were willing however to treat with the king in the name and with the approval of their party at large; which of course could not be conceded by a monarch

flushed with success.* The obstinacy of this body unequivocally arose out of their warm attachment to the cause they had espoused, and the selfish and interested conduct of many noblemen of their party made them distrustful of Sully's advice. Having so often experienced fatal effects from too much confidence, and being stimulated by a desire of rivalling the assembly at Rochelle, they would admit no compromise in the contest for religious liberty. But, unfortunately, that sacred cause received an irreparable injury from their well-meant zeal. The republican character of their institutions, and their self-government, altogether independent of the crown, became obvious; and from that time the interests of the monarchy demanded a hostile policy, so far as the Protestant body was concerned.

Montauban was courageously defended; and Bassompierre, who was present, has related some spirited scenes that took place. Rohan was, on his side, actively engaged in bringing a reinforcement to the besieged; and in the middle of October sent fifteen hundred men, under the command of Beaufort, a courageous man, to enter the town, if possible. The king was informed of the project, and the guards were doubled; which did not, however, prevent eight hundred of Beaufort's division from breaking through the camp. This incident was closely followed by several sorties, which greatly discouraged the king's troops.

Both attack and defence were well sustained, till the end of October, when the constable decided on raising the siege. He had invited Rohan to a private conference at Castres, but the public feeling being opposed to a negotiation, they met at Reviers, within a league of Montauban, when Luynes used the most friendly arguments to win over the Protestant commander. He even appealed to the alliance between their families, the Duchess of Luynes being of the house of Rohan. But the conference produced no result, because the constable would not hear of a general treaty, his object being to detach the leader from his party.‡ Rohan's firmness was ill requited by his confederates, and he had reason to complain of their interestedness before the end of the war.

When Luynes communicated to Bassompierre his design of raising the siege, he was told in reply that he did right to relinquish a plan in which he was unintentionally engaged; as it was entered upon with a full assurance from Bourg-Franc, the commander, that he would open the gates.§ This incident affords an explanation of the prevailing readiness to surrender on the king's approach, so different from the unvarying practice of the Huguenots in former civil wars; and Rohan observes,—"from Saumur to Montauban, there was a general submission; with no resistance, except at St. Jean-d'Angely, which my brother defended as long as he could. And the peace of Montpellier comprised no chiefs of provinces, except my brother and myself; all the others having made their treaty separately and on advantageous terms."||

After the conversation already alluded to, between Luynes and Bassompierre, a conference was privately held with some of the besieged, but without producing any result, and the king with-

* Arcère, vol. ii. p. 175.

† 3rd June, 1621. Merc. Franç., vol. vii. p. 601.

‡ Rohan, *Mém.* liv. ii. p. 124.

§ Merc. Franç., vol. vii. p. 603.

¶ Ibid., p. 658.

|| Rohan, *Mém.* p. 129. Bassompierre, vol. ii. p. 161.

Merc. Franç., p. 822.

* Merc. Franç., vol. vii. p. 826.

† Rohan, *Mém.*, p. 135, *et seq.*

‡ Bassompierre, vol. ii., p. 232.

§ Rohan, *Discours sur les Derniers Troubles*, p. 101.

drew his troops early in November. He confessed to Bassompierre, with tears in his eyes, how bitterly he felt the unfavourable turn of affairs. Bassompierre's division had been conspicuous, and Louis declared that no other part of the army had given him equal satisfaction. In short, he had resolved on giving him the chief command.* During the siege a considerable number of nobles and gentlemen were killed: among the besieged, the minister Chamier was struck by a cannon ball, while defending a breach.† The most eminent among the assailants was the Duke of Mayenne, mortally wounded in the left eye by a musket ball, while examining the trenches with the Duke of Guise and Count Schomberg. He was conveyed to his tent, and died almost immediately after reaching it.‡ The greatest honours were paid to his remains in every town through which they passed; but the Parisians appear to have fancied nothing so congenial as to attack the Protestants. There were in circulation some menacing reports, during several days after the news of his death had reached the capital, and on the Sunday following the road to Charenton was well guarded, to protect the Protestants in going to and from their temple; the Duke of Montbazou, governor of Paris, the Chevalier du Guet, the provost, lieutenant civil, &c., being stationed at the porte St. Antoine. The morning service passed off quietly; but in the afternoon a band of vagabonds, concealed among the vines, commenced an attack on some carriages returning to the city. When the archers hastened forward to protect that party, another band fell upon some Protestants on foot, at a little distance. As they were armed with swords and pistols, a skirmish ensued, in which several were mortally wounded. The affray, once commenced, was not confined to the outside of Paris: the confusion was still greater within the gates, and an aged female Protestant was murdered near Mayenne's hotel.

Nor were the Protestants the only victims, for the mob became more and more outrageous in their proceedings; and as many Catholics were taking their Sunday walk in the country, they were robbed of whatever they had about them, the populace pretending to search their persons for crosses and rosaries, as evidence of their being Catholics.

The mob then proceeded to Charenton, being strengthened by a reinforcement of bad characters of every kind, with a swarm of apprentices and workmen, free for the day, and ready for any kind of mischief. The door of the temple was forced open; the benches, desks and books were piled up in a heap; the houses of the consistory and guardian were pillaged; and the temple itself set on fire; after which the mob, about four hundred in number, returned to Paris, shouting *Vive le Roi*. It required all the watchful care of the authorities to prevent still more serious consequences, for many of the populace were bent upon killing the Huguenots. Companies were however formed, and stationed in each quarter, and the night passed off quietly. The following day the parliament issued a decree, authorising the prosecution of the delinquents, and placing the Protestants under the protection and safeguard of that court.§ Yet the

mob persisted: houses belonging to Protestants were plundered; and four men being arrested in the act of carrying away clothes, were summarily punished by a decree of parliament, given the following day:—Two were condemned to be hanged, and their companions to be whipped and banished for nine years. The sentence was executed the same day at the Place de Grève, and the severity of the example restored order.*

CHAPTER LVI.

Military movements in the south—Expedition to the Isle of Riés, under Soubise—La Force submits to the king—Sieges of Negrepelisse and Montpellier—Richelieu named Prime Minister.

DURING this civil war the affairs of the Huguenots became so extensively diversified, that it is scarcely possible to give a connected view of the events occurring among the many divisions comprised in their confederation; for the interest is no longer arrested by one body, around the history of which the episodes of its satellites can be successively unfolded, but proceedings of nearly equal importance claim and fix attention in opposite directions. On one side Soubise, regardless of his recent oath, appeared in arms at Oleron, where he committed serious devastations, levied contributions, and destroyed the churches.† At Nismes the assembly of deputies passed a decree for depriving Châtillon of the command intrusted to him by the assembly at Rochelle.‡ The complaint against him comprised ten heads of accusation, which in substance declared that his loyalty and sense of duty were impediments to his usefulness for the party. This decision drew forth a long apology from the accused nobleman, whose aim and desire were described as directed to the preservation of peace in Languedoc; at the same time he charges his accusers with selfish and seditious motives.§

At Montpellier the Catholic clergy were ordered to discontinue their worship, and close their churches: the following day a pillage commenced, and many sacrilegious outrages were committed.|| The government of Languedoc devolving on Rohan, when the assembly deprived Châtillon of that command, he was received with great demonstration of respect at Montpellier. The vigour with which the king had besieged Montauban was a presage of what might be expected there, and great activity was displayed in preparing for defence.¶ Lesdiguières, who had succeeded in suppressing an insurrection in the adjoining province, was ambitious of figuring as mediator with the insurgents of Montpellier; and accordingly sent Ducros, president of the parliament of Grenoble, to converse with Rohan on the best means for effecting a pacification. The president had been selected on account of the high consideration he enjoyed among the principal Protestants; but unhappily some violent partisans circulated a report that his object was to detach Rohan from their cause, and a plan was arranged for killing him. It was executed with the atrocity of an age

* Merc. Franç., vol. vii., pp. 851—857.

† Nov. 8th, 1621. Arcère, vol. ii. p. 174.

‡ Nov. 21st. Merc. Franç., vol. vii. p. 686.

§ Ibid., vol. viii. p. 93.

|| Dec. 2nd, 1621. Soulier, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, p. 474.

¶ Rohan, *Raisons de la Paix faite devant Montpellier*, p. 92.

* Bassompierre, vol. ii. p. 235.

† Merc. Franç., vol. viii. p. 605.

‡ 17th Sept. 1621. Ibid., vol. vii., p. 849.

§ 27th Sept., 1621.

of violence and fanaticism, and Rohan deemed it necessary to punish such an outrage by having four of the ringleaders hanged.*

Monheurt, a little insignificant town on the Garonne, was likewise a point of considerable interest at this period, as the king besieged it in person. The explosion of some mines produced a sufficient impression upon the besieged to make them desirous of capitulation: that however the king would not permit, and insisted upon an unqualified surrender. However, in the evening the besieged received an assurance of the monarch's desire to show clemency, and that all who submitted would be at liberty to retire. The offer was generally accepted; after which the town was given up to plunder, and then burned.*

During the siege of Montauban the English ambassador had endeavoured to persuade Rohan to consent to a treaty, calculated to establish a general peace, compatible with the dignity of the French crown. At first the duke referred the proposal to the assembly at Rochelle; but as there appeared to the ambassador a probability of the loss of Montauban, he persuaded Rohan to meet the constable on the subject. Luyens, being confident of taking the town, assumed a high tone, and expressed a determination to exclude it from the edict of pacification, unless a citadel were erected: in consequence the matter was dropped. Afterwards, when Rohan had thrown in supplies, and the chances of success were diminished, Luyens, invited him to renew the conference. When the siege was raised, the constable consented that Rohan should obtain the approbation of the Protestant assembly, which was a great point gained; but the negotiations again failed of producing any result. The death of Luyens opened a new field of ambition and intrigue; and the friends of Condé, who then acquired influence, persuaded the king that the fact of receiving authority to treat in the name of the assembly could not be too severely reprobated.† The same influence may have originated the king's decree, declaring Rohan guilty of high treason.

The constable's death removed the queen's bitterest enemy, and Condé's chief rival; and if we may rely on the testimony of Bassompierre, the event must have afforded some satisfaction even to Louis himself. In treating of the siege of Montauban, the marshal observes: "The king's dislike to the constable augmented; while he took less pains to keep in favour, either from feeling assured of his majesty's affection, or because important affairs on hand prevented his thinking of it; or because his greatness blinded him: so that the king's discontent increased very much, and every time that he spoke of him in private, he displayed more and more violent resentment."‡

Though the king had returned to Paris for the remainder of the winter, the confederates pursued their isolated operations; which became important from their extent, as the Huguenot force was not less than twenty-five thousand men.¶ The Marquis de La Force quitted Montauban, to establish his authority in Quercy and Lower Guyenne, where he was received with ardour, and treated as a sovereign, notwithstanding the decree of the

parliament of Paris, which condemned him and his sons to be beheaded in effigy, deprived them of their nobility, and confiscated the family estates.* La Force, far from being alarmed by this proceeding, levied money by virtue of his commission from the general assembly of the Reformed Churches, and transported to Ste. Foy the chamber founded at Nerac, pursuant to the edict of Nantes, declaring its authority equal to that of the other parliaments. The Duke d'Elbœuf and marshal Themines had been already sent by the king to reduce the province to submission; and early in January, 1622, they took the field. The results of the subsequent military movements were long doubtful. Elbœuf found it requisite to abandon the siege of several places, and the town of Clerac was taken by the Marquis de Lusignan, co-operating with La Force, who himself obtained possession of Tonneins. The latter town afterwards sustained a long and arduous siege, in which the garrison displayed uncommon resolution, their difficulties being aggravated by the want of provisions. La Force made two attempts to relieve the place, in which his son Montpoullan commanded, but was driven off by the Duke d'Elbœuf. The siege lasted till May, when the garrison obtained a favourable capitulation, but the town was burned as an example.†

The assembly at Rochelle was encouraged by the energetic resistance of their leaders, and Soubise, whose operations were in their own neighbourhood, gave the royalists full occupation, both by sea and on shore. Woodford, the English ambassador's secretary, was sent to complain of the misconduct of their naval captains, who plundered the English vessels trading to Bordeaux. The envoy took occasion to represent how utterly improbable it was that their sovereign would ever treat with revolted subjects, even on the mediation of foreign powers, and advised submission. The assembly, in reply, expressed a readiness to adopt his recommendation, and begged him to obtain a safe-conduct for their deputies.‡ The measure was however laid aside; and instead of submitting to the king, a body of three thousand men under Soubise marched into Lower Poitou, where he obtained possession of several places, and sent five standards to Rochelle as trophies. His progress was stayed by the Count de La Rochefoucault, who kept him in check by a superior force, hastily levied, consisting of four thousand infantry and six hundred horsemen.§

The king again quitted Paris to pursue the advantages which had attended his military journeys the preceding years. On reaching Saumur, he found that the Protestants did not conceal their hopes of a change of circumstances, from the successes gained by Soubise. The fortifications were in consequence destroyed, and the town annexed to the government of Anjou.¶

Soubise meanwhile had taken a position in the isle of Rié,¶ where he appeared full of confidence,

* Nov. 15th, 1621.

† Merc. Franç., vol. viii. pp. 445, *et seq.* There is a minute detail of the operations and skirmishes in the *Mémoires de Pontis*, liv. iv.

‡ Jan. 9th, 1622. Arcère, vol. ii. p. 175.

§ Merc. Franç., vol. viii. p. 530.—Arcère, vol. ii. p. 175.

¶ April, 1622. Merc. Franç., vol. viii. p. 547.

¶ Rié or Riés must not be confounded with *Rhé* or *Ré*: the former, in Poitou, is separated from the main land by a fordable stream; *Rhé* is divided from Aunis by an arm of the sea.

* Merc. Franç., vol. viii. p. 117.—Soulhier, p. 480.

† Dec. 12th. Merc. Franç., vol. vii. pp. 827—9.

‡ Rohan, *Raisons*, etc. p. 85.

§ Bassompierre, vol. ii. p. 257.

¶ Merc. Franç., vol. viii. p. 418.

and ready to resist the attacks of the royal army. The surrounding country was difficult of access, being intersected by canals; and a moderate degree of precaution, in establishing posts at the few practicable passes would have given him an impregnable position. Under cover of the night the king's troops crossed over to the island at low water, and Soubise endeavoured to retreat from a force so superior to his own, at a moment when it would have been much less hazardous to engage. Four thousand of his men, who perceived the irremediable fault of their commander, and despaired of gaining the ships at anchor, laid down their arms. About fifteen hundred were killed by the soldiers of La Rochefoucault, and by the peasantry, who were highly incensed against them, as the causes of the war; from six to seven hundred fugitives were made prisoners, among whom were one hundred and fifty gentlemen. Soubise arrived at Rochelle with about thirty horsemen, the wreck of a respectable body of cavalry; and out of seven thousand infantry, not four hundred effected their escape.*

The results of this expedition announced a change in the views of the government, by an unusual display of severity. The sentence of death passed upon rebels was perfectly conformable to the practice of all civilised nations: but in every other case during this war an act of grace had followed the success of the king's arms; and there was no reason why the unfortunate followers of Soubise should have suffered the consequences of an exceptional rigour. The Prince of Condé persuaded the king to punish with firmness. His majesty, says a contemporary, left the affair to his council. Persons of quality were treated as prisoners of war; but as for the soldiers, five hundred and eighty-eight were conducted to Nantes—thirteen were hanged; and the remainder sent to the galleys.†

With a view to improve the advantages of the late victory, by seizing vessels belonging to the Huguenots, or at any rate destroying some of the sailors, La Rochefoucault ordered several of his prisoners to run along the bank, and call for help. The commanders immediately stood in towards the shore, to receive their companions, while La Rochefoucault's soldiers advanced to wait the proper moment for action. A resolute and devoted Protestant, named Job Ferran, perceived the danger to which his friends were exposed; climbing a high rock, he called out, "Treason! Treason!" and precipitated himself on the shore. Some Huguenot sailors who had already landed carried him to one of their ships, where he died a few days afterwards, from the effects of his fall: his last moments were however soothed by the reflection that his death had saved the Protestant flotilla.‡

About the same time the Huguenots had to lament the loss of the county of Foix, where their interests had been well secured by Jane d'Albret, and the appointment of successive Protestant governors. In December, 1621, the charge being resigned, La Forest, a Catholic, was named, and the Jesuit Villatte was employed to convert the population. In an account published at Toulouse, it is stated that the Huguenot minister Molinier

confessed his inability to resist the Jesuit's arguments; and the majority of his flock abjured their errors, as an evidence of their sincerity. For the suitable celebration of Easter they consented to demolish their temple. To perpetuate the memory of that event a declaration was signed by a hundred and twenty-two converts; and at the head of the list was Pierre Fer, an individual who went to Geneva for the purpose of receiving from Calvin himself a minister to preach the reformation at Foix; and having attained the age of a hundred-and-ten years, was induced to concur in its suppression.*

Royan, situated at the mouth of the Gironde, was besieged by the king in the beginning of May. The assembly at Rochelle sent supplies and reinforcements by sea; but it was to no purpose, for the assailants surmounted every obstacle, and on the sixth day of the siege the garrison demanded and obtained a capitulation, by which they were allowed to withdraw by sea to Rochelle, with arms and baggage, leaving behind them only the canons and ammunition.†

La Force, who had taken up his head-quarters at Ste.-Foy, beheld different divisions of the royal army directing their march towards him; and concluding, from the fate of other places, that his citadel must be subdued, he wrote to de Lomenie, the king's secretary, expressing a deep regret for his rebellion, and presented articles of capitulation for himself, his children, and the nobles and gentlemen who had followed him. These terms would in the present day be deemed extravagant; yet with one or two exceptions, every thing asked for was granted, and even the points objected to were not positively refused. In short, La Force obtained amnesty, approval, continuance of old privileges and rights; all decrees against him or his followers were declared null; and the rank of marshal, with a considerable sum of money and pensions to his children, was accorded by Louis, so important did it seem to his advisers, and especially the Prince of Condé, to win over a Protestant chieftain, and leave nothing behind him in arms in Guyenne. The articles being signed and exchanged, the Prince of Condé and the Duke d'Elbeuf took possession of the town, to prepare for the king's entry.‡

The towns of Negrepelisse and Saint-Antonin were less fortunate than Ste.-Foy. The former place was taken after a short siege; and the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, were massacred. Some who had taken refuge in the citadel were obliged to surrender the following day, when all the men were hanged. The pretext for this severity was an accusation of the inhabitants having murdered a regiment left there in garrison by the Duke of Mayenne; and the vengeance of the conquerors was completed only by the entire destruction of the town, which was set on fire in several quarters at once.§

The king attacked Negrepelisse professedly with a view to take revenge upon the inhabitants: there was no summons to surrender; but a general assault directly the royal army arrived. De Pontis relates that he was summoned to the king's

* 16th April, 1622. Bassompierre, v. ii. p. 306.—Merc. Franç. vol. viii. p. 554.

† 27th April, 1622. Merc. Franç., vol. viii pp. 554 et seq.

‡ Arcère, vol. ii. p. 178.

* Merc. Franç. vol. viii. pp. 486—491.

† 11th May, 1622. Merc. Franç., p. 582.—Bassompierre, vol. ii. p. 355.

‡ 24th May, Merc. Franç., p. 625.—Bassompierre, p. 329.

§ 10th June, 1622. Merc. Franç., p. 637.

presence to report his observations on the state of the town, he having been appointed to take a survey. "You will attack the place," observed the king, "on both sides at once; and you must place something white in your hats, lest when you meet in the town you should kill one another; for I command you to give no quarter to any man, because they have irritated me, and shall be served as they treated the others." The combat lasted some hours, and the garrison made a most courageous defence: at last finding themselves overwhelmed by superior force, they asked for quarter; which being refused, they resolved to sell their lives dearly, and to a man died fighting. The sack was dreadful in the extreme: robbery and violation occurred in every house, with scarcely an exception.*

St.-Antonin had soon after the fatal honour of a visit from the king, who joined his army before its walls. The siege lasted seven days; and when the garrison offered to capitulate, it was refused terms. They surrendered at discretion, in the hope of obtaining the royal clemency. Eleven of those who had been most active in the resistance were hanged on the ravelin; and among them the minister, who had been a cordelier, a coincidence which gave rise to some epigrams among the wits in the king's army. †

These continued misfortunes of the protestant party were followed by the abjuration of Lesdiguières, who on a former occasion had refused the appointment of constable, on that condition. Marshal Créquy had only to announce his mission, in the presence of the parliament of Grenoble. Claude Bullion, who had already abjured, addressed this question to the marshal: "Do you believe in transubstantiation?" "Yes." "Then you are to be constable." Lesdiguières replied, "That he was ever obedient to the command of his majesty," and turning to the counsellors, added: "So, now, gentlemen, we'll go to mass." ‡ This abjuration was celebrated with great pomp, and was followed by ceremonies which lasted four days. He received the sword of state from the king's own hand before Montpellier, and Bassompierre replaced him in the list of marshals.§

The king's successes continued; and he wrote a letter to the parliament of Toulouse, announcing the prosperous results of the campaign, in which he had subdued a dozen fortified towns; and congratulating that body on the rebels of Languedoc being shut up in three places: viz., Nismes, Uzez, and Montpellier, without any hope of assistance from their confederates.¶ The siege of the latter city was already contemplated; but, as a means of conciliation, the secretary Bullion was sent to offer the king's pardon if the town submitted. The answer he brought back was a refusal to admit the king; but that if his majesty would retire to a distance of ten leagues, they would open their gates to the constable. This gave rise to a consultation, at which were present all the great commanders of

the king's party. Bullion, after making his report, explained that the severities experienced at the recent sieges had alarmed the people of Montpellier; that they were well disposed, and would receive his capitulation as dutiful supplicants; and, therefore, he advised his sovereign to concede on a point of no consequence, especially as by the time so gained he would speedily obtain the submission of Nismes and Uzez. The Prince of Condé could hardly suppress his impatience at this discourse; and declared that such a decision would be infamous. The king was obliged to restrain the prince's impetuosity, and insisted on his allowing every counsellor to deliver his sentiments. Many of them agreed with Bullion; but Bassompierre enlarged upon the inconsistency of a king withdrawing from one of his own towns, before his subjects would perform the ordinary homage of acknowledging his authority. Condé seconded the marshal's opinion, and Louis sent word, "That he gave terms to his subjects, but did not receive any; and if they did not accept his proposal, they might prepare to be compelled by force."** The garrison was inflexible, and orders were given to commence the siege, which was continued with great animation until the 8th of October, † when the Duke de Rohan approached with a body of troops to reinforce the town. The king was advised to invite the protestant commander to treat of a peace, and the constable was ordered to meet him on that business. The preliminaries being concluded, Rohan passed and repassed through the royal camp, in his visits to the town, for the purpose of persuading the inhabitants, who were obstinate in refusing to admit the king's troops. An entire week was occupied in this manner; but Rohan's perseverance and influence at last enabled him to appear before the king with the ratification of the treaty, and the adhesion of Nismes and Uzez, deputies from which places implored the king's pardon on their knees, in the name of all the protestants in France.‡ The edict of pacification and amnesty was signed on the 19th of October; and the following day Louis made his entry, when everything was as tranquil as if the siege had not taken place.§

Hostilities continued some time later at Rochelle; and four successive engagements took place between the king's fleet, commanded by the Count de Soissons, the Duke of Guise, and M. de St. Luc. The advantage of these encounters was decidedly in favour of the royalists, although the brave sailors of Rochelle fully sustained their old reputation. The Duke of Guise, having resolved to annihilate the fleet of the confederates, followed up his victories; and would have succeeded if a violent storm had not arisen on the day fixed for his project. The hurricane lasted till the 6th of November; and, in the interval, intelligence was received of peace being concluded. Guiton, the protestant admiral, at first refused to be included in the treaty; but the inevitable consequences of

* Ponti, vol. i. pp. 192-203. This work has been the subject of literary controversy, and is by some considered apocryphal; the author composed it after his retirement to Port-Royal, and his statement is evidently founded on fact, even supposing "De Pontis" to be a fictitious name.

† 22 June, 1622. Merc. Franç., vol. viii. p. 648.

‡ 24th July, 1622. Merc. Franç., p. 683. Amelot de la Houssaye, *Mém. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 442.

§ 29th Aug., 1622. Bassompierre, vol. ii. p. 385.

¶ Merc. Franç., vol. viii. p. 802.

* Bassompierre, vol. ii. p. 391.

† De Pontis describes the different attacks in which he was engaged; but from the period of his being wounded he ceases to notice the siege, and relates his conversations with two monks. The celebrated Zamet was killed by a cannon ball before this town. *Mém.*, liv. v.

‡ Lettre du chancelier Sillery, inserted in the *Mém. de Richelieu*, par Aubery, vol. i. p. 522.

§ Merc. Franç., vol. viii. pp. 810-844. Bassompierre, pp. 429, 430.

Guisse's plan becoming apparent to the insurgent leaders, and their means of defence being sadly crippled by disasters, a deputation from the town announced the adhesion of the assembly to the pacification.*

The articles of the edict of pacification were similar to those on former occasions: Rohan, Soubise, and other leaders, obtained indemnity for their losses; and fair promises were held out that the protestants at large should be assured of their religious rights. They were, however, no longer in a situation to enforce their claim, having lost all their towns, except Rochelle and Montauban: many of their nobles had gone over to the court; and others, despairing of the cause, were prepared to abjure. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the treaty soon became a dead letter. The clergy disapproved of it, and would have preferred seeing the king follow up his advantages. The Chancellor Sillery, writing to his brother at Rome, deemed it necessary to justify the measure, and observed in his letter: "The ambassador will explain to his holiness how the Huguenots have always gained by war, and lost ground in time of peace; which it is to be hoped will again ensue from the good conduct and piety of his majesty."† Puyssieux, the chancellor's son, did not scruple to assure the nuncio, that peace had been made with the intention of more effectually crushing the reformed; and it was speedily seen that the stipulations of the edict would all be violated. In the first place, the fortifications of Montpellier were to be razed; but as the king's troops would not quit the town, Rohan, after several ineffectual applications to the king, declared that he should cease the demolition of the works. This instantly produced an order to Valence, who commanded for the king; but the independent spirit Rohan had manifested did not fail to incur displeasure; and Valence went so far as to arrest the duke soon after he entered Montpellier, to superintend the election of protestant consuls.‡

A similar disposition was displayed at Rochelle. The deputies, on appearing before the king at Lyons, obtained a letter, ordering Arnauld, governor of Fort St. Louis, to demolish the place within eight days, after the protestants had destroyed what was agreed upon by treaty. Arnauld, however, received counter-orders at the same time; and when the inhabitants of Rochelle presented a copy of the king's letter, he replied, with a smile, that the copy of the order sufficed to destroy only a copy of the fort. The original letter was then produced: he declared complete willingness to obey orders; but observed that he must have a full and perfect discharge, and would, in consequence, write to the court.§

Arnauld entered fully into the spirit of the government; he not only kept his men actively employed in strengthening his position, but engaged an emissary to prepare for obtaining possession of the town by stratagem. The individual employed was named Vincent Yvon: he was suspected of treacherous correspondence; but

proof failing, he was merely confined, as a measure of precaution. While in prison, he imagined a plan for piercing a passage through the wall to the sea, for the twofold purpose of securing a retreat, and for admitting soldiers. His work advanced but slowly; and he made a tempting proposal to one of his gaolers to assist him. The offer met with an apparent welcome, but was received with the indignation of a patriot, whose feelings were concealed for better foiling the plan. The gaoler sent for his brother, and afterwards for La Chapelière, a minister, whom he introduced to Yvon: he was exceedingly frank, and declared that in the night the soldiers from Fort Louis would enter the town; and, at a suitable moment, open the gates to their comrades, concealed in the environs; after which, all who made resistance would be killed. La Chapelière was astonished at the scheme, and felt assured that the mayor was an accomplice. It became dangerous to speak of his discovery, but it would be criminal to conceal it. He consulted his friends: they decided on informing the mayor, but the proper moment had passed, for Yvon perceived that he was detected, and had effected his escape. The mayor, indignant at the suspicion raised against him, told La Chapelière, with a menacing gest, that, but for his sacred character, the outrage should be washed away with his blood. The people would have punished the gaolers as accomplices; but they were sent out of the town, and the distrust and bad feeling which arose out of this incident did not subside for some time.*

In September, a national synod was held at Charenton, in which scarcely anything was discussed, except doctrinal questions; and soon afterwards, a report being circulated that the Huguenots were likely to take arms, a royal proclamation was given, to tranquillise the Protestants, and assure them of the king's intention to observe the edicts.†

In the spring of the following year, Richelieu was admitted into the cabinet. His character offers traits of decided greatness; and his situation as minister of a weak and deceitful king presents sufficient excuse for the duplicity and craft recorded to his prejudice. As a prince of the church of Rome, he was necessarily opposed to the Huguenots: yet state policy appears to have been his chief motive and guide: for, although no considerations of humanity were ever allowed to interfere with his designs, he had too great a soul to become a mere persecutor; and the imprudent zeal of the Protestant assemblies, in constantly bringing their political independence under the eye of the government, could not fail to arrest the cardinal's attention, when he assumed the direction of affairs. In his opinion, no nation could be strong, that permitted a variety of creeds or allowed foreign influence in its cabinet. His views were directed towards gradually realizing the former object: the latter essential he quickly obtained, by extensive changes in various departments of the state, and particularly in the list of ambassadors. The King of Spain no longer had the means of learning all that passed in the councils of France; and the pope soon perceived an alteration in the language used to his nuncio.

Such indications of resolution excited the ap-

* 11th Nov., 1622. Arcère, vol. ii. p. 192. Merc. Franç., vol. viii. p. 865.

† The letter, dated Paris, 4th Nov. 1622, is given by Aubery, vol. i. p. 522.

‡ Feb., 1623. Merc. Franç., vol. ix. p. 432. Rohau, *Mém.*, pp. 194-8.

§ Jan., 1623. Arcère, vol. ii. p. 193. Merc. Franç., vol. ix. p. 438.

* Arcère, vol. ii. p. 195.

† 10th Nov., 1623. Merc. Franç., vol. ix. p. 693.

prehensions of the Protestants; and their alarm was not without cause, as preparations were publicly made for blockading Rochelle, and a garrison still kept possession of Montpellier.

Soubise imagined the moment favourable for effacing the reproach of his late unfavourable expedition, and confided to his brother a project for destroying the king's ships at Blavet. Rohan agreed to second him if success appeared possible; while, in case of failure, the expedition was to be disavowed.* Soubise was obliged to use artifice in preparing for his enterprise; and his intentions being discovered by the magistrates of Rochelle, they desired him to quit the isle of Rhé, and avoid compromising them.† Soubise departed, and succeeded in his attempt on the port of Blavet.‡ This good fortune however did not enable him to take Fort Louis, as the Duke de Vendôme hastened from Nantes, with a strong body of troops: by means of chains and cables he prevented Soubise from leaving the harbour, and greatly damaged his vessels by a destructive fire, from a newly-made battery. Soubise finding himself so much exposed, resolved to escape by night; his men, in boats, cutting the cables under a heavy discharge of musketry. Sixteen vessels escaped, but two of his ships grounded, and were taken by Vendôme: he lost likewise several of the king's vessels, which had fallen into his hands on his arrival. He succeeded in gaining Oléron, whence he sent cruizers to annoy the king's adherents.§

The Protestant deputies at Paris, alarmed at such a rash project, declared their loyalty to the crown,|| and strongly disapproved of the conduct of Soubise, who was soon after proclaimed a rebel and a traitor, by royal ordonnance. The Protestants in all parts of France repudiated Soubise, until the success of his bold effort was known; when an attempt at conciliation was made, but to no purpose. It then became necessary for Rohan to support his brother's cause; and prove that a wish to restore peace had been his reason for delay, not the want of means, as his enemies published; and he took the field early in May. Marshal Themines was employed against him.¶ The result of the campaign was unfortunate to Rohan, although no action of importance took place. The Duke de Montmorency also defeated Soubise, in the isle of Rhé;** and a sea-fight equally disastrous, was followed by the capitulation of the island. In the summer, the assembly of Milhaud attempted a pacification; and in the beginning of 1626, the king, being moved by repeated entreaties, consented to give an edict for the restoration of peace and tranquillity.††

CHAPTER LVII.

Siege of Rochelle.

FROM the time Richelieu became prime minister three great projects engaged his attention. To

elevate the regal authority, by destroying the remains of feudal independence—to raise the importance of France, by lowering the pride of Austria—and to terminate all domestic differences, by suppressing the few liberties still enjoyed by the Huguenots. As circumstances required, he would appear to desist; but his intentions were unceasingly followed up unto completion. Pretexts of every kind were used to cover his designs; and few would dare to counteract them, after the fate of the unfortunate Chalais, whose head paid the forfeit of abetting the king's brother in opposing the cardinal.*

However, the proceedings of the Huguenots at this period were far from displeasing to the government; and we have the testimony of the Jesuit Daniel, that at the synod held at Castres, in July, 1626, every thing passed off quietly, and with submission to the king's will. The correspondence of the Protestant body with Spain was disavowed; and a previous vote, excluding their ministers from political assemblies, was confirmed. But unfortunately the presence of emissaries for reviving insurrection in various provinces was made known to Richelieu; and he turned his serious attention to depriving that party of the means of disturbing the kingdom.†

England was likewise suffering under a vizierate: the Duke of Buckingham, celebrated for his astonishing elevation, and untimely end, swayed the councils of king Charles, without a rival. His character cannot be placed in comparison with that of Richelieu; for while the latter steadily pursued the mazy intrigues essential to his policy, the former was immersed in pleasure; and instead of the laudable endeavour to surpass the cardinal as a statesman, he thought only of resenting a personal humiliation, received during his recent visit to Paris, as ambassador to receive the Queen of England from her family. Buckingham had the presumption to declare his passion for the Queen of France; and in the vain supposition that his advances had been received with approbation, he returned on the conclusion of his mission: but his dream of happiness was annihilated by a peremptory order to leave the country.‡ A war with France then became Buckingham's object, as it might afford him an opportunity to return to Paris.§

The Abbé Scaglia, agent of the Duke of Savoy and a secret enemy of the cardinal, animated the quarrel between the prime ministers; and Buckingham, at his suggestion, sent away all the queen's French attendants,|| with the exception of one retained as chaplain, the term *confessor* being odious to the puritan party, then rising into importance. To embroil the governments yet more, Scaglia persuaded the young statesman that the French Protestants were exposed to great dangers, and that King Charles was bound in honour to maintain the stipulations of the treaty guaranteed by him. Soubise joined his entreaties to those of Scaglia, and Buckingham was induced to send a

* Rohan, *Discours sur les Derniers Troubles*, p. 102.

† Arcère, vol. ii. p. 206.

‡ 17th Jan. 1625.

§ Rohan, *Mém.*, p. 207. Merc. Franç., v. x. p. 850.

|| Desadveu et Protestation des Deputez, &c., 21st Jan. 1625. Merc. Franç.

¶ Rohan, *Mém.*, p. 211. Merc. Franç., vol. xi. p. 745.

** 18th Sept. 1625. Merc. Franç., vol. xi. p. 889.

†† 5th Feb. 1626. Merc. Franç., vol. xi. p. 119.

* Henry de Talleyrand, Marquis de Chalais, beheaded at Nantes, 19th Aug. 1626. There is a Relation, &c., in Aubery, vol. i. p. 570: see also Merc. Franç., vol. xii. p. 391.

† Daniel, *Hist. de France*, vol. xiii. p. 526.

‡ Count Roderer intimates that the queen did encourage him. *Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire de la Société polie*, p. 50.

§ Rohan, *Mém. Hist.*, p. 279. This is also stated by Lord Clarendon and Bishop Burnet.

|| July, 1626. Merc. Franç., vol. xii. p. 260.

secret agent to the Duke de Rohan, to concert some plan on behalf of the Huguenots.*

The vexations to which the Queen of England was exposed were soon made known to her brother, who commissioned Marshal Bassompierre to insist on the recall of her attendants. The marshal had not been many days in London, before he had orders to send back Sancy, a father of the Oratoire, who accompanied him as confessor. To this Bassompierre would not submit; and his refusal was accompanied with a threat, that he would quit the country. The intimation was repeated, but with no better effect; and after some prolonged discussion, the ambassador gained his point, and ultimately succeeded in his negociation respecting the queen.†

This affair, added to the seizure of some vessels on the coast of Normandy, afforded a pretext for Buckingham to proceed on a mission to Paris: but his journey was to no purpose, for Bassompierre, who returned from London almost at the same time, was ordered by the queen to intimate that his visit would be disagreeable, and that he must desist.‡ Being thus frustrated in an attempt to behold the queen, he was more than ever bent on a renewal of hostilities; and sent Lord Montague to the Dukes of Savoy and Rohan, successively, assuring them that thirty thousand men should be sent to support the Huguenots, if a diversion were promised at the same time on the side of Piedmont.§

An assembly of notables was at this period convoked in Paris, the sittings of which lasted the whole winter.|| The deliberations were not very important; but as a royal declaration¶ which arose out of a request presented by the order of nobles, announced the king's intention of bringing all his subjects into the unity of the Catholic church, the Protestants found cause for alarm, notwithstanding the assurance that their conversion was to be effected only by means of patience, mildness, and good example. They found that not only Fort Louis, near Rochelle, was strengthened; but that Thoiras, the governor, had commenced another strong citadel at St.-Martin, in the isle of Rhé. The demolition agreed to on their side was instantly suspended; and a gentleman named St.-Blanchard was sent to London, to join his efforts to those of Soubise, and shew the inconvenience which must arise to the British government, if the liberty of Rochelle were not maintained. King Charles was inclined to assist the Huguenots. Buckingham's policy was in complete unison, and a powerful armament was prepared.**

The English fleet came in sight of Rochelle, in the morning of the 20th of July, 1627; and anchored before the isle of Rhé, the following day. Buckingham sent his secretary, accompanied by Soubise and St.-Blanchard, to communicate with the mayor and his council. The authorities were however all engaged in the devotional services of a

public fast; and the interview was delayed till the morrow.

The secretary having addressed the council, presented a manifest, signed by Buckingham, and concluding in these terms: "The object of the king (of England) is to establish the churches. He feels interested in their welfare, and desires to promote their happiness. In this case, if the churches wish not his assistance, the beating of these drums, the display of these standards shall cease; and the noise of war be buried in silence. It is for your sake and service they appear."*

Rochelle was then divided by two factions. The majority of the municipal authorities were for submission to the king; they had recently imprisoned two of their fellow-citizens, accused of enrolling men for the English forces; and it is doubtful whether the messengers would have been admitted, if the Dowager-duchess of Rohan had not gone to welcome her son: Buckingham's proposal was not therefore generally approved.† The consequences of another war were to be dreaded; and even the partisans of independence were afraid to avow their sentiments without reserve. A medium decision was adopted; and a message was sent to inform the Duke of Buckingham, that while they presented the grateful acknowledgments of the Rochellesses to the King of Great Britain, they must defer adopting any resolution, until they had consulted the other reformed churches of France.‡

When Soubise set out for the city, two resolutions had been agreed to: first, that their operations should commence with the isle of Oléron, on account of its greater facility of conquest, no less than for the advantages which its occupation would afford; and secondly, that Buckingham should make no attempt before his colleague's return. However when St.-Blanchard came to report progress to Buckingham, he found everything completely changed: an attack on the isle of Rhé was decided upon; and everything prepared for operations.§

The landing was met by a spirited opposition on the part of Thoiras the French governor; his resistance cost the lives of about six hundred of the assailants; and among them St.-Blanchard himself, who commanded a division. Buckingham succeeded in landing three thousand men; and if he had followed up his advantage when Thoiras retreated, he might have established himself in the island, and prevented the fall of Rochelle. This was urged by Soubise, who joined him the following day; but some valuable time was lost in landing guns and military stores, during which Thoiras was enabled to rally his men, and prepare for a siege in the fort of St.-Martin.||

Richelieu had been duly informed of Buckingham's preparations for invading France, and measures were taken for counteracting him, before he landed. The news of his being in the isle of Rhé, and the siege of Thoiras in his little fortress, caused an increase of activity in every department. Pinnaces were fitted out from all the French ports, to operate upon the coasts; and as Oléron was a

* Rohan, *Discours sur les Derniers Troubles*, p. 104; and *Mém.*, liv. iv. p. 275. Violart, *Hist. du Ministère d'Armand-Jean, Cardinal de Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 390. This author, who died in 1644, was bishop of Avranches. His work terminates in 1633; the remainder was suppressed.

† Bassompierre, vol. iii. p. 32 et seq.

‡ 22d Dec. 1626. Bassompierre, vol. iii. p. 53.

§ Rohan, *Mém.*, p. 281. Violart, vol. i. p. 683.

|| Aubery, vol. i. p. 581. Merc. Franç., vol. xii. p. 753.

¶ Dated 16th Feb. 1627.

** Bassompierre, vol. iii. p. 61. Leclerc, *Vie d'Armand-Jean, Cardinal de Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 332.

* Mervault, *Journal*, &c., pp. 1-12. Rohan, *Mém.*, p. 282. Merc. Franç., vol. xiii. p. 803.

† Arcère, vol. ii. p. 230.

‡ Rohan, *Mém.*, liv. 4. p. 286. Mervault, p. 13.

§ *Ibid.*, liv. 4. p. 288.

|| Mervault, p. 15. Arcère, vol. ii. p. 235. Rohan, *Mém.*, p. 289. Merc. Franç., vol. xiii. pp. 835 et seq.

position of evident importance, a strong reinforcement was sent thither immediately.*

The Duke d'Angoulême was the first royalist general who approached Rochelle: he arrived before its walls on the dawn of the 10th of August; and his appearance created much alarm in the town. A deputation of the citizens was sent out to assure him that they were loyal subjects of the king, and were not concerned in any manner in the invasion of the English.†

Thoiras meanwhile held out firmly in the fort St.-Martin. Buckingham had converted the siege into a blockade; and having taken measures for preventing the arrival of any supplies, it was calculated that in a few days the besieged would be forced to surrender. The elements were however adverse to the English: Buckingham's vessels were dispersed: his floating batteries and defences were all carried away during a stormy night; and on the following day, a dozen pinnaces entered the citadel with an ample supply of provisions.‡

The Duke d'Angoulême was at the same time endeavouring to persuade the Rochellese to submit; and Comminges, the new commander of Fort Louis, had an interview with some of the citizens; but the royal proclamation§ was not heeded, although the arguments used were not entirely disregarded. The mayor declared, that if the king would frankly execute the treaty of Montpellier, and place Fort Louis in the hands of Châtillon, La Force, or La Tremouille, the inhabitants would instantly fly to fill his majesty's ranks, and obey his orders in repelling the English.|| The Duke d'Angoulême then considered it incumbent on him to prevent the arrival of all supplies; a strong intrenchment was thrown up for that purpose; and a discharge from one of the city batteries upon the workmen was the declaration of hostilities on the part of the town.¶

During the remainder of the month, the English cruisers were successful, and captured so many vessels bound to the citadel, that at the beginning of October, Thoiras agreed to surrender, if not relieved by the eighth. Again the winds favoured the besieged: on the night of the seventh, a gale prevented the English vessels from barring the passage, and a flotilla of pinnaces carried another supply to the citadel.**

On the first intelligence of Buckingham's intended expedition, Louis resolved on marching into Aunis with a respectable force, in order to parry the threatened blow: the intention was however frustrated by illness, which delayed his departure until late in the summer.†† The sovereign's presence was of the greatest importance in this age, when commanders frequently acted for their own interest; and immediately on his recovery, he proceeded to the disturbed province. He arrived before Rochelle on the 12th of October. The citadel of St. Martin still held out; and orders were given for transporting troops to the isle of Rhé; for relieving Thoiras and his gallant garrison;

and endeavouring to expel the English from the island.*

The position of the Huguenots was now greatly altered, as, by a treaty concluded with Buckingham, they had virtually cancelled their allegiance to France, the stipulations of the convention giving them every prerogative of an independent republic, with the assurance of support from England. Louis and his discerning minister redoubled their efforts to suppress a rebellion, calculated to produce the most calamitous results, as it gave England access to the provinces formerly subjected to that crown. Had Buckingham sincerely wished to promote the Protestant cause in France, it would not have been difficult to establish an independent state in the maritime districts; and a perspective of importance in the new government might have induced many nobles to enter zealously into the plan: but king Charles was already at variance with the presbyterians of Scotland, and found the English puritans almost beyond his control: religious sympathy was not likely therefore to send a reinforcement from the shores of Britain. The unfortunate monarch allowed his minion to embark in a scheme fraught with ruin to the Huguenots, and deserving to be stigmatised as wanton and perfidious, if no efficient assistance were intended: but no measures appear to have been adopted for encouraging that enthusiasm, which would have produced private expeditions in favour of Rochelle; nor was any encouragement given for the departure of enthusiastic sectarians as volunteers. The public voice condemned Buckingham as frivolous and inexperienced; but Charles was obstinate in maintaining the favourite in his command.

On the other hand, the council of Rochelle was by no means inclined to accept the unqualified protection of England, as appears from their hesitation in admitting Soubise on Buckingham's arrival. As auxiliaries, the English were welcome: but the Huguenots were too prudent to renounce the independence of their city, as the price of foreign support; and while they desired the alliance of King Charles, they were decidedly against his domination. From the time that Buckingham discovered the existence of those sentiments, his co-operation was relaxed; his efforts in the isle of Rhé were of little value; and although he insisted upon the inhabitants selling provisions to his troops, he never reciprocated, by contributing to the city stores when he received supplies. Thus, after destroying every hope of reconciliation with their natural sovereign, they discovered that their new ally was shamefully lukewarm in their cause; and had the additional mortification of finding their own resources very much crippled by his demands.

Buckingham's expectations of taking the fort St. Martin soon grew feeble. Vessels with provisions reached the besieged citadel almost every day, and a division of twelve hundred men effected a landing on the island. Other forces were collecting, and as success would be impossible after their arrival, he decided upon making a desperate final attack, previous to re-embarking his men. Accordingly, on the morning of the 6th of November, he assaulted the citadel on both sides; but with a most discouraging result, for the scaling

* Bassompierre, vol. iii. p. 61. Arcère, vol. ii. p. 236. Merc. Franç., vol. xiv. p. 3.

† Mervault, p. 18.

‡ 7th Sept. Mervault, p. 23. Merc. Franç., vol. xiii. p. 864.

§ Dated 5th Aug.; published at Rochelle, on the 15th.

|| Arcère, vol. ii. p. 246. Merc. Franç., vol. xiii. p. 911.

¶ 10th Sept. Mervault, p. 23. Merc. Franç., p. 912.

** Mervault, p. 32. Merc. Franç., vol. xiv. p. 140.

†† Rohan, *Mém.*, liv. 4. p. 327.

* Merc. Franç., vol. xiv. p. 146. Bassompierre, vol. iii. p. 69.

ladders were too short, and the force was inadequate to the service; the place being defended by above fifteen hundred men, with four bastions, well furnished with everything requisite for defence.*

The contest lasted two hours, when Buckingham ordered a retreat: two days afterwards he abandoned the siege, and quitted the island. Marshal Schomberg had landed with a body of four thousand men; and had not the retreating force been well covered by a body of cavalry, the greater part of the English would have been slain or captured by the marshal. Bassompierre says that above twelve hundred English were killed or taken prisoners.†

However, before the English fleet quitted the shores of Aunis, Buckingham sent a letter to the mayor and council of Rochelle, by the minister, David Vincent, and two companions. In that communication he exhorted the town to make terms with the king, who would readily grant their demands while the English force was at hand. Should they be unwilling to adopt that suggestion, he gave them the choice of two other measures: he would enter the city with two thousand men, to assist in its defence; or return to England for the purpose of procuring a sufficient reinforcement for raising the siege.‡

Buckingham well knew the distressed condition of the besieged city; yet he took away with him three hundred tons of corn, which was sold on his arrival in England, on the pretext that it was spoiling.§ The Protestant agents, who accompanied or followed him at the risk of their lives, obtained splendid promises, which were followed by interminable delays. Fresh agents came over from Rochelle, braving the extreme risk, as certain death awaited them in the event of detection by the French king's authorities; and several expiated on the scaffold their zeal in the cause. The deputies in England were informed of the complete inutility of presenting any complaints against the favourite, but they solicited an audience of the king; when they implored assistance, and especially provisions, of which their city was in great need. When they concluded by displaying the overwhelming force preparing for their destruction, Charles assured them he would press the departure of an expedition for their relief; and would risk the whole force of his kingdom, rather than suffer Rochelle to fall.¶

The retreat of the English force enabled Louis to press the city more closely, and a severe blockade was resolved on. Additional vessels were equipped, to scour the coast, and prevent the arrival of supplies. An unbroken line of fortifications, in course of time, completely sealed all communication by land; and the avant-port, or gulf of Rochelle, was barred by a strong wall or pier. Within six months from the commencement of the siege, all access or egress was absolutely impossible.¶

The population of Rochelle amounted to nearly eight and twenty thousand souls. Every one of sufficient age was a soldier. Guiton, the mayor, displayed admirable resolution; and the energy

kindled by religious feeling, increased the zeal of the citizens. Being quite confident that the reiterated promises of Charles I. would soon be followed by assistance, they refused a final proposal for adjusting their quarrel with the French king; who offered them liberty of conscience, and the personal privileges conferred by the edict of Nantes, provided they would receive his officers, and dismantle their fortifications: the besieged claimed the right of consulting with their confederates, which could not be granted; and with a resolution and boldness which seemed to partake of the characteristics of desperation, they displayed many instances of absolute heroism in several sorties, and in the conflicts which continually took place before their walls.*

For a time small vessels occasionally broke through the king's ships, and brought supplies of provisions to the town: but that resource became gradually enfeebled, as the works of the mole advanced; and often the bearer of dispatches was compelled, for his safety, to throw his letters into the sea, as the gibbet was inevitable if they were found upon his person by the enemy.

One instance is worthy of note, as it exemplifies the perseverance and determination of the citizens:—the bearer of a letter was arrested, and by means of the torture compelled to confess where he had concealed it. He had swallowed a silver almond, in which it was placed; and it was discovered after an imprisonment of four days, during which interval the king's apothecary administered powerful medicines. The man was hanged; and after the surrender of the town, the silversmith who made the almond suffered the same punishment.†

In February, the king set out for Paris, leaving Richelieu to command as his lieutenant. The cardinal sent a trumpeter with a letter, exhorting the people to submit; and the question was discussed in the council, but with no result. Richelieu then prepared a grand attack, which was confided to marshals Bassompierre and Schomberg; after two attempts on the night of the 11th of March, the scheme was renounced as impracticable: the besieged set apart a day for public thanksgiving, on account of their deliverance.‡

A violent storm had done considerable damage to the mole, and several vessels succeeded in entering the port. The commander of an English pinnace which grounded was fortunately able to gain the town in a small boat, when he delivered to the mayor and council a packet of letters from their deputies in England. At the ebb-tide, the king's troops attacked the pinnace, and another English vessel in a like predicament; but the crews defended themselves so well, that boats from the city had time to join them, and with the rising tide towed them into port. There was a cargo of corn in each—a most valuable acquisition for a famished city.§

The letters delivered on this occasion gave a detailed account of the negotiations of their agents in England, from the previous November, when Buckingham withdrew from the isle of Rhé. The deputies were Jacques David, echevin or alderman, on behalf of the corporation; Jean de Hinsse, on

* Rohan, *Mém.*, liv. iv. p. 329.

† Merc. Frang., vol. xiv. pp. 186–204. Mervault, *in loc.* Bassompierre, vol. iii. p. 92.

‡ 12th Nov. Mervault, p. 45.

§ Rohan, *Mém.*, liv. 4. p. 332.

¶ *Ibid.*, liv. 4. p. 333.

¶ Arcère, vol. ii. p. 267.

* Jan. 1628. Merc. Frang., vol. xiv. pp. 587, 8.

† Merc. Frang., vol. xiv. p. 667.

‡ Mervault, p. 62. Bassompierre, vol. iii. p. 122.

§ 22nd March, Mervault, p. 64. Bassompierre, vol. iii. p. 124.

the part of the citizens: and Philip Vincent, a minister, who represented the consistory.* Interviews with Buckingham were easily obtained; and it was not very difficult for them to have an audience of King Charles, on all which occasions they were assured that the fleet should put to sea without delay, to relieve Rochelle. Charles was remarkably earnest in his last promise; and when de Hinse bowed at the conclusion of the interview, he said, "Assure the Rochellese that I will not abandon them." The besieged were greatly encouraged by the perusal of such despatches; and they rejoiced still more when the English fleet, commanded by the earl of Denbigh, Buckingham's brother-in-law, appeared off the isle of Rhé, on the 11th of May. The flotilla consisted of eleven ships of war; from thirty to forty small armed vessels; and as many more laden with corn and provisions; but whether Denbigh had secret orders, or was naturally pusillanimous, he refused to attempt the chief purpose of his expedition, although requested by some French gentlemen on board. He set sail for England after remaining a week in the roads, leaving the besieged in amazement at such inexplicable conduct; and nearly reduced to despair, by the destruction of the brilliant hopes his arrival had created.†

As Denbigh was not blamed for the disgraceful failure of his expedition, the Huguenots have accused Buckingham of wantonly deceiving them; and the energy of desperation induced several to risk their lives in traversing the King's camp, for purpose of making a final appeal to Charles I. A gentleman of Poitou, named La Grossetierre, succeeded in the attempt, and delivered a memorial to that prince,‡ who sent several letters with the assurance that his fleet should return in greater force; and that nothing should be spared for raising the siege, even at the cost of every one of his ships.§ The messengers to whom these letters were intrusted had the remarkable good fortune to pass the king's camp safely; but it is doubtful whether their failure would not have been more advantageous to the besieged Huguenots. Bassompierre had entered into preliminaries for a capitulation; and Richelieu had sent a letter to Guition, the mayor. The cardinal gave the king's promise that the lives of the garrison and inhabitants should be spared, if the town surrendered within three days. The hollow promises of the English monarch elated the citizens, whose religious enthusiasm imparted strength to endure sufferings and privations almost unparalleled; and the cardinal's messenger was sent away with a reply, which could not fail of exciting irritation: "Tell the cardinal," said Guition to the drummer who brought the letter, "that I am his very humble servant."

Meanwhile the English parliament expressed great impatience at the unskilful management of both the recent expeditions. The Huguenots also obtained an audience of Charles to remonstrate upon the slow and negligent preparations for the relief of Rochelle. The expedition was at length completed, and Buckingham proceeded to Portsmouth to take the command; he was there much

engaged with Soubise, and the French gentlemen, who incessantly urged the departure of the fleet, and remonstrated on every occasion at the delays, which inflicted prolonged misery upon their confederates. After one of these conversations, in which Soubise had been very animated, Buckingham was struck in the breast with a knife, and almost instantly expired. A hasty impression that the blow was given by a French hand nearly cost the lives of Soubise and his friends, whose angry tone and gestures had been noticed, although the bystanders could not comprehend their observations. The assassin, Felton, was soon found; he made no effort to escape, and referred to a paper in his hat for an explanation of his motives, a precaution he had taken, under the conviction that he should perish in his dire attempt.*

This event caused a further delay; but the Rochellese manfully bore up under their trials. The earl of Lindsey succeeded Buckingham in the command; and arrived off the isle of Rhé, at the end of September. But the mole and other works were by this time so strong, that it would have been rash to attempt an attack. Another month passed off without any effort to relieve the city; and the successive preparations for attacking the mole terminated in a few exchanges of shot. At length the cravings of nature triumphed over the firmness of principle; and Richelieu having given great facilities for an adjustment, passports were sent for deputies to proceed to the king's camp, to discuss the terms of surrender. When we consider the severity shown to many unfortunate messengers during the siege, some of whom were hanged after the reduction of the town, for the mere fact of conveying letters to or from the besieged, there is ground for surprise that the inhabitants in general were treated so leniently. Richelieu evidently discerned the advantages to be derived from humane policy; and his comprehensive views of affairs caused him to be satisfied with annihilating a little republic, which had defied the crown of France during seventy years. The gates of Rochelle were thrown open on the 30th of October, after a siege of nearly fifteen months; during which period the inhabitants were reduced from above twenty-seven thousand to five; and out of nearly six hundred Englishmen, left by Buckingham, only sixty-two survived.†

Perfect order was maintained on the entrance of the king's troops; and the disappointment of the vanquished was greatly soothed by their deliverance from starvation, an abundant supply of provisions being gratuitously distributed by the cardinal. He inaugurated the conquest of the Protestant town, by celebrating mass with great pomp, on the festival of All Saints.‡

Still there were examples of severity. The duchess of Rohan and her daughter were not named in the capitulation, and the king's advisers excluded her from its benefits. The duke states that his mother abstained from personal mention, to avoid the charge of having influenced the surrender. She was punished for the exertions of her sons; and was taken captive to Niort, with her daughter. "Rigour without precedent," observes her son, "that a person of her quality, at

* Arcère, vol. ii. p. 278.

† Arcère, vol. ii. p. 291.

‡ Dated 18th May, 1628. Mervault, p. 117.

§ Letters, dated 19th and 27th May. Mervault, p. 120.

¶ 7th July, Arcère, vol. ii. p. 294: 8th, according to Mervault.

* 23rd Aug. 1628. Vincent's Journal, quoted by Mervault. Violart, vol. i. p. 566. Clarendon, book i.

† Arcère, vol. ii. p. 323.

‡ Merc. Franç., vol. xiv. p. 708.

the age of seventy, on quitting a siege in which she and her daughter had lived for three months on horse-flesh, and four or five ounces of bread per day, should be held captive, deprived of the exercises of religion, and with only one attendant for her service.”*

The amnesty was limited, in its effects, to the personal liberties and property of the inhabitants. As a corporation, Rochelle was to be severely punished; and before the king's departure an ordinance was published, abrogating the rights and privileges of the city, confiscating the municipal estates, and ordering the complete destruction of the fortifications. It was even forbidden to erect a garden-wall near the town. The magistracy, on which the Rochellesses had for centuries prided themselves, was abolished; and the “city of refuge” was no longer permitted to receive a foreigner without the king's permission; nor were any Protestants allowed to reside there, unless they had been established prior to the arrival of Buckingham's expedition.†

CHAPTER LVIII.

Condé's expedition against the insurgents—Rohan's treaty with Spain—Sack of Privas—Pacification of 1629—Synod at Charenton—Death of Rohan, Montmorency, and Urban Grandier.

CONFORMABLY to the agreement between the Dukes of Buckingham and Rohan, the latter had proceeded in the summer of 1627 into Languedoc, where he summoned his adherents and prepared to co-operate with his allies. He published a manifesto, containing his reasons for seeking the assistance of England, in support of the reformed churches of France. That declaration was circulated through all the towns in which Protestants resided; and there was in Languedoc alone a powerful party, resolved to support his cause. An assembly was held at Uzès, to invite Rohan to resume the post of commander-in-chief of the Protestant forces; and, previous to separation, the members signed an oath of union and fidelity.‡

The inhabitants of Milhau protested against the assembly of Uzès; and the consuls of Montauban addressed the king, declaring their disapprobation of Rohan's treason.§ But he felt confident of general support in that province; and vigorously pressed his measures for combating the Prince of Condé, who was commissioned by the king to oppose his progress.||

Some minute details of this expedition have been preserved, from which we may infer the dreadful degree of animosity excited against the unfortunate Huguenots, who had accepted a tempting offer from the English minister, and were now irreparably compromised. The national feeling was so much worked upon, that the Protestants, being charged with participating in an English invasion, were exposed to the utmost degree of hatred.

The Huguenots of the Vivarais had elected for their chieftain a very daring and courageous man,

named Brison; and when Condé quitted Lyons, this commander was the first to call forth the prince's powers. Brison had posted himself at Soyon, a town on the Rhône, most advantageously situated for defence, if the garrison had been at all adequate. After some heavy discharges of artillery, the besieged proposed a parley, and demanded a truce until the following day. Their proposal being rejected, they declared they would hold out, and at midnight made their escape quietly to another refuge.*

Condé's subsequent behaviour was wantonly severe. The report sent to the government shows a cold, unfeeling insensibility on the part of the narrator, no less than an excessive animosity in the prince's orders. “He set fire to the village held by Brison, and hanged some soldiers who had been surprised; among others a cordelier, newly unfrocked, whom they found with an arquebuse. He gave up to plunder the dwelling of Du Bays, first consul of Nîmes, in hatred of the faction to which he belonged.”†

Brison's career was soon after terminated. He sustained his character to the last, and surprised Vals, a town in the Vivarais. But Condé was delivered from an opponent who was not sufficiently dignified to throw a lustre on the contest; for being at Privas, within a few days afterwards, he was requested to hold a child of his lieutenant at the font of a neighbouring village. Military honours signalised the chieftain's presence; and a salute was fired as he left the rural temple. One of the pieces was loaded with ball, and Brison being struck, was killed on the spot. His successor in the command was Montbrun St. André.‡

When the prince arrived at Toulouse, the parliament, encouraged by his presence, and instigated by the Dukes of Montmorency, Epernon, and Ventadour, passed several exceedingly severe edicts against the rebels. One was personally against the Duke of Rohan, who was degraded from his rank and dignities, and condemned to be torn asunder by four horses.§ The sentence was executed in effigy on the fifth of February, 1628; and if Rohan's good fortune had not preserved him from capture, he might and probably would have expiated his rebellion on the scaffold. A harsh spirit prevailed; and it was very common for agents and emissaries, if taken, to be hanged. This happened to a shoemaker of Montauban, who had carried a letter to Rohan, and was returning with the answer: being arrested at Gailhac, he was taken to Toulouse, where he was condemned and forthwith executed.||

It would answer no useful purpose to describe all the movements and encounters between the king's forces and the Protestants under Rohan. A variety of anecdotes are recorded by contemporaries, which show the strong feelings excited on both sides; and on perusing the chronicles of these times, the number of summary executions appears awfully numerous.

There were three leaders in the south of France: Condé, who was striving to gain importance by serving the king; Montmorency, whose aim was to

* Dec. 12th, 1697. Merc. Franç., vol. xiv. p. 4.

† Relation du Voyage de Monsieur le Prince, given by Aubry, vol. i. p. 604.

‡ Jan. 4th, 1628. Merc. Franç., vol. xiv. p. 43.

§ Deceaded 29th Jan. 1628. Merc. Franç., vol. xiv. p. 53.

|| 16th Feb. 1628. Merc. Franç., vol. xiv. p. 59.

* Rohan, *Mém.*, liv. 4. p. 422.

† Arcère, vol. ii. p. 326.

‡ Sept. 11th, 1627. Merc. Franç., vol. xiv. p. 309.—Rohan, *Mém.*, liv. 4. p. 297.

§ Merc. Franç., vol. xiv. p. 340.

|| Commission dated Niort, Oct. 10th, 1627. Merc. Franç., p. 316.

become independent like Lesdiguières; and Rohan, who maintained the Protestant cause against them both. The military operations were on a small scale, and there were very few actions worthy of note. However, Rohan's efforts prove him a more than ordinary man, when it is considered that he had to withstand the forces of several provinces; his resistance in Languedoc entitles him to great credit; and if the siege of Rochelle had been raised, would assuredly have procured him much renown, by the consequences to which it must have given rise.

The news of the surrender of Rochelle created great consternation, not only among Rohan's forces, but in all the Protestant towns. Every confederate, from that time, felt the necessity of making the best terms in his power. And many went so far as openly to justify such intentions; alleging that as the war was undertaken with the design of saving Rochelle, that town having fallen, it was incumbent upon them to make peace, without exposing their cause to extremities. Romish agents at the same time announced that promptitude was essential for all who wished to make terms, as the first submissions would be best rewarded. A royal proclamation likewise declared, that a decree of amnesty and oblivion would be granted to all individuals or communities, who in token of submission were willing to apply for the favour.*

Although the promises of Charles I. had proved valueless, the Huguenots still clung to the idea of English protection; and Rohan addressed that monarch, imploring his assistance.† At the same time, with an inconsistency to be explained only by the desperate state of his affairs, he sent an agent to the King of Spain, to supplicate his aid; and in return for the Spanish subsidies, he engaged to keep a stipulated force in the field, to make any diversion requisite for promoting the views and measures of the most Catholic king. Philip was highly pleased at such an opportunity for annoying the French government, and concluded a treaty to this effect: the Duke de Rohan was to receive six hundred thousand ducats per annum, payable half yearly: he was to keep up a force of twelve thousand men, and hold himself ready to march in any direction where the Spanish government required a diversion; and he was further prohibited from concluding any treaty of peace, without the consent of the King of Spain.

This treaty is disgraceful to the Duke of Rohan, if its conclusion can be substantiated. The text of the proposals and convention is preserved in a semi-official record;‡ but it does not appear after all that Rohan ever received the promised subsidy although the negotiation can hardly be doubted; for the assembly of Nismes requested him to write to Cassel, his agent at Madrid, that he could not subsist without money, and that a pacification in France must speedily take place, unless a supply arrived shortly.§ This is certainly an admission of the treaty.

Bernard Pels, a Dutchman, one of Rohan's agents in Spain, was about this time arrested at Lunel,

* 15th Dec. 1628. Merc. Franç., vol. xv. p. 31.—Rohan, liv. 4. p. 423.

† Letter dated Nismes, 12th March, 1629. Merc. Franç., vol. xv. p. 285.

‡ Dated Madrid, 3rd May, 1629, according to Merc. Franç., vol. xv. p. 463.

§ Rohan, *Mém.* liv. 4. p. 444.

and conducted to Toulouse, where torture was used to elicit particulars on the nature of his mission, and the names of his confederates. He was afterwards tried, and capitally condemned, as guilty of high treason: a sentence which it requires some ingenuity to justify, as the crown of France had not a shadow of claim to his allegiance. The severity of his punishment proves the strong apprehensions of Louis and his minister, that such a dangerous correspondence existed between the court of Madrid and the Huguenots.*

The king, attended by Richelieu, quitted the capital early this year, for the purpose of raising the siege of Casal. By activity and energy at Suze, he compelled the Duke of Savoy to consent to a treaty; and returned to Languedoc much earlier than could have been expected. His presence speedily produced a marked effect on the operations of his forces; and the appearance of his standard was the forerunner of success. Privas was plundered and burned, after a siege of fifteen days.†

Richelieu considered that the devastation of Privas required some palliation, and wrote a letter to the queen, in which he represents the catastrophe as an involuntary severity. He states that five or six hundred men who had retreated into a fort, having surrendered at discretion, the king resolved on hanging some, sending others to the galleys, and pardoning the least culpable. But as the guards entered the place, a desperate Huguenot, named Chambelan, took a lighted match, and declared to his companions, that as he would rather perish in the ruins than be hanged, he should set fire to the magazine, which he instantly effected. Many were killed on both sides; and the troops, in the fury of their vengeance, slew several of their own party. "It seems," says the cardinal, "like a particular judgment of God upon this town, which has always been the seat of heresy in these quarters. There was no intention of giving up the place to pillage; but in the night it was abandoned, and the gates thrown open for the soldiers to enter in crowds to plunder. Everything possible was done to prevent its being burnt; yet not a house has escaped the flames. Orders were given to prevent those in the fort from being molested by the troops, but they violently exposed themselves to destruction, leaping down from their fortifications, and incensing the soldiers against them, by their desperate attempt to destroy themselves with the king's followers."‡

Many strong towns were successively surrendered to the king; and a general wish for peace was found to exist among the Protestants. Rohan foresaw that the edicts would be completely annulled, if private treaties were entered into; and that a general pacification, although disadvantageous, would be less injurious to the cause.§ He accordingly sent a messenger to the royal camp, requesting a few days' suspension of hostilities, with permission for the assembly at Nismes to join him at Anduze, without molestation. This after some difficulty was granted. The deputies from Nismes were rather extravagant in their pretensions.

* Pels was beheaded 16th June, 1629. Merc. Franç., vol. xv. p. 464.

† 29th May, Merc. Franç., p. 479.

‡ Letter dated Privas, 30th May, 1629. Aubery, vol. i. p. 617.

§ Rohan, *Discours sur les Derniers Troubles*, p. 112, and *Mémoires*, liv. 4. at the end.

sions, which for some time seemed likely to prevent all negotiation; but a treaty was concluded and signed at Alais on the 27th of June.* The stipulations were perhaps as favourable as the ill fortune of the Protestants could have led them to expect; and while they had to lament the loss of their fortified town, they had liberty of conscience and freedom of worship again allowed them by edict. Experience had however shown how little reliance could be placed upon such guarantees, even in the days of Henry IV.; and cordiality was not established between the rival creeds. The people of Montauban would not agree to the treaty: this obstinacy gained them the empty distinction of a siege. Bassompierre invested the place; and after a few days, entered to complete Richelieu's triumph, by subduing the last town in which there remained any symptoms of revolt.†

No sooner was the civil war terminated, than the princes and leading nobility discovered the immense advantages which Richelieu would derive from the circumstance, to establish himself firmly as prime minister. The court soon became a scene of extensive rivalry and dispute; and Louis was so harassed in his domestic circle by the quarrels of his family, that he acquired a habit of considering Richelieu as indispensable to his happiness and comfort.

The queen-mother's hatred to the cardinal was undisguised; and subsequently, when she considered it necessary to justify herself, she declared in a letter to the parliament, that she should never have resolved on quitting France, if it had not been to preserve her life from the hands of Richelieu.‡

But the cardinal was not the only cause of her displeasure and vexation: Gaston d'Orléans wished to marry the princess Mary de Gonzague, a measure strenuously opposed by his mother, who was desirous that he should wed her niece, a Tuscan princess. In the midst of these family disputes, an ineffectual effort was made to effect Richelieu's dismissal;§ but the failure only served to render his position stronger, while it assured his enemies of increased hostility on his part. The king's movements towards Orleans, where his brother lived in retirement, made that prince suspicious of some evil design, and in the middle of March he escaped into Lorraine.

In July, the queen-mother quitted Compiègne for La Capelle, a town in Picardy, where she hoped to be joined by sufficient partisans, among the French malcontents and Spanish mercenaries from Flanders, for resisting any effort to conduct her back to her place of confinement. However, from the measures adopted on the occasion, she was compelled to change her plan, and withdrew into Flanders.||

* Menard, *Histoire de Nîmes*, vol. v. p. 586. Rohan, *Mémoires*, liv. 4. The edict in favour of the Duke de Rohan and the Sieur de Soubise, dated Nîmes, July, 1629, is given by Benoit, vol. ii. (*Preuves*).

† 20th August, 1629. Merc. Franç., vol. xv. p. 537. Bassompierre, vol. iii. p. 222.

‡ Letter dated Avesnes, 27th July, 1631. Aubery, vol. ii. p. 124.

§ 11th November, 1630, commonly termed *la journée des dupes*.

|| The inquiry, instituted by the king's order, contains the most minute details:—"The queen set out at 10 o'clock in the night of 18th July, 1631, in a coach belonging to Madame du Fresnoy, drawn by six bay horses," &c., &c. Aubery, vol. ii. p. 115.

Under such circumstances, the affairs of the Protestants obtained very little attention from the government. Their political importance had ceased; and the time had not yet arrived for depriving them of the rights of conscience. All Europe knew the resolution of Gustavus Adolphus to make common cause with Protestants under persecution: prudence consequently demanded liberal treatment for them at this time. They had not been allowed to hold a synod for some years; and the king gave them permission to meet at Charenton, in September, 1631. An historian, avowedly unfavourable to them, observes, that the disputes between the king, his mother, and brother, seemed to present them with an occasion for revolting; and therefore the government endeavoured to satisfy the most reasonable of their demands.*

When the deputies were assembled, Gallard, the king's commissary, informed them that his majesty would be a good father and sovereign to them, but he forbade their making protestations and remonstrances. He directed their attention to several infractions of the king's orders; such as receiving foreigners into the ministry, and French preachers going abroad. There was however another charge, far more serious, as calculated to bring odium upon the Protestant body: Beraut, minister of Montauban, had published a work, declaring that preachers had a right to take arms for the cause of religion. For this he had been prohibited by the king's order from assisting at the synod;† but being questioned on the subject, he excused himself on account of the heated state of public opinion at the time he wrote and acquiesced in the condemnation of the work. At the request of the synod, he obtained the king's permission to join the assembly.

The ministers Amirault and de Villars were deputed by the meeting to present the statement of their grievances to the king, then staying at Compiègne. They petitioned for the right of ministers to preach in any Protestant temple, whereas a recent decision had forbidden them to abandon their special charges—a cessation of proceedings instituted against some ministers of Languedoc, for preaching their avowed doctrines—admission of Protestants to public charges—and the liberation of some of their brethren from the galleys.‡ From this list of their demands, a tolerable idea may be formed of their condition at this epoch.

Rohan's principles were a decided obstacle to his remaining at the court of Louis XIII., although that monarch appeared willing to receive him with cordiality. The tone of his memoirs indicates a feeling of disappointment and vexation at the calumnious reports put into circulation by some who, having abjured Protestantism, deemed it essential to their interests that his motives should be assailed. In a discourse composed with the idea of justifying his conduct and character, he observes: "It is a thankless toil to serve the public, especially a feeble and voluntary party, for if each does not find what he anticipated, all cry out against their leader. This I now experience—I am blamed by the people, who have not the relief they expected: being sti-

* Bernard, p. 280.

† Benoit states that the king wished to exclude Basnage, pastor of Carentan, on account of the zeal he had displayed during the siege of Rochelle. *Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 519.

‡ Merc. Franç., vol. xvii. p. 723.

mulated by false brethren, who, to increase their importance with the opposite party, make it their business to represent me, as they in reality are.”*

This nobleman being grandson of Isabella d'Albret, daughter of John, King of Navarre, would have succeeded to that crown had Henry IV. died childless. His birth entitled him to much more importance at court than the circumstances of the time permitted; he therefore withdrew to Venice at the close of the civil wars, and was appointed generalissimo of that republic. In that capacity he had made ample preparations for repairing the disasters of some recent campaigns, when his projects were annihilated by the treaty of Cherasco, concluded in June, 1631. He was afterwards sent by Louis as his ambassador to the Grisons, and was actively engaged in similar employs until March, 1637, when a treaty which he had concluded respecting the Valteline caused considerable dissatisfaction at court; and to avoid the effects of Richelieu's animosity, he retired to Geneva. Although his conduct in the Valteline gave ample proof of his bravery and talent, he dared not return into France, being persuaded that the prime minister would make him responsible for the misfortunes attendant on an event which had arisen entirely out of that statesman's policy.†

Grotius, in a letter to Oxenstiern, states that the court of France was alarmed at the correspondence between Rohan and Saxe-Weimar, who had great deference for his talents. Richelieu apprehended some project for reviving the Protestant interest in the Cevennes. Rohan was sent to Venice with a view of drawing him away from Geneva; but he met Weimar, and instead of proceeding to Venice joined his army. While charging at the head of a body of troops, at the battle of Rhinfeldt, he received a wound, which ultimately proved fatal.‡ The king wrote Rohan a letter of thanks for the victory he had been instrumental in gaining; but it was generally supposed that Richelieu's satisfaction at the defeat of the Imperialists was inferior to his pleasure on being freed from a powerful enemy.§

Henry, Duke of Rohan was, by general admission, one of the greatest men of his age. His opinions on military tactics have been highly prized, especially on questions relating to mountain warfare. It has been said of him, that he followed the traces of Sertorius, and became the model of Catinat. He had great talent as a writer; and Voltaire has passed some high encomiums on his account of the Valteline wars. He detested avarice, and spared no expense for spies, whom he termed the eyes of an army.|| An idea obtained circulation that he was in treaty with the Porte for the purchase of Cyprus, in order to establish a free government, where the persecuted Protestants might find a refuge. The project failed in consequence of the death of the patriarch Cyril, who had promoted the negotiation.¶

The remainder of the reign of Louis XIII. presents very few incidents claiming notice in this work. Richelieu was firm, he was even severe:

* Rohan, *Discours sur les Derniers Troubles*, p. 97.

† D'Avrigny, *Mém. Chronologiques*, vol. i. p. 308.

‡ He was wounded 28th Feb., and died 13th April, 1638, æt. 59. His body was carried to Geneva, and buried with great honours. Levasor, liv. 43.

§ Leclerc, *Vie de Richelieu*, vol. ii. p. 331.

|| Levasor, liv. 63.

¶ Amclot de la Houssaye, *Mém. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 26.

but his enemies must admit he possessed greatness of mind; and his advice tempered and neutralised the tendency to cruelty and bigotry which corroded the weak monarch's breast.

The fate of Montmorency will always be a stigma upon the cardinal's government.* That nobleman's sentence was as strictly just, as Marshal Marillac's was legally iniquitous; but Montmorency had rendered great assistance in consolidating the throne; for which Louis had many times expressed his gratitude: indeed it is doubtful whether Richelieu could have suppressed the Huguenot party in Languedoc without his co-operation. His name was moreover popular; and his character stood very high for social excellence: those circumstances combined have thrown a halo around his name, and probably ensured his fate; for his insurrection might have been pardoned, if Richelieu's plan of government had not required the sacrifice of every rival.

Marillac's sentence is by all admitted to be odious in the extreme: but Richelieu's apologists contend that the marshal was guilty of the basest ingratitude, in conspiring against his benefactor; and thus divert a portion of the odium from the statesman, whose firm administration excited much discontent, and provoked continual plots against his person. He was therefore, in self-defence, compelled to adopt tyrannical measures; and a long catalogue of victims is displayed in the annals of this reign. The Huguenots were not however the objects of his judicial rigour; and on one occasion when two students of Saumur were convicted of mingling, in a frolic, with the faithful at the midnight mass, on which occasion they irreverently received the sacrament of the Eucharist, the sentence was free from the cruelty which had long characterised such judgments. They were banished from Paris for three years—from Saumur, for ever; were fined twelve hundred livres; and the punishment of death was threatened if the offence were repeated.†

Urban Grandier, a priest, is among the names rendered famous for a melancholy fate. The Ursuline convent at Loudun was disturbed by apparitions; and subsequently the nuns displayed all the symptoms of demoniacal possession; which facts were related in the *procès-verbaux* of three consecutive ceremonies for exorcising the place.‡ Grandier was a man of considerable talents, and had written a treatise condemning the celibacy of the clergy; for which it is however probable he would never have been molested, had he not published a satirical libel upon Richelieu. He was accused of having bewitched the Ursuline nuns; and writers in the cardinal's employ have asserted that his simulated apparitions were only covers for effecting impure designs. It was believed at court that he was the cause of the demoniacal possession, and to doubt it became a state offence. Grandier was arrested in December, 1633; and as the sentence which condemned him to be burned alive was not given till August following, it would appear that he defended himself with ability. It was however in vain; for Laubardemont, one of Richelieu's creatures, and the Jesuit Lactance, who was there

* Montmorency was beheaded at Toulouse, 30th Oct. 1632;

Marillac at Paris, in May of the same year.

† Arrêt du Parlement de Paris, 17th Feb. 1632. Merc. Franç., vol. xviii. p. 26.

‡ 7th Oct., 14th Nov., and 4th Dec., 1632. Merc. Franç., vol. xx. pp. 487-764.

to exorcise the nuns, condemned him for magic, sorcery, impiety, &c. Grandier endured a long martyrdom, being tortured for some time with ingenious devices. To inspire the public with a hatred of his memory, Father Lactance held a heated iron crucifix to Grandier's lips: the sufferer drew back with the pain, and the Jesuit pointed out to the by-standers how the heretic abhorred the symbol of redemption.*

The Count de Lude exposed the infamous imposture, which was continued after Grandier had expired in the flames. Pretending to have a choice relic in a casket, he expressed a desire to test the reality of the possession, by holding it near to one of those suffering from the demon. The nun in consequence threw herself into violent convulsions directly the holy relic was near her; and a tremendous outcry was raised against the count, when he opened his box, and displayed a bunch of hair and some feathers.† The deception was then evident; and the exorcists lost the gratuity allowed them by the government.

From this time the affairs of France assumed an entirely different character: Richelieu interfered in the general concerns of Europe; and the military operations in Germany, by engaging attention and occupying the active spirits of the age, completely finished the civil wars, and introduced a new system of policy, more hostile to the power and influence of the nobles, and for a time severe towards all classes: it was however requisite, after so many years of anarchy, to pass under the ordeal of tyranny, as the price of restored order.

Ere we quit this era of the Huguenot annals, there remains only to allude to the death of Sully, whose patriotism and loyalty were made to harmonise with his religious principles, in attachment to which he remained unchanged until his death. We have found him, even while suffering a species of vexatious banishment, forget his injuries, and act as mediator before the walls of Montauban; for which service he was subsequently rewarded with the marshal's bâton.

It is related that notwithstanding Sully's firm and uncompromising views upon his religious tenets,‡ he entertained great partiality for some Capucins, by whom he was visited; and that a short time before his death, he wished to converse with them, but the duchess refused them admittance, and threatened to have them thrown into the moat, unless they retired. That lady was an exceedingly zealous Protestant; and her daughter, the Duchess of Rohan, followed her example: they washed with their own hands the linen of the communion table; but, with that single exception, all Sully's children embraced the Romish faith.§

CHAPTER LIX.

Mazarin's administration—Encroachments on the edicts by Louis XIV.—Madame de Maintenon's influence—Commencement of the dragonnades.

FROM the pacification of 1629 until 1661, when Louis XIV. assumed the direction of affairs, the

general history of the Huguenots presents few important incidents. There were from time to time individual cases of complaint, and isolated instances of hostility; for the spirit of the league was not extinct, and the more zealous partisans of Rome were only restrained from urging their favourite measure by the commanding genius of the celebrated cardinals who successively administered the affairs of France. Popular prejudice would frequently burst forth in an access of animosity, under the garb of zeal for religion; and whenever, through some technical irregularity, the protecting clauses of the edict of Nantes could be evaded or infringed, the circumstance was regarded as a victory over heresy. Unfortunately for the Protestants, no effort was made by them to appease the hostile opinion of the people; they repeatedly asserted in their discussions and publications that the pope was Antichrist, and that the church of Rome was signified in Scripture by Babylon. The Catholic clergy became more and more animated in the quarrel; and from the superior advantages of the Romish religion the result could not be doubtful. The church, as a powerful body in the state, was enabled to confer a service on the crown, in voting grants, termed *dons gratuits* or free gifts. The Protestants, on the other hand, were poor: nearly all the noble members of their community had been seduced into abjuration, by the hopes of lucrative employments and honourable distinctions. And as the votes of each assembly of the clergy was accompanied by some request for edicts against the Protestants, it is rather a cause for surprise that the edict of Nantes should have remained in force so long, than that it was ultimately revoked. The high ecclesiastical rank of Richelieu and Mazarin doubtless enabled them to repel the successive demands of the clergy, while a layman enjoying the sovereign's confidence in the same degree could hardly have escaped the suspicion of secretly favouring heresy: but as princes of the church, they were able to postpone nearly every project against freedom of conscience; and as they both gave the most liberal recompenses to encourage desertion from the Huguenot cause, no complaint could consistently be raised against their policy.

Richelieu was magnificent in his projects, and elevated in his ideas. His disposition led him to patronise literature and the fine arts. He was a generous friend, but an implacable enemy; and having succeeded in restoring the regal authority, he swayed it conformable to his own caprices and feelings. He was both hated and feared by the king, whose councils he directed; and would have been speedily removed from his exalted situation, if Louis had been more vigorous, or the kingdom less agitated. Being well served by Father Joseph, he firmly established his authority; and every effort to overthrow him recoiled upon his rivals and adversaries.

Louis XIII. soon followed his minister to the grave:* his character appears in a most disadvantageous light, on account of the severe examples to which the disorganised state of society gave rise. He was inclined to piety, but, under the influence of injudicious or crafty advisers, he became so infatuated, that he wrote to the pope in 1631,

* Richelieu died 4th Dec., 1642; Louis XIII. 14th May, 1643.

* Hist. des Diables de Loudon. Merc. Frang., vol. xx.

† Arcana Gallica, p. 96.

‡ Yet, according to Benoit, his conduct at the religious services was very irreverent; he kept the congregation waiting for his appearance, remained covered and played with a favourite dog during the sermon. Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes, vol. ii. p. 536.

§ *Supplémentaux Mémoires de Sully*, par l'abbé de l'Ecluse.

declaring his readiness to break the existing treaties with his northern allies, provided the King of Spain would join him in extirpating protestantism.* His domestic misfortunes arose principally from his readiness to receive impressions of distrust: the inevitable consequence was a series of family feuds, which never failed to kindle political troubles. After making every allowance for his weakness, and placing upon his advisers the responsibility of many unjust condemnations during his reign, his name and character are very far from commanding the respect of posterity.

Mazarin's government appears to have been destined to form a contrast with that of his predecessor. The predominant feeling of the public against Richelieu was hatred; against Mazarin, it was contempt: yet both succeeded in completely subjugating all orders of the state. Each excelled in crafty manœuvre; but although Mazarin was the object of avowed jealousy, and exposed to the efforts of open hostilities, he never sought his revenge by means of the scaffold. His besetting weakness was a love of money; and the success of his schemes was probably the true cause of the enmity to which he was exposed. His talent is admitted by his enemies. His plans were less gigantic than those of Richelieu, but much better arranged and digested. He was less inclined to shine in forming new alliances and combinations, than to follow up the measures begun by his predecessor. With Condé and Turenne to command the forces; and, on the other hand, finding the nobles greatly humbled by the augmented stability of the monarchy, it was to be naturally expected that the results of his administration would be more extensive than those produced by Richelieu, upon whose foundation his political edifice was raised.

In his foreign negotiations, he had to assume an attitude altogether different. The power of France had made great advances; Spain was considerably weaker; the peace of Westphalia had changed the tactics of several cabinets; and the rise of Cromwell completely altered the aspect of French diplomacy with England. To this last reason may be probably ascribed Mazarin's tenderness for the Protestants. He prized Cromwell's alliance, and was aware of the strong feeling of sympathy and brotherhood existing between the British presbyterians and the Huguenots. The Protector was solicited to form an alliance with the Prince of Condé, who even offered to become a Protestant; and Cromwell sent an agent privately to notice the state of the reformed in France. He reported that they were well treated, because Mazarin caused the edicts to be carefully observed; and stated, in addition, that Condé was not much esteemed by the Huguenots.†

An inclination to tolerance has exposed Mazarin to some severe animadversions from the more violent writers among the French clergy. One, particularly noted for his acrimony against the Protestants, after representing as a riot what was merely a display of feeling, on account of a Protestant youth being induced to turn Romanist, complains of the cardinal's truckling to the Huguenots. Mazarin's letter to the consistory of Nismes, where

it occurred, is thus estimated: "It contains expressions as unworthy of the purple, and of his ministerial character, as it is conformable to the subtle and dissembling spirit which sustained, and may be said to have guided him to the end of a difficult and thwarted administration.**"

During the troubles of the Fronde, the cardinal's enemies endeavoured, but in vain, to enrol the Huguenots among their partisans. Condé's friends seized some forts at Rochelle; and the prince hoped, by establishing himself in that port, to secure a communication with foreign countries. But the loyal spirit of the inhabitants enabled the king's general, D'Estissac, to regain possession after a siege of three days. Condé had, by that time, advanced to Muron, within six leagues of Rochelle: but, on learning that the forts had surrendered, he precipitately withdrew his forces into Saintonge. The Count de Daugnion, Condé's chief agent in the enterprise, maintained himself at Brouage, which place was, for some time, the centre of a most daring system of insurrectionary warfare: his soldiers infested the surrounding country, and vessels, under his flag, annoyed the commerce of that coast. He had even the audacity to solicit aid from Cromwell, who promised to send him ten thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry. That assistance never came; and a Spanish naval expedition, with which he was to co-operate, was completely defeated by the Duke de Vendôme. Still Daugnion was determined to defend his desperate cause; and the court, considering it better to win, than to have the trouble of subduing so desperate a man, sent the Bishop of Saintes to treat with him: his submission was purchased with a marshal's baton, and five hundred thousand livres.†

Having failed at Rochelle, Condé proceeded to Montauban, still relying on the insurrectionary disposition attributed to the protestants. There he had some grounds for anticipating success for his overtures, as the parliament of Toulouse had lately passed decrees condemning Mazarin's conduct; and that body was prevented from declaring openly for the prince, solely through fear of the Huguenots, who were in the king's party. On presenting himself before the town, a trumpeter was sent to call on the people to submit; appealing to the services rendered by Condé's ancestors to the protestant cause; and promising, on his part, the maintenance of their liberties if they embraced his interests. But his offers were unanimously rejected; and St. Luc, the king's general, who, after a recent defeat by the prince, had taken shelter there, finding himself so well supported, sent back the trumpeter with a message that the town was prepared to resist his attack. The prince had not materials for carrying on a siege, and withdrew to Moissac, a small town at a distance of three leagues, whence a body of troops from Montauban soon after dislodged him.‡

Never were circumstances more favourable for the Huguenots to make an attempt for regaining their lost advantages than during the civil wars of the Fronde, which lasted from 1649 to 1653; but there appears to have existed no such desire in that body. Condé's project for seizing Rochelle was

* Caveirac, *Apologie de Louis XIV.* p. 203.

† Arcère, vol. ii. p. 341. His edict of amnesty is dated 18th March, 1653.

‡ Coste, *Hist. de Louis de Bourbon, Prince de Condé*, p. 298.

* D'Avrigny, *Mém. Chron.*, vol. i. p. 365.

† Burnet, *Hist. of his Own Times*, vol. i. p. 42.

in 1651; and we have Mazarin's testimony to the quiet disposition of the Protestants. He is represented to have said concerning them—"I have no reason to complain of the little flock: if they browse upon bad herbs, at least they do not go astray."* For their encouragement, the king published a declaration, † in which positive proofs of their fidelity and affection were recorded, and confirming the various edicts in their favour, notwithstanding any judgments or decrees given against them. Louis likewise wrote a letter to the consistory of Montauban, thanking its members for the marks of their attachment to his service, and permitting them to restore the fortifications of their town.‡ A comparison of the above dates will sufficiently prove that the royal promise was not given with a view to future advantage in the civil war; because the declaration was not made until most of the partisans of the Fronde had submitted: still it is maliciously recorded by an apologist and flatterer of Louis XIV., that he gave the declaration in order to prevent the Protestants from joining the malcontents; and, because it was given from no other motive, the request of the clergy procured its revocation in 1656.§

This reversal of a declaration, which should have been deemed sacred and irrevocable, caused much apprehension among the Protestants. For some years the attention of many eminent persons in the church, and among the offices of parliament, had been directed towards the most efficacious means for delivering France from the presence of heresy. Various measures were proposed for hastening the general conversion of the Huguenots; and the plan first adopted, corruption, was attended with great success: however, the middle and lower classes could not be bribed by such inducements. Men of high birth were dazzled by the perspective of rank and honours; but the peaceable manufacturers and tradesmen continued steadfast in the reformed faith. A notion as ridiculous as it was tyrannical had been extensively adopted—"That it was essential for all the subjects of a sovereign to have the same creed." This was maintained by Paul Hay du Chatelet, an advocate-general, who suffered imprisonment for nobly refusing to join in the iniquitous judgment of Marshal Marillac. In the dispensation of justice, that magistrate was alive to its first principles: but in discussing the rights of conscience, he was lost amid the subtleties of the Romish doctrines; and seems to have been insensible to the value of quiet orderly conduct in a numerous body of men, unless they concurred with the state authorities on religious opinions. In his remarks upon the Protestants, he assumes that they cherish feelings of hatred to public order, and are ever ready for revolt, confusion, and anarchy. These general accusations were, however, unimportant, compared with his demand for repealing the edict of Nantes, which, he observes, "was exacted by violence, and in arms; and which was, after all, only a temporary measure, to await their being instructed in the truth for which they have had sufficient time. . . . When the edict was given, the happiness of France was promoted by it; and if the same motive now demands its revocation, there needs no hesitation, it must be

repealed or set aside." He then proposes *fifteen* methods for inducing a general conversion; by which the protestant religion might be made to disappear, without resorting to open persecution: one of these methods will suffice to exemplify the spirit in which the whole are conceived: it consists in suing the Protestants for their common debts, and thus obtain decrees of seizure and sale of their temples, which cannot be admitted as in mortmain.*

Such sentiments being avowed, every decision of the parliaments against the Protestants appeared as an evidence that the suggestions were being acted upon. For the Huguenots, under such circumstances, to prepare for the coming storm, was no more than common sense would induce any one to expect. And when their lawful sovereign could so far despise the obligations of honour, as to revoke the declaration of 1652 merely because the reasons for making it no longer existed—when this wanton breach of faith is considered, there is great excuse to be made for the Huguenots seeking for foreign assistance in case of need. An act is said to have been signed at the synod of Montpazier, in 1659; it was presented to the king in 1677 by a minister named Mounier, who had embraced the Romish religion, and who, in order to prove his sincerity, endeavoured to injure his late companions. This act contains, among other clauses, that their *brethren* in England would come to their assistance, on condition that the towns and places, at their disposal, should be given up to them.† When the document was published, it was declared a calumny and fabrication; and protestant writers impugned and criticised it with severity. The charge was unquestionably serious; yet the convention appears intended to be acted upon only in the event of anticipated persecution. Admitting the authenticity of the piece, it was not with the English government, but with private individuals they treated; and it proves that the English negotiators merely made a stipulation to preserve themselves from a repetition of the treacheries committed by Huguenot commanders in former civil wars; when it frequently happened that a chieftain, being offered advantageous terms by the court, would conclude a separate treaty, and abandon his confederates. And on this head even the grandson of Coligny was not exempt from blame.

When Louis took into his own hands the reins of government the Protestants were entitled to some very valuable rights; and that their conduct proved they deserved them, we have the testimony of that monarch himself, who at a later period of his reign dictated memoirs for the instruction of his son. Mazarin's unpopularity called for some explanation, why an obnoxious minister was allowed to exercise authority after he had attained his majority; and Louis XIV. justifies himself by enumerating the commotions at the commencement of his reign. The Prince of Condé at the head of the malcontents; the parliament inclined to infringe upon the royal prerogatives; and much interested feeling among the nobility, formed a serious combination, by subduing which Mazarin gained his esteem and gratitude. Surely, if the Protestants had given him apprehension, their discontent would have been included among the causes which had combined to direct his policy.

* Rulhière, *Eclaircissements historiques*, vol. i. p. 19.

† Dated St. Germain, 21st May, 1652.

‡ Coste, p. 303.

§ Soulier, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, p. 552.

* *Traité de la politique de France*, ch. iii.

† Soulier, p. 553.

To borrow the expression of one who had devoted much time and labour to researches on this epoch, "He complains of the clergy, the Jansenists, the nobility, the courtiers, the magistrates, the financiers; and does not make the slightest mention of the Calvinists."* And in reviewing the characters of those selected to fill the various departments of the state, the king observes: "La Vrillière and Duplessis were worthy men, but with intelligence merely proportioned to the exercise of their charges, which embraced *nothing important*."† The affairs of the Protestants especially occupied La Vrillière, and the preceding remark upon his abilities is an additional proof that no charge of disaffection could at that time be brought against the Huguenots.‡

In further corroboration may be cited a letter from Louis to the Duke de St. Aignan: "You have acted very prudently, in not precipitating any thing, upon the information sent you respecting some inhabitants of Havre, of the pretended reformed religion. Those who profess it, being *no less faithful* to me than my other subjects, they must not be treated with less attention and kindness."§

It must not, however, be supposed that the efforts of the intolerant party were laid aside at this period. A polemical fever tormented the whole nation; and there are many instances of individuals having changed their religion, who afterwards returned to their first faith.|| As the conversions were mostly from Protestantism to popery, every powerful interest leading in that direction, the clergy endeavoured to obtain a law for preventing relapse after abjuration. The Bishops of Languedoc had attempted it in 1638; Richelieu however refused to confirm the provisional decrees given by the authorities of the province. In 1660, the assembly of the clergy renewed the application, but Mazarin withstood their demand; and after his death, the new administration and a change of policy, encouraged them to make another effort. A decree of the intendant of Rochelle was confirmed; and the ordinance was afterwards converted into a general law. Its dispositions were very severe; for a relapse into heresy exposed the individual to perpetual banishment. But its remote consequences were still more oppressive: for the Protestant ministers were forbidden to expostulate with, or exhort their converted brethren; and the presence of such at their preachings was a sufficient cause for closing a temple and dispersing a flock. Remorse frequently led there some who, in an unguarded moment, had been induced to abjure; they usually manifested contrition on witnessing their brethren and friends engaged in a form of worship which they had vowed to renounce and condemn; the pastor's feelings naturally led him to revive, if possible, the penitent's former senti-

ments; and most of the Protestant churches coming in this manner under the penalty of the law, their numbers were rapidly reduced in consequence.

In 1666 the Catholic clergy made another step towards the subversion of religious liberty. There had been many cases before the courts entirely new in their nature; and the interpretation of the law had often required a declaratory decree. Impartial decisions had sometimes been given: but for the greater part, those decrees were favourable to the state religion.* The clergy demanded and obtained that those decisions should be embodied in a general law. The Protestants then apprehended a design for their complete ruin; and, within a few years, numbers abandoned their country, to seek in other lands that equal protection of the laws, which they could not hope to enjoy in France. An edict against emigration was issued in 1669.† The tyrannical enactments on this subject afford materials for extensive commentary. Edict followed edict in rapid succession; and the degree of penalty proceeded in an awful gradation from fine to imprisonment, the galleys, and death.

Colbert's influence was still in favour of the Protestants, and the threatened storm was for a time postponed; but the revocation of the edict of Nantes was certainly contemplated in 1669;‡ during which year, a royal proclamation forbade the synods from censuring parents or guardians who sent their children to Catholic schools; and enjoined the closing of shops on festivals, with a number of regulations, highly vexatious to the Protestants.§

Circumstances however combined to postpone the evil day: the king was favoured with a series of brilliant successes, almost unparalleled in history; the Jesuits were engaged in a long dispute with the Jansenists; and some speculative theologians proposed a scheme for uniting the different creeds, by certain concessions from the pope, on matters of form.|| The last measure was more than once entered upon seriously; and was under consideration about three years. Turenne, who had recently abjured, was in its favour; and the scheme was not entirely renounced until 1673, when the synod of Charenton declared it impracticable.¶

The jubilee of 1676 revived in the king's bosom that fervent zeal for the Romish religion which had been laid aside in the transports of his passion for Madame de Montespan. Even at his most voluptuous periods, that monarch was observant of devotional forms; and it is said that during his whole life he never missed hearing daily mass, excepting on two occasions, when engaged in military affairs.** His qualm of conscience caused him to dismiss for a time his fascinating mistress; and without accusing him of hypocrisy, the reli-

* Rulhière, vol. i. p. 30. This author is not quite justified in his assertion; for the *Mémoires* do mention the Protestants, though not complainingly: "L'on m'avait dit que dans le faubourg St. Germain il s'était fait par eux quelques assemblées, et que l'on y prétendait établir des écoles de cette secte; mais j'en suis bien content que je ne voulais pas souffrir ces nouveautés, qu'elles cessèrent incontinent." *Mem.* vol. i. p. 31. The king himself thus testifies their ready submission.

† *Mémoires* de Louis XIV., écrits par lui-même. vol. i. p. 6.

‡ Rulhière, vol. i. p. 31.

§ Letter dated St. Germain, 1st April, 1666. La Beaumelle, vol. vi. p. 216.

|| Among others, Bayle.

* The adverse feeling of the judicial authorities may be gathered from an incident which occurred in May, 1662. The minister Amyraut was concerned in a cause before the court of *Aides*: the procureur-general demanded, and the court decreed, that he should not style himself D.D., nor allude to his wife. Benoit, vol. iii. p. 453.

† Registered in parliament 13th Aug. 1669.

‡ Rapport du Baron de Breteuil, given at length by Rulhière, vol. ii. p. 49 *et seq.* It is generally thought that Rulhière himself drew up this document, as he was the baron's secretary.

§ Declaration du Roy, dated Paris, 1st Feb. 1669.

|| Grotius had proposed a measure of this kind in 1631.

¶ Rulhière, vol. i. p. 122.

** Souvenirs de Madame de Caylus, p. 37.

gious exercises enjoined at this period, produced such an effect upon his mind, that he imagined he could meet the late object of his unlawful love on terms of pure friendship. Bossuet was deceived—less by the king, than by his own confidence in a religion of formalities. His opinion was asked, whether Madame de Montespan should be allowed to appear at court. She had been as exemplary in fasting, praying and confessing, as her royal seducer; and it was declared that as she had vanquished her own heart, she could live at court, consistently with her altered character. It was decided that their first interview should be in public. They met—the king conversed with her in the recess of a window; they sighed, they wept, they withdrew; and their intercourse was completely renewed.*

In the confessional, Louis was taught the necessity of expiating his fault; and a large sum was added to the existing grant, for promoting the conversion of Protestants. The direction of this undertaking was intrusted to Pellisson, a converted Protestant, very much celebrated as an elegant writer, but whose character is tarnished by repeated instances of interestedness. His accounts were left at his death in great disorder; and although he took orders in the church of Rome, to be qualified for holding the abbey of Gimont, and the priory of St. Orens,† it is doubtful whether he did not die professing the faith he had abjured.‡

Many of the conversions effected by money were the result of momentary necessities or accidental circumstances, acting upon irresolution; and to prevent backsliding, the proclamation against relapsed heretics was renewed.§ On the other hand, children were, very soon after, allowed to renounce Calvinism at the early age of seven years;|| a period of infancy, when a toy would suffice to lead a child to assent to any opinion, however abstruse and unintelligible; while no child was allowed to make a public profession of Protestantism under fourteen years of age for boys, and twelve for girls.¶

At this time, Madame de Maintenon began to exercise great influence upon the king's mind. Her letters prove that she already contributed essentially to the triumph of the Romish clergy. In one we find: "The king has passed two hours in my cabinet: he is the most amiable man in his kingdom. I spoke to him of Bourdaloue, and he listened with attention. Perhaps he is not so far from thinking of his salvation as the court imagines. He has good sentiments, and frequent returns towards God."** In another letter she observes: "The king is imbued with good sentiments; he sometimes reads the Scriptures, and deems it the finest of all books. He confesses his weaknesses: he admits his faults. We must wait the operation of grace. He thinks seriously about the conversion of the heretics; and, in a short time, that will be attended to in earnest."††

It appears almost incredible, that the grandchild

* Caylus, p. 39.

† Abbé d'Olivet, *Hist. de l'Académie Française*.

‡ Rulhière, *Eclaircissements*, &c., vol. i. p. 148.

§ The declaration, dated 13th March, 1679, awards the *amende honorable*, banishment, and confiscation, as the punishment; stating, as a reason, that banishment alone had proved too mild a punishment to deter the converts.

|| Declaration dated 17th June, 1681.

¶ Edict of 1st Feb. 1669, art. 39.

** Lettre à la Comtesse de St.-Geran, 19th April, 1679.

†† Letter to the same, 28th Oct., 1679.

of Théodore-Agrippa D'Aubigné could have penned such sentiments. Had her father, Constant D'Aubigné, superintended her education, that circumstance would have been a sufficient explanation: his disposition and character were bad in the extreme; and he detested his father's faith, which he openly abjured. But an aunt, Madame de Villette, a lady of irreproachable character, had removed her in infancy, from a state of destitution, caused by her father's imprudence; and by that kind relative those principles were imparted, which would have obtained the approbation of the venerable D'Aubigné. Indeed, so fervent was the child in her attachment to Calvinism, that she felt a degree of horror at her father's apostasy, and manifested much ardour on behalf of the Protestant religion. Many interesting anecdotes are recorded of her firmness in defending her opinions, when successively assailed by priests and nuns at a convent of Niort, where she was placed for completing her education, a measure commanded by the government, at the request of her mother, a rigid Catholic. To detail them here would be superfluous; but they were viewed as an earnest of liberal views, which unfortunately did not appear, when Françoise D'Aubigné became Marchioness de Maintenon.

Yet her ideas of tolerance did not cease immediately after her change of religion. A letter to her brother, then governor of Amersfort, contains the following censure: "I have complaints on your account, which are not to your honour. You ill treat the Huguenots; you seek the means, you create the occasions; that is unlike a man of quality. Have pity on people, more unhappy than culpable: they are in the errors wherein we ourselves were; and from which violence would never have removed us."*

A conviction that her Calvinistic education might diminish the king's respect for her opinions, and destroy the effect of her exhortations, made her desirous of removing every trace of heresy from among her relations. She began by endeavouring to convert her cousin, the Marquis de la Villette. Bossuet was employed to convince him, but to no purpose; and Bourdaloue's eloquence produced no result. The king sent him orders to be converted; Villette asked for time, which was granted. But when Madame de Maintenon pressed him to fix a period, he replied: "It will require a hundred years—ten at least, to believe in the infallibility of a body of men; twenty to be accustomed to transubstantiation, &c." His cousin did not anticipate such obstinacy; and as he was in the navy, she had him ordered upon a long voyage, that he might not frustrate her views for saving his children.†

The dispute between the Jesuit and Jansenist parties menaced the church of Rome with another schism. Louis, who had become a confirmed devotee, was strongly inclined to favour the former party; and was enslaved by illiberal, narrow views to such a degree, that while Duquesne and Turenne were treated with distinction, although Protestants, he would not allow the appointment of a Jansenist to any command.‡ The rival sects

* Lettre au Comte D'Aubigné, 1st Oct. 1672.

† La Beaumelle, *Mém. de Maintenon*, vol. ii. p. 202.—Auger, *Vie de Madame de Maintenon*, vol. ii. p. 77.—Caylus, p. 15.

‡ This prejudice increased with the king's age. In 1706, the Duke of Orleans, on setting out for Italy, wished to be accompanied by Augrand de Fontpertuis, a decided liber-

were both ambitious of the honour of directing the great measure, for bringing back the lost sheep to the Romish church; and each presented a scheme for effecting that object, drawn up in form of a memorial. And it is worthy of remark, that neither of these plans embraced the revocation of the edict of Nantes; on the contrary, its strict and literal observance was demanded by both. The Jansenists founded their hopes of success upon reiterated instructions by the clergy, and the good example of their conduct: the Jesuits insisted on the firm and unceasing action of the royal authority. The principles of Port-Royal* were tolerant; for according to the Jansenist views, it was better to remain separate from the church, than to join it without sincere convictions. The Jesuits, on the contrary, were violent in their zeal; they were impatient to stifle heresy, rather than convert the heretics; they considered the support of the military far preferable to the influence of the bishops; and called for the expulsion of Protestants from every government employ.

Probably the natural feelings of Louis XIV. would have inclined him to adopt the milder recommendations of the Jansenists, but his soul was enslaved by the Jesuits. La Chaise, his confessor, had for some time refused him the sacraments, on account of his adultery with Madame de Montespan, a married woman. His passion was now fixed upon Mademoiselle de Fontanges; the illicit connexion was more susceptible of palliation, and the confessor's complaisance opened a field for sarcasm. The voluptuous monarch was admitted to the sacrament at Whitsuntide, in 1680; and the consolation thus afforded was recompensed by several hostile edicts against the Protestants.

Hitherto the collection of the revenue had been chiefly confided to Huguenots;† and the absence of all complaint against them affords an inference greatly in their favour. Satirical publications abounded, in which courtiers and magistrates were severely handled; but the *fermiers* are passed by in silence. Their successors, by a system of unblushing peculation, attracted the shafts of censure, and converted the previous silence into an absolute eulogy.

The misfortune of Louis consisted in his judging men in general by the conduct of those who breathed the atmosphere of his court. As he beheld continual sacrifices of honour and principle for selfish considerations, it was natural for him to be persuaded that it would be easy to seduce the Huguenots from their erroneous religion, by rendering their interests subservient to the change. A base spirit of flattery made every functionary throughout the kingdom ambitious to imitate the king's devout career; and suggestions

were constantly forwarded to court, for promoting the pious design.

Ordinances were continually published, forbidding or enjoining some particular, of minor importance in itself, but serious in its application, as it became exceedingly difficult for the Protestants to avoid the contravention of some of those numerous enactments; and a conviction of the slightest infringement was immediately followed by the suppression of the temple wherein it occurred.*

From these attacks upon their public worship the hostility of the intolerant party was directed to personal annoyance: no seats were allowed in the temples, that the audience might be disgusted with attendance.† Often the consequences of one evil became a ready indicator for its more extensive application. A notary, who had become Catholic, found that he had lost the confidence of his former friends: to secure his professional gains, the Protestants were declared incapable of exercising the charge of notary.‡ For similar reasons they were successively prohibited from acting in any branch of the legal profession;§ and according to the preamble of another spoliatory edict, it "was represented that most of the young men of the said religion would decide upon studying medicine, to take degrees, on finding themselves excluded from other functions;"|| Protestants were in consequence debarred from following the medical professions. The same excluding system pervaded every line of life; and the callings of apothecaries, grocers, booksellers, and printers, were forbidden to them. While no Protestant of any trade was allowed to have an apprentice, even a Catholic.¶ But all these inducements combined failed to effect conversions with sufficient rapidity to satisfy the enemies of religious liberty; as a premium for abjuration, converts had been already allowed a delay of three years for the payment of their debts,** and at an interval of nearly five years from this dishonest measure, a fresh enactment was issued against surgeons, who are charged with preventing conversions, under the pretence of visiting patients.††

It would appear that, at court, the most sanguine expectations were raised upon the edicts just alluded to, since the following remark is preserved in a private letter: "If God spares the king, there will not be a single Huguenot in twenty years."‡‡

At length arrived the commencement of positive persecution, by the invasion of private dwellings, under the pretext of quartering soldiers. This

* Rulhiere, vol. i. p. 181.—*Mém. de Noailles*, vol. i. p. 14.

† Bayle, in a letter to his brother, dated 16th May, 1679, states, that the decree was executed with such severity at Rouen, that not a seat was allowed, even to the members of the Consistory.

‡ Arrêt du Conseil, 6th April, 1682.

§ Idem, 6th April, 1682.—*Déclaration du Roy*, 15th June 1682.

|| *Déclaration du Roy*, 6th Aug. 1685. The spirit of these tyrannical enactments is admirably portrayed by Rabaut St. Etienne, in a tale, entitled *Le vieux Cévenot, ou anecdotes de la vie d'Ambroise Forely*.

¶ In the MSS. of M. de la Reynie, lieutenant general of police, there are lists of Protestants made out at various periods; the number described as *marchands de vin* is remarkable: but almost every other calling was debarred them.

** Arrêt du Conseil, 18th Nov., 1680.

†† Idem, 15th Sept., 1685.

‡‡ Madame de Maintenon à Madame de Villette, 5th April, 1681.

* The abbey of Port-Royal was the cradle of Jansenism; and, so far as corporate existence was concerned, it was also its grave: but the doctrines taught by the fathers can never be eradicated—unfortunately, the clergy were not impressed with their liberal views.

† They were excluded from such employs by an *Arrêt du Conseil*, 17th Aug., 1680.

cruel method of annoyance has been termed the *dragonnade* and *mission bottée*. The following extract of a letter addressed by Louvois to Marillac, intendant of Poitou, will convey some idea of the malicious calculation on which those expeditions were based:—"His Majesty has learned, with much joy, the great number of persons converted in your district. His majesty appreciates your endeavours to increase the number, and desires you will continue your exertions, using the same means which have hitherto succeeded. M. Colbert has been charged to examine what can be done, in reducing the taxes for those who are converted, in order to diminish the numbers of that religion. His majesty has commanded me to send, at the beginning of next November, a regiment of cavalry into Poitou which will be lodged in the places you will be mindful to propose before that time; and his majesty will deem it right that the greater part of the officers and horsemen should be lodged with Protestants: but he does not think that *all* should be lodged with them. That is to say, that when by a strict distribution the Protestants would support *ten*, you can send *twenty*; and put them upon the richest among the Protestants, *assigning as a pretext*, that when the troops are not sufficiently numerous for all to be charged with them, it is but just the poor should be spared, and the rich have the burden."*

This letter was accompanied by an ordinance, exempting converts from receiving soldiers in their houses for two years. That was afterwards decreed as a general law;† and, although published as a recompense for those who had been converted, it became a most terrible instrument for harassing the steadfast.

Louvois was well seconded by his father, Michel le Tellier, keeper of the seals. In describing his persecuting zeal, the testimony of a Catholic, as violent as himself, shall be adduced. "He had such an ardent desire to see Huguenotism terminated in this kingdom, and to behold the king's subjects united in the same faith, that he favoured the interest of the church on all occasions; and particularly when the weakening of that party, or the destruction of their temples was in question." The same writer adds: "Whenever the accusation against a consistory failed, and the continuance of the worship was permitted, he was nearly overcome; and his countenance on leaving the council sufficiently announced the disappointment to his friends."‡

The ruin of the Protestants was now resolved on. Madame de Maintenon thus writes on the subject: "The king begins to think seriously of his salvation, and of that of his subjects. If God spares him, there will be only one religion in his kingdom. That is the sentiment of M. de Louvois; and I believe him more readily than M. Colbert, who thinks only of his finances, and rarely of religion."§

The infatuation which dictated the foregoing may be pitied, as arising out of a subjugation of the writer's mind to some strong passion. There is however so much sordid feeling in another letter from the same lady, written shortly after, that the

pretence of anxiety for the salvation of the people becomes an awful mockery. The Count d'Aubigné was a notorious spendthrift; and nothing short of his sister's power could have saved him from ruin on several occasions. In writing to announce a royal gratuity, she states: "The grant of a hundred thousand livres, which you are to receive, affords me pleasure; you cannot do better than to buy lands in Poitou: they will be had there for a mere nothing, on account of the flight of the Huguenots."*

The persecution, which lasted for several years subsequent to 1681, surpasses in cold-blooded malignity that of the sixteenth century; for the undisguised hostility of the last kings of the house of Valois, although barbarous, was frank: their object was avowed, and the conflicting interests were openly hostile. But the Jesuits, who now swayed the royal councils, were crafty: insidious enactments rendered it almost impossible to avoid contravention; and liberty of worship was in fact destroyed, even while the edict of Nantes was still in force.

Yet the principal actors in this persecution were evidently ashamed of their proceedings; although they have applauded the wisdom and piety of the infatuated king, whose services to the church are compared to the abolition of paganism by Constantine.† Every detail of the transaction has been carefully excluded from publications under the control of the French authorities; and the narratives of the fugitives, published in England and Holland, are in general sneeringly treated as libels. Pellison has already been alluded to as an able and industrious writer; and his letters form a valuable journal of the court for a long period. He was employed in gaining conversions by means of corruption; and must necessarily have alluded to the progress of the great work in his continued correspondence: yet from 1681 until the close of 1688 there is a blank, those letters which mentioned the events of intervening years being suppressed.‡ Many of the reports forwarded by the provincial authorities are missing from the public archives; yet enough remains to prove the violence of the persecution, independent of the flight of many thousand industrious families: there is, moreover, strong corroborative evidence in the ill-judged panegyrics of the Romish clergy, who, in the ardour of adulation, have presented materials for decided censure.

A book was published, under the *sanction of the king's advisers*,§ which completely establishes the fact of severity being exercised towards the Protestants, by justifying the measure as completely similar to the means used for suppressing the

* Dated 22nd Oct. 1681. This letter, which is quoted as genuine by Rulhière, vol. i. p. 212, is suppressed by Auger, *Vie de Madame de Maintenon*.

† D'Avrigny, *Mém. dogmatiques*, vol. iii. p. 247.

‡ I have found several of the year 1684, in vol. iv. of the MSS. *de la Remie*; they all allude either to the *bonne œuvre*, or recompenses for conversions. In one, dated 19th May, 1684, is this observation: "La nommée Pingard a reçu trois fois plus qu'elle ne vous dit; et beaucoup plus qu'elle ne devoit espérer."

§ Conformité de la conduite de l'Eglise de France, pour ramener les Protestans avec celle de l'Eglise d'Afrique, pour ramener les Donatistes à l'Eglise catholique: Paris, 1685. The following is from the preface: "Ceux qui ont la principale part à la confiance du Roy, sur ce qui regarde les affaires de l'Eglise, et à la conduite du grand dessein qui s'exécute si heureusement, ont jugé à propos de faire imprimer à part quelques-unes de ces lettres" (de St. Augustin).

* Rulhière, vol. i. p. 203.

† Ordonnance du Roi, 11th April, 1681.

‡ Soulier, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, p. 614.

§ Lettre à la comtesse de St. Geran, 20th Aug., 1681.

Donatist heresy in the fifth century. The condition of the Huguenots—their peaceable demeanour, and admitted loyalty—for it was unimpeached at the time, though subsequent accusations have been put forward to justify what had taken place—all these circumstances combine to show that state policy was *not* the cause, as some apologists pretend, and as many are willing to believe.* It was an odious breaking forth of intolerance and bigotry; and in the preface of the work just alluded to it is declared, “that St. Augustin was at first of opinion that the force of truth should alone be used to bring back the heretics; but experience caused him to alter his views, and the success of the salutary severity employed for converting the Donatists convinced him that it would be hostile to the salvation of many souls, who would perish miserably, not to wish to force them to join the church, which is justified in punishing its faithless members, although, in the event of successful resistance, any violence on their part is impious.” The advance of civilization forebode a renewal of capital punishments for heretical opinions, but the disposition to inflict it was evidently unchanged.

CHAPTER LX.

Letters of Christina, ex-Queen of Sweden—Sufferings of Jean Migault—General Persecution of the Huguenots—Forced conversions.

ALTHOUGH it might appear superfluous to present a complete list of the atrocities practised at this time under a pretext of religion, some of them must be recorded, and their real motives placed beyond doubt, or the forbearance which would dictate the exclusion of such painful scenes may be considered an accusation of all preceding statements. More detail will therefore be necessary in treating of this period than when other circumstances were under consideration, and where the more important events alone claimed description, those of minor consequence frequently obtaining merely a passing allusion. The narrative of one who suffered greatly in this persecution will afford means for estimating the general conduct of the oppressors.† With respect to the value of its testimony, it must not be confounded with the published accounts of the time, which the court of France sweepingly denounced as libels, composed in a spirit of revenge. This, however, was never intended for publicity; and the manuscript remained neglected and forgotten among the records of the family, until the author's descendants had become blended with another nation. The account it contains is moreover amply corroborated by contemporary writers; and the description harmonises completely with the views given in the correspondence of eminent persons, who cannot be suspected of exaggeration on behalf of the Huguenots.

Of such the foremost is Christina, ex-queen of Sweden, who was so decidedly attached to popery,

* The author was inclined to that sentiment until his researches for this volume convinced him of his error.

† *Narrative of the Sufferings of a French Protestant Family*, &c., by John Migault, London, 1824. *Le Journal de Jean Migault* was published at Paris, in 1825, and at Berlin in 1827. Although the French copy has been chiefly consulted, the pages refer to the London edition, for the convenience of the English reader.

that the propositions of the clergy of France, at their assembly in 1682, amounted in her view, to a scandal nearly allied to rebellion.* And subsequently when her declared sympathy was held up by Bayle as a remnant of Protestantism, she wrote to him, complaining severely of his injustice, in doubting the sincerity of her conversion.† Her letter to the Chevalier de Terlon, the French ambassador at Stockholm, contains the following passages: “I will frankly avow that I am not quite persuaded of the success of this great design; and that I cannot rejoice at it, as an affair very advantageous to our holy religion. * * * Military men are strange apostles. I consider them more likely to kill, to ravish and to plunder, than to persuade; and, in fact, accounts beyond doubt inform us that they fulfil the mission entirely in their mode. I pity the people abandoned to their discretion: I sympathise with so many ruined families, so many respectable persons reduced to beggary; and I cannot look upon what is now passing in France without compassion.”‡

Another letter to Cardinal Azolino is in a similar strain: “I am overwhelmed with grief when I think of all the innocent blood which a blind fanaticism causes daily to flow. France exercises, without remorse or fear, the most barbarous persecution upon the dearest and most industrious portion of her people. * * * Every time I contemplate the atrocious torments which have been inflicted upon the Protestants my heart throbs, and my eyes are filled with tears.”§

The admission of one of the most abject flatterers of Louis XIV. being added to Christina's testimony will suffice to remove every doubt as to the reality of the persecution: “But if the king has been obliged to use some severity, and to send soldiers into the houses of the most obstinate to bring them back into the pale of the church, we have reason to hope that, like the Donatists, they will rejoice that this holy and salutary violence has been adopted for withdrawing them from the lethargy into which the misfortune of their birth had thrown them.”||

One more proof shall be adduced. The Baron de Breteuil, in an official report to Louis XVI., makes the following assertion: “The very minutes of all the orders sent into the provinces, for effecting conversions by quartering soldiers, are preserved in the archives of the war-office.”¶

Having premised these corroborating statements, the sufferings of John Migault and his family will be more readily credited. That victim of tyranny exercised the profession of notary until 1681, when a royal decree disqualified Protestants from such functions. Sympathy for his numerous family, and respect for his character, induced the consistory of

* The four celebrated articles for restraining the papal authority—drawn up by Bossuet, who, by his eloquence, secured their adoption. The Jesuit d'Avigny looks upon the proceeding as one of the rudest blows which had been given to the court of Rome for ages. De Burigny, *Vie de Bossuet*, p. 262. Tabaraud, *Histoire de l'Assemblée générale du Clergé en 1682*, p. 94.

† Letter dated Rome, 14th Dec. 1686. *Lettres de Bayle*, vol. i. p. 247.

‡ *Ibid.*, 2nd Feb. 1686. *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, May, 1686.

§ Dated Hamburg, 1686. *Lettres secrètes de Christine*, p. 170. Geneva, 1761.

|| Soulier, p. 623. This seems to be a favourite phrase, as the author uses it on more than one occasion.

¶ Rulhière, vol. ii. p. 71.

Mougon to offer him the situation of reader and registrar of the temple in that place; but his quiet occupation did not last long. Louvois had informed Marillac, intendant of Poitou, that a body of dragoons should be sent there in November: the design of the court was however hastened, and the warlike missionaries entered that province in the summer. The terror inspired by their approach will be appreciated by the fact of a soldier casually exhibiting some slips of paper, as billets for quartering his comrades:—within two hours, three of the first families in the place abjured.*

"We were not exposed to the fury of the storm," observes Migault, "until Tuesday the 22nd of August, 1681. In the morning, as we quitted the church where we had just offered up our accustomed prayers, we beheld a troop of cavalry, commanded by M. de la Brique, advance towards us at a gallop, take their station around the cemetery, and by their demonstrations strike terror into the stoutest hearts. I had scarcely entered my house, when the quarter-master appeared, holding in his hand a billet. Without dismounting, he demanded most peremptorily, if it was our intention to become Catholics. Such was the method in which these *convertisseurs* were accustomed to proceed. On the solemn assurance given him by your excellent mother and myself, that we would not change our religion, he turned his horse and went away."†

The appearance of the dragoons in many cases sufficed to make an entire village embrace the Romish religion; but when the acquiescence was only partial, the burden was proportionally aggravated for the more stedfast Huguenots. The system was one of absolute plunder; for the soldiers levied contributions on their hosts, and if the amount demanded was not punctually paid, their furniture, cattle, and even their apparel, were sold to raise the money. Those sales afforded great facilities for the Roman Catholics to obtain property on very easy terms, of which they frequently availed themselves.‡

Migault had fifteen soldiers quartered upon him: they behaved brutally, and made the most insolent demands. It was necessary to send to Niort, in order to supply their table; and because the forage for their horses did not please them, they used the grossest imprecations. As it was indispensable to despatch a messenger to Niort for supplies, Migault was allowed to leave the house; and while absent from his home, he learned from some Catholic friends that his complete ruin was intended; and that it arose from the instigations of the curé, whose suggestions included a plan for dragging him forcibly to the Catholic church; when, if violent measures were not used to induce his abjuration, it would at all events be declared that he had made a formal recantation, and joined in the Romish rites. This is known to have been done in other places, in order to swell the reports upon the progress of conversion.§

By the advice of his kind neighbours, the unfortunate man remained concealed in their house; and when the dragoons perceived that he had escaped from their grasp, they directed their malevolence against his wife, whom they threatened

to burn, unless she abjured. In vain did some ladies intercede: the commander disregarded the appeal, and the poor woman would probably have perished, if an unexpected deliverer had not appeared in the person of M. Billon, the vicar, an excellent man and a friend of the family. He heard of the treatment to which Madame Migault was exposed, and removed her out of the power of her persecutors; but not before he had promised to restore her, if his arguments failed to effect her conversion. The ladies being left alone with the sufferer, led her to a place of concealment, and the vicar was too humane to regret the involuntary breach of his engagement: he retired to his own house, without noticing the dragoons.*

The next day every Protestant in the village abjured, with the exception of about twenty families, who had quitted their homes on the approach of the troops. The dwellings of the absentees were stripped of everything; and when it was ascertained that no further mischief could be accomplished at Mougon, the dragoons were marched to Souché, where all the Protestants experienced their severities.†

A similar scene passed in the adjoining parish of Thorigné, chiefly inhabited by Protestants; and as the first visit of the troops effected very little conversion, the curé was incensed, and instigated the soldiers to oppression and wanton cruelty, far surpassing their former exploits. The people however displayed great constancy and patience; very few recantations occurred; and the forest was again crowded with miserable wanderers. This naturally led to an extensive emigration: the Protestants left the kingdom by thousands for England, Holland, and the new settlements of North America; and the hospitable reception afforded the fugitives was amply rewarded by the advantages which resulted from the intelligence and industry of the exiles.‡

Migault's young family was a serious impediment to his flight. The curé, his old enemy, continued to urge the persecution against him; and after every thing saleable in his house had been removed, the rest was destroyed; even the doors and windows.§ And to aggravate the unhappy man's misfortunes, one of his children died: on which occasion the cruel priest strenuously exerted his influence with the husband of the child's nurse to have the infant's body thrown to the dogs. The man was not so lost to a sense of humanity as to consent; and the child was interred in the Protestant burial-ground.||

The persecution continued during the month of November, 1681; and more severe than at the commencement, because at this time the bare fact of persisting in the reformed faith authorized the seizure of everything. What the military did not consume was sold or destroyed; and the losses were rendered more painful by the animosity of some converts, who being animated in the work of spoliation against their late brethren, acted as informers, and shared in the pillage.¶

Migault then removed to Mauzé, a small town in Aunis, where he established a school, which

* Migault, p. 39.

† Ibid., p. 44.

‡ *Déclaration du Roy*, dated 14th July, 1682, forbids emigration, and cancels all sales of property made within a year of departure.

§ Migault, p. 51.

|| Ibid., p. 56.

¶ Ibid., p. 56.

* Migault, p. 26.

† Ibid., p. 29. This circumstantial journal was addressed by the author to his children.

‡ Ibid., p. 27.

§ Ibid., p. 30 et seq.

afforded him the means of living comfortably, until March, 1683, when the king published a declaration forbidding Protestant schoolmasters from receiving boarders into their houses.* The provisions of that tyrannical decree were evaded by the scholars being placed in neighbouring houses; but one blow was no sooner parried than another was struck. A schoolmaster, who had abjured, denounced Migault to the authorities, for infringing the ordonnance, by permitting his pupils to sing psalms. A technical objection saved the unfortunate man on this occasion; but within a few months the dragoons were again on the march to complete the ruin of those families who had withstood the ravages of 1681. We were apprized (Migault relates) of the iniquitous and arbitrary proceedings of the *cours souverains*,† and of the intendants of provinces, recently invested with authority for pronouncing definitively, and without appeal, on any charge preferred against our churches. If no charge existed one was invented; and thus all the reformed churches, not only of Poitou, but throughout the kingdom, were soon destroyed or interdicted. The temple at Mauzé was however spared, amid the wide-spread desolation—a circumstance gratefully attributed to the influence of the Duchess of Brunswick-Lunenburg, who left no means untried for warding off the impending rigours,—or at least for delaying their execution; and for that purpose she employed all the resources of her credit at the French court, and interceded on behalf of the Protestants with the king himself ‡

The Duke de Noailles, who commanded in Languedoc, allowed his desire to please Louis to supersede every other consideration. Soon after his appointment, he addressed the monarch to this effect: "It suffices that your Majesty's orders be known to ensure their immediate execution."§ Unhappily, the bigoted design of the court rendered this otherwise humane nobleman a minister of wrath to the Huguenots.

Conformably to instructions from court, the parliament of Toulouse had, in 1682, forbidden the Protestant worship, and ordered the demolition of the temple, on pretext of infractions of the laws. The bishop of the diocese having demanded permission to use the temple as a church, Chateauf, secretary of state, wrote to Noailles, that it would have more effect to execute the decree fully, as it would destroy all hope of its recovery by the *religionnaires*.|| The Protestants, on their side, pressed Noailles with solicitations on behalf of religious liberty; and when two ministers declared, that even the fear of death should not deter them from discharging their duty, the duke confined them in his house, as the most effectual reply.

Noailles had sufficient force to carry the decree of the parliament into execution; and by impartial severity maintained order, at a moment when insurrection appeared imminent: he punished some Catholics for insulting the Huguenots, and issued a proclamation to enjoin good fellowship, and avoid anything calculated to irritate, by word or writing. The ministers remained in confinement until after

the following Sunday, when they were released, and sent away from that town.*

The success which had attended the plan for abolishing the Protestant worship at Montpeller induced a similar proceeding against Montauban and other places; but the government being informed of the irritation arising from the apprehensions of the Huguenots, Chateauf wrote to suspend the execution, "as they should not put too much fuel on the fire at one time."†

D'Aguesseau about the same time wrote to urge the necessity of instructing the people, in preference to the adopted methods of fear and corruption. There does not appear to have existed a corresponding desire on the part of the executive: to enforce submission to the king's will was the aim of all functionaries; and the public mind was inflamed to a degree which rendered an insurrection probable.

The ministers encouraged their followers to brave the king's orders, and obtain the crown reserved for martyrs. As the danger became more evident, the enthusiasm increased; and at last the troops under the command of St. Ruth, were ordered into the province in the summer of 1683.‡ The presence of those formidable missionaries intimidated the Protestants, who manifested a readiness to submit. An amnesty was offered under certain conditions; the terms were however too severe, and the Protestants resumed their arms. They were attacked in a favourable position selected for their head-quarters, near Pierrefeu, in the Vivarais. A part of the royal army maintained some skirmishes, to engage their attention, while the main body was engaged in surrounding them. Their defence was well conducted; but their assailants' force overwhelmed them, and under cover of the adjoining wood most of them escaped. Yet numbers were killed by the dragoons; and of the prisoners thirteen were selected: twelve were hanged at once upon the spot, their companion being compelled to act as executioner.§

This victory was naturally followed by the destruction of several temples; and in some places they found the inhabitants had all fled. The expedition caused great terror, as none were spared who fell into the hands of the troops. The Duke de Noailles in his letters observes: "These wretches went to the gibbet with the firm assurance of dying as martyrs; and demanded no other favour, than that they might be quickly executed. They begged pardon of the soldiers; but not one of them would ask it of the king."||

Noailles was an advocate for severe measures; by forming an erroneous estimate of the consequences of former rigour, he felt encouraged to continue; and the recent insurrection produced still more severe orders from Louvois than he had hitherto received. "His majesty desires you will order M. de St. Ruth to place troops in all the places you deem necessary; to support them at the expense of the country; to seize the culpable, and hand them over to M. d'Aguesseau for judgment; to destroy the houses of those killed in arms. You will give orders for demolishing ten of the principal temples of the Vivarais; and, in a word, to cause such a desolation in the country,

* Migault, p. 67.

† *Cours souverains*, under the old regime, were the courts in which the king was supposed to be present, and where the decrees were given in his name.

‡ Migault, p. 72.

§ Noailles, vol. i. p. 12.

|| 23rd Nov., 1682. Noailles, vol. i. p. 15.

* Noailles, vol. i. p. 20.

† 7th Dec. Ibid., vol. i. p. 21.

‡ Ibid., p. 63.

§ Ibid., vol. i. p. 44.

|| Ibid. p. 45.

that the example may keep the other *religionnaires* within bounds, and teach them how dangerous it is to revolt against the king.*

The Huguenots of the Cevennes, still undaunted by the defeat of their brethren, sent a deputation to Nismes: they presented a request to Noailles, that he would obtain from the king's goodness and justice a general amnesty; the right of worship; and the revocation of the edicts contrary to their liberties. Noailles, astonished at the boldness of men whom he calls *pauvres misérables*, instantly sent them as prisoners to the citadel of Saint Esprit. Their proceeding was too extravagant to deserve such treatment: for even their brethren viewed the deputation as an act of madness; and the consistory of Nismes disavowed them.†

Circumstances were very adverse to the Huguenots of Languedoc; yet they perseveringly asserted the rights of conscience, while Noailles was equally firm and decided in his efforts to bring under subjection men whom he viewed as rebels. His superior force enabled him to disperse their assemblies: but they collected again in other parts; and as the most effectual means of straitening their resources, orders were given to seize all arms in the possession of Protestants: a considerable quantity was found in Nismes.‡

Many of the Protestant ministers had been arrested: their exhortations had supported the energy of the insurgents; and they were viewed as the chief instigators of the public troubles. Audoyer and Homel were both condemned to death: the former was respited, but the latter was broken upon the wheel, after enduring the rack. His head was exposed at Chalençon, and his body at Beauchâtel, at both of which places he had been conspicuous in his exertions. Huguier, another minister of the sect, to use the expression of the Abbé Millot, cut his throat in prison: § an assertion which demands some proof before posterity will credit a statement at variance with probability; for the fear of condemnation and public execution could have no weight with men who preached the glory of martyrdom: it is far more reasonable to conclude that his enemies killed him secretly, from a dread of his example.

As the want of instruction had so frequently been urged upon the notice of the government, the Abbé Hervé, with twelve missionaries, was sent into Languedoc. His preaching was supported and strengthened by liberal distributions of money to all who would declare themselves convinced. He was very successful, but not equal to his wishes or expectations, and demanded further funds to supply his proselytes. Noailles, in a letter full of commendation, states,—“The king's money appears to me so well employed for this purpose, that economy would be pernicious; for they are subjects gained both for God and his Majesty.”||

While Hervé pursued his persuasions, the troops continued their career of severity. The ministers of Languedoc had, in consequence, withdrawn into Switzerland, where they joined a Swiss synod, in which it was resolved to receive all who fled from France on account of their religion; and to address the Protestant governments on behalf of the French Calvinists. This gave rise to a hostile

demonstration by the states of Languedoc, who demanded fresh severities against them; and, with some trifling modifications, the suggestions were adopted by the court.*

The notorious Basville† had succeeded Marillac as intendant of Poictou, 1682. On his arrival in that province, he found that thirty-four thousand conversions had taken place; and within three years he had the gratification of announcing above twelve thousand more, resulting from what an apologist styles “measures replete with mildness.‡”

Every day confirmed the general apprehension of the Protestants that a crisis in their affairs was at hand: in consequence, some regulations were drawn up for the guidance of both ministers and people, in the event of the congregations being dispersed. The project comprised eighteen articles, and was adopted in May, 1683, at Toulouse, where deputies had assembled from all parts, under pretexes of business. A day was fixed for a general fast; but, with that exception, the decisions were far from being calculated to give umbrage to the government. It has been asserted, however, that this was in reality a conspiracy formed on an understanding with the anti-papist party in England, which made great preparations at the same time for a general insurrection. And as the Protestants mutually exhorted each other to sustain persecution with firmness, their conduct is condemned, because, forsooth, the primitive Christians acted otherwise: they were contented with secret assemblies, and never revolted to obtain the right of public worship.§ Happy indeed the Huguenots would have been to feel secure in the secret exercise of religious worship, or if even the right of private opinion had been permitted them. The course of this history will however show that the suspicion of Calvinistic sentiments exposed the party to molestation while he lived, and indignity to his remains at his decease.

An idea was prevalent among the Protestants that Louis was not aware of the cruelties exercised towards them: he was not in fact made acquainted with the naked truth. His ministers presented numerous lists of conversions and abjurations; but made no mention of the violence by which they were effected. A request was therefore drawn up in the most submissive terms, yet with a forcible appeal to the monarch's feelings. It contained a pathetic statement of their sufferings; and was presented to the king by the Marquis de Ruigny, their deputy-general, in March, 1684.

When the marquis had concluded his address, the king replied that he believed all he had stated of the prejudice it might cause to his affairs, only he thought it would not extend to bloodshed: but he said he felt so indispensably bound to attempt the conversion of all his subjects and the extirpation of heresy, that if the doing it required that with one hand he should cut off the other, he would submit.|| Ruigny warned his friends of the threatened danger; and some were for preparing in earnest against a civil war. The aged nobleman however dissuaded them, as he knew they could not rely on England for support. The

* Noailles, p. 66.

† Nicolas de Lamignon, seigneur de Basville, born in 1648, fifth son of the president of the same name.

‡ “Par ces mêmes voyes, pleines de douceur.” Soulier, p. 65.

§ Soulier, p. 589—594.

|| Burnet, vol. i. p. 362.

* Noailles, p. 47. † Ibid., vol. i. p. 50.

‡ Ibid., vol. i. p. 57. § Ibid., p. 58.

|| Ibid., vol. i. p. 60.

statement of the Huguenots' grievances merits examination.

After expressing a conviction that the violations of the edicts in their favour were unknown to their sovereign, they reminded Louis of his declaration of 1689, which was openly violated in every part of the kingdom. One of its articles prohibited all attempts to remove children from their Protestant parents, in order to convert them, under fourteen years of age; but every day those of the tenderest age were taken from their families, and placed in convents or prisons, where cruel treatment was resorted to for effecting their renunciation of the reformed religion; while there was no possibility of obtaining access to the retreats in which the laws were so outrageously violated. The magistrates, instead of censuring such conduct, openly encouraged it; and the clergy defended the measure, on the grounds that the king's orders could not withdraw from the authority of the church those who are its members without distinction of age.

Another article protected the Protestants against exclusion from practising any art or trade; but their apprentices were refused admittance into the most inferior kinds of handicraft, and the protestant artisans were completely deprived of the means of earning their livelihood.

A third grievance was the prohibition against publishing any work respecting their religion; that privilege had been conferred by revoking an ordinance obtained by their enemies in 1666. But a decree of the council, given in November, 1670, was permitted to nullify the royal declaration, no less than one of the articles of the edict of Nantes.

Not only public charges, the legitimate reward of merit, were denied to the Protestants, they were interdicted from exercising any honourable profession. They could not become advocates or physicians; and, as if under a mark of infamy, were thus declared unworthy to serve the public in any manner.*

This appeal to the king's humanity produced no good result. To judge from the measures which almost immediately followed its presentation, it would appear that, by exposing their complaints, the Protestants only rendered their enemies more eager to hasten their entire destruction. Even their charitable intentions were viewed in an odious light; and the sick and infirm poor were forbidden, under a penalty of five hundred livres, to receive an asylum in private houses, in order that a compulsory residence in the hospitals might produce conversions.† Madame de Maintenon thus alludes to the king's intentions in a letter to the Countess de Saint Geran: "He proposes to labour for the entire conversion of the heretics: he has frequent conferences on that subject with Le Tellier and Chateaufort; at which they persuade me that my presence would not be unwelcome. M. de Chateaufort has proposed measures which are not suitable. The business must not be precipitated. It must be conversion, not persecution. M. de Louvois wishes for mildness; which does not agree with his disposition, and his desire to finish the affair. The king is ready to do whatever may be deemed most useful for the advance-

ment of religion. This undertaking will cover him with glory in the eyes of God and men. He will have brought back all his subjects into the bosom of the church, and destroyed the heresy which none of his predecessors could vanquish."

It is however due to the memory of Louis to declare that much of what passed was concealed from him. From the period of his marriage with Madame de Maintenon, that lady had the means of keeping back many communications and reports. She was herself deceived by fallacious statements; and her grand object was to ward off everything calculated to disturb the king's tranquillity. The charms of her society lulled him into a blind confidence; and after a time he was confirmed in a wish to repose from public cares. Louis left the means of execution to his ministers, whose anticipations of success were most sanguine: the conversions already obtained by fear made them calculate upon still greater results; and while poets sang and historians recorded the monarch's absolute power, the vital interests of the nation were at the mercy of an ardent triumvirate, who flattered their prince that his views were promoted, while, in reality, he was merely the instrument of their purposes. Madame de Maintenon and the Jesuit La Chaise were decidedly influenced by religious zeal; but Louvois acquiesced in their views, as the surest means of maintaining himself at the head of affairs.

In confirmation of this view, we have the testimony of Madame de Caylus. "The king yielded, against his own convictions and his natural inclination, which always disposed him to mildness. His orders were exceeded, unknown to him; and cruelties were committed, which he would have prevented had he been informed of them: but Louvois contented himself with saying every day, 'So many persons are converted, as I had told your Majesty it would be, at the mere appearance of your troops.'""

There is no necessity to consult the complaints of Protestant refugees, for finding the materials of accusation against the bigoted government of France: the eulogy of a priest is sufficiently condemnatory. "While the king's council was striving to suppress the Protestant academies, and overthrow their temples, established contrary to the edict of Nantes, the bishops, the parliaments, the governors, and even the inferior authorities, did each their best to second the king's designs. So that the temples, which the council could not condemn, as not being contrary to the edict, were demolished or closed on account of infractions made by ministers and consistories upon his majesty's declarations; and, by this means, most of the provinces where Huguenotism was formerly very flourishing were reduced to the privation of public worship."‡

In March, 1685, Louis contemplated a renewal of the *dragonnades*, when the march of an army into Bearn, preparatory to an irruption into Spain, hastened the execution of the grand scheme. Foucault, intendant of Bearn, moved by his own zealous feelings, or probably excited by some jesuitical influence, availed himself of the presence of such a force to declare that the king would no longer allow more than one religion in his dominions. This man, like his father and grandfather,

* The request is given at length by de Limiers, *Hist. de Louis XIV.*, vol. iv. pp. 135-152.

† Arrêt du Conseil, 4th Sep. 1684.

‡ Dated 13th Aug. 1684.

* Souvenirs de Madame de Caylus, p. 14.

† Soulier, p. 598.

was remarkable for his hatred towards the Protestants—a quality quite incompatible with his character for erudition, which gave rise to a singular incident: for he discovered and published *Lactantius de mortibus persecutorum*.* The horrors which occurred in his ill-fated province are scarcely credible: they will form the subject of another chapter, along with the events of Languedoc and the Vivarais. The whole kingdom presented a uniform scene of desolation. Edicts were hastily given, at the officious suggestions of the clerical courtiers, who proposed plans for terminating a state of affairs which all felt to be disgraceful. “Twenty-eight decrees,” observes the Jesuit d’Avrigny, “were given in quick succession; Louis XIV., steadfastly following his plan, continued to publish declarations and ordonnances, according as the clergy deemed it necessary, for gradually preparing the revocation of the edict of Nantes.”†

CHAPTER LXI.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

LEST it should be supposed that the materials for these pages are drawn from hostile sources, a panegyrist of Louis XIV. shall supply the account of a most odious persecution commenced in Bearn, during the spring of 1685, about six months before the legal right of Protestant worship was abolished. “It was believed,” observes the Abbé Soulier, “that the Calvinists, being reduced to have very few *exercices publics*, would more willingly listen to the instructions which the prelates gave in their dioceses, in order to draw them from error; and that the money which the king distributed on all sides to assist the new converts would induce the followers of that religion to enter almost voluntarily into the bosom of the church; but, as these mild means had not all the effect which was expected, and as it appeared, on the contrary, that the Calvinists, far from listening to the missionaries, became more obstinate, his majesty deemed it necessary to use stronger remedies to draw them from that lethargy into which the misfortune of their birth had thrown them.‡ It was then resolved that the king’s troops should be employed to co-operate with the missionaries, for effecting in other provinces what Marillac had done in Poitou, where in a short time he subjugated near forty thousand.” The example of St. Augustin is then quoted as a precedent; and some instance of violence, on the part of the Calvinists, appealed to as a justification.§

The account of Foucault’s success in making converts, drawn up for the king’s perusal, is one of the most barefaced impostures ever written. According to this statement the Protestants of Oleron were summoned in the king’s name to be instructed in the doctrines of the Catholic church: they demanded fifteen days for reflection, and at the expiration of that delay declared their readiness to abjure.|| But, without referring to the complaints of the sufferers, it will suffice to adduce

another narrative, mentioned by Rulhière, who observes thereon, “Whatever can be imagined of military licentiousness was exercised in Bearn against the Calvinists. It is attributed to this intendant (Foucault) that he improved upon more than one kind of torture: invention was employed to discover torments, which might be painful without being mortal, and cause the unhappy victims to undergo the utmost which the human body can sustain without expiring.”*

What more than this is stated in the complaints of the refugees? Greater detail is given; but the accusation is no stronger. There we find accounts of the victims being suspended by the hair, or by the feet, and nearly suffocated by damp straw being burned in the places where they were tied up: the hairs of their head and beard were plucked out: they were plunged repeatedly into deep water, and drawn out by a rope fastened under their arms, only in time to prevent their being drowned. Sometimes an unfortunate creature was drenched with wine by means of a funnel; and, when intoxicated, taken to church, where his presence was deemed equivalent to abjuration. A similar method was adopted with individuals overcome with bodily pain. In some cases the Huguenots were prevented from sleeping for an entire week, by sentinels continually rousing them; and, when any Protestant was confined to his bed by illness, a dozen drummers were sent to beat under his window, without intermission, until the sick man promised to be converted: with a long catalogue of other diabolical suggestions for subduing the firmness of the Protestants.†

Among the documents of this period which have come to light is a letter from Louvois to marshal Boufflers, commanding the army assembled in Bearn. After stating that the Spanish expedition was abandoned, the minister observes that his majesty has thought proper to make use of the troops to diminish as much as possible the great number of *religionnaires* in the generalities of Bordeaux and Montauban. The marshal was to confer with the intendants, in order to learn in what places the Protestants were most numerous. “In executing his Majesty’s orders,” continues Louvois, “you will send into each community the number of cavalry and infantry which may be concerted upon with the intendant. You will lodge them entirely in the houses of the religionnaires, withdrawing them from each individual as he is converted; and you will remove the troops from the community to send them to another, when all the religionnaires, or even the principal part, are converted, postponing until another time the conversion of the remainder, as will be hereafter explained.”‡ It was enjoined on the marshal to maintain good conduct and discipline among the soldiers, and severely punish any infraction of that

* Rulhière, vol. i. p. 291.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 393. Benoît, vol. iv. Claude, *Plaintes des Protestans*, pp. 42 et seq. Limiers, *Hist. de Louis XIV.*, vol. iv. “Manifeste des habitants des Cévennes sur leur prise d’armes,” inserted in *Mém. de Lamberty*, vol. ii. p. 527. In addition to the above accounts, which, though attacked, are not disproved, the author has been favoured with a MS., addressed by one Salcedo to the secretary of state, which completely corroborates the published narrative, and manfully urges a change of policy on the ground of national advantage. Although not dated, allusions to the anticipated dispute on the Spanish succession indicate the time when it was written.

‡ The letter, dated 31st July, 1685, is given at length by Rulhière, vol. i. p. 295.

* Rulhière, *Eclaircissements*, &c., vol. i. p. 289.

† D’Avrigny, *Mém. Dogmatiques*, vol. iii. p. 96.

‡ Vide ante, p. 243 of this volume.

§ Soulier, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, pp. 598–9. This work was printed at Paris in 1686, before the importance of its admissions could be appreciated.

|| Soulier, p. 600.

order. This provision was a complete mockery, because no attempt was made to restrain the excesses of the military. Subsequent letters from Louvois repeated the king's wishes, that no stress should be laid upon the entire conversion of a place; but that, without making efforts to gain individuals of importance by their fortune or character, he was to swell the list of conversions to the utmost.*

The compilers of the official accounts which were submitted to the king, being aware of his desire, obsequiously related everything in a manner calculated to gratify his feelings and confirm his resolutions. Bergerac was looked upon as the Geneva of Lower Guyenne, and Montauban was unquestionably the Protestant head-quarters of the upper province: the general conversion of these places is represented as a spontaneous movement arising from conviction, and resulting from argument and persuasion; but in the complacency of success, the author already often cited admits that the inhabitants of Bergerac "may have had apprehensions of ill treatment from the soldiers."†

In describing the theological victory at Montauban, the avowal is still more important, inasmuch as it corroborates the accusing cry raised against the persecutions of Bearn. "A report was spread in Montauban that the battalion of Bouvincourt, which was in Bearn (where it had favoured the conversions of those of the pretended reformed religion), was soon to arrive in that town: every one was persuaded that it came with the same orders as were given in Bearn, and many of the *religionnaires* began to manifest a design of joining the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church." Here is a decided admission of fear, in consequence of the cruelty exercised in the neighbouring province. There was however a delay in the appearance of the military, which caused a change of sentiment, and the Protestants informed the intendant that they were ever willing to obey God and the king, according to their conscience. The intendant then wrote to Boufflers to hasten the march of his troops. The readiness to be converted again displayed itself; and the abjurations were so numerous, that the soldiers were obliged to leave the quarters in which they were but just before installed, and encamp for the night.‡ Many abjured with a view to gain time and facilitate their escape; indeed the sincerity of scarcely any of these conversions could be expected; but Louvois was enraptured at the illusory success, and in the beginning of September wrote to inform his aged father, Le Tellier, that sixty thousand conversions had taken place in the generality of Bordeaux, and twenty thousand in that of Montauban.§

The duke de Noailles commanded in Languedoc, and pursued his missionary career in a similar manner. After relating in his Report the forced conversion of Nismes, Uzès, and other towns, he adds, "I am preparing to go through the Cevennes, and hope that by the end of this month not a Huguenot will remain."|| He was afterwards obliged to intercede with the king for a remission of the taxes levied in his province, all the Protestant districts being ruined by supporting the soldiers.¶

* Rulhière, p. 302.

† Soulier, p. 603.

‡ Soulier, p. 604. This occurred in August, 1685.

§ Rulhière, vol. i. p. 304.

|| Noailles, vol. i. p. 80. The Abbé Millot, compiler of these memoirs, admits the compulsory measures adopted.

¶ Noailles, vol. i. p. 98.

Louis was certainly misled by the exaggerated and deceptive accounts. Madame de Maintenon thus writes to her confessor: "The king is well; every courier brings him great cause for joy; that is to say, news of conversions by thousands."* The Jesuit La Chaise and Louvois both assured the monarch that his glorious achievement would be completed without bloodshed; and he gave a finishing stroke to the persecution by revoking what remained of the edict of Nantes. Frittered away as that statute had been, it still sanctioned liberty of conscience and the right of Protestant worship. The edict of revocation was signed at Fontainebleau on the 18th of October, 1685. The following judgment is passed upon this measure by the duke de Saint-Simon: although young at this period, his opinion has weight from his subsequent experience, and, above all, from the facilities he enjoyed for appreciating any causes, not generally known, which might justify the proceeding:—"The revocation of the edict of Nantes, without the least pretext or necessity, and the various proscriptions, rather than proclamations, which followed it, were the fruits of this dreadful plot, which depopulated one-fourth of the kingdom, ruined trade in all its branches, placed it so long under the public avowed pillage of the dragoons, and authorized torments and executions, in which thousands of innocent persons of both sexes perished." After reciting a long list of attendant ills, he adds, "Such was the general abomination produced by flattery and cruelty."†

The Chancellor Le Tellier terminated his career by sealing the document, so fatal to the interests of France, so disgraceful for the king and his ministers: his soul had been absorbed in the chimerical project of legislating for the conscience. In his view, the edict of Nantes alone prevented the realization of that grand desideratum—one fold under one shepherd. And when he had signed the abolition of the heretics' charter, he sang the *Nunc dimittis* in token of his joy. He died ten days after, at Chaville, near Sèvres. Bossuet and Fléchier exerted their eloquence to describe him as a saint and model of excellence: his character is, however, given differently by other hands. He is said to have notoriously abused the influence of his position for injuring those who had displeased him; and the Count de Grammont, perceiving him quit the king's cabinet, after a private audience, observed, "I picture to myself a polecat, who has just killed some fowls, and is licking his jaws, yet stained with their blood."‡

Madame de Maintenon thus writes, a few days after the edict of revocation: "The king is very well pleased at having completed the great work of bringing the heretics back to the church. Father La Chaise has promised that it shall not cost one drop of blood, and M. de Louvois says the same. I am glad those of Paris have been brought to reason. Claude was a seditious man, who confirmed them in their errors: since they have lost him they are more docile. I think, with you, that all these conversions are not sincere; but, at least, their children will be Catholics."§

* Letter to the Abbé Gobelin, dated Chambord, 26th Sept., 1684.

† Œuvres complètes de Louis de St. Simon, vol. ii. p. 43.

‡ Voltaire and La Beaumelle, conflicting authorities, concur in admitting this anecdote as veracious.

§ Letter to the Countess de St. Geran, dated 25th Oct., 1685.

The Count de Bussy Rabutin, alluding to the same subject, observes, "I admire the king's plan for ruining the Huguenots: the wars carried on formerly against them, and the St. Bartholomew, have multiplied and given vigour to this sect. His majesty has gradually undermined it; and the edict he has just given, supported by dragons and Bourdaloue, has been the *coup de grace*."*

But, in spite of the eulogies of the clergy, and the flattery of courtiers, the revocation of the edict of Nantes will ever be deemed a cruel and disgraceful act of authority: it contains, in its own text, proofs of the treachery used in preparing its enactments; as likewise of the duplicity and fear, common to all instigators of tyrannical measures. The following are its principal features.

The preamble declares that, as the greater part of the Protestants had embraced the Catholic religion, the edict of Nantes was useless. The three first clauses revoke, in consequence, the said edict, with every royal declaration in favour of the pretended reformed religion, and prohibit protestant worship under severe penalties. Art. 4 orders all ministers, refusing to be converted, to quit the kingdom within fifteen days, and to abstain from preaching and exhortation under pain of condemnation to the galleys. Art. 7 forbids schools for the instruction of protestant children. The ninth article invites the return of fugitives; and the tenth forbids emigration under penalty of the galleys and confiscation of property. The law against relapsed heretics is maintained in the eleventh article; while the twelfth hypocritically offers protection to the obstinate, in the anticipation of their future conversion. They might continue their trade, and enjoy their property, without being troubled under pretext of their religion, on condition only of abstaining from worship.†

The faint semblance of toleration contained in the last clause gave umbrage to the zealous supporters of the revocation. Several memoirs were addressed to Louvois, complaining of the encouragement given to the obstinate by that provision; and, as many conversions had taken place entirely on account of the king's declared will that there should be only *one* religion in France, it was to be feared that multitudes would relapse.‡

Spies were employed to ascertain whether any French subjects attended worship at the chapels of the Danish, Swedish, and Dutch ambassadors. The official papers of M. de la Reynie abound with reports made by the agents employed.§

The conduct of the government amply proves that the preamble of the edict of revocation was known to be false. A complete extirpation of religious freedom could alone satisfy the king's advisers; and the treacherous character of the concluding article was manifested immediately after the edict was given. The demolition of the temple at Charenton and the disdainful expulsion of M. Claude were in harmony with its purposes; but no sophistry can justify the conduct of the Parisian authorities towards the lay Huguenots. The attorney-general and other magistrates, having

summoned the Protestant heads of families, immediately after the edict was published, informed them that the king's intention was absolutely that they should change their religion: they were no more than their fellow-subjects, and, if they did not consent, the king would make use of means at his command for compelling them. The elders of the consistory, and some Protestants of known firmness, were at the same time imprisoned by *lettres de cachet*.

These measures, however, failing to produce the effect anticipated, the secretary of state, Seignelay, took the business in hand. He collected in his hotel above a hundred Protestants of the mercantile class; and, having closed the gates, presented an act of abjuration for their signature, declaring, at the same time, that none should leave until they had signed it. This act set forth, not only their renunciation of heresy, but their return to the Catholic church; and, further, that they signed it freely, and without being constrained. It was in vain that several exclaimed against the proceeding, and appealed to the last clause of the edict of revocation: they were haughtily told that there was nothing to dispute upon, for they *must obey*.* In short, all signed the paper. This was violence; but other cases followed in which cruelty was mingled. Separation of families and imprisonment were general; besides the spoliatory practice of quartering soldiers, and selling the furniture for their supply.

Claude received orders to quit Paris within twenty-four hours; one of the king's valets was charged, by special ordinance, to conduct him to the frontier.† Other ministers were less harshly treated: they had two days allowed them; and a few obtained their liberty on parole. But even the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel. Those ministers who were best treated could not dispose of their effects; and their books were seized as consistorial property, their enemies hoping, by that method, to cripple their controversial powers. And, in their banishment, they were not permitted to have the company of any relative; although many among them had blind and aged parents entirely dependent upon them for support. The rigour in enforcing the law against emigration was carried so far as to compel the abandonment of their children above the age of seven years. The horrible spirit of persecution was not, however, satisfied with that extent of vengeance against the preachers of the reformed religion: some of the ministers who had set out for their exile, in compliance with the edict, were arrested at the frontier, and imprisoned under various pretexts. In some cases they were called upon to prove their identity: in others to show that no criminal accusation had been preferred against them, or that they did not carry away anything belonging to their late flocks; and, after being thus litigiously detained, it was contended, in some instances, that, the delay of fifteen days having expired, they were no longer at liberty to depart, and must go to the galleys.‡

The severities enforced for preventing the departure of lay Protestants equalled those for compelling the exile of the preachers, a measure unparalleled in history, as all previous proscriptions permitted self-banishment. The precautions were

* 14th Nov., 1685. *Lettres de Bussy Rabutin*, vol. ii. p. 47.

† In the *Recueil des Edits*, &c., it is thus entitled: "Edit du Roi du mois d' Octobre, 1685, portant révocation de celui de Nantes; et defenses de faire aucun exercice public de la R. P. R. dans son royaume."

‡ Noailles, vol. i. p. 92.

§ Vide Appendix, No. IV.

* Limiers, vol. iv. pp. 180, 181.

† Vide Appendix.

‡ Limiers, vol. iv. p. 177. Claude, *Plaintes des Protestans*, p. 59.

so multiplied that commercial intercourse with neighbouring countries was impeded. Every stranger seen at a seaport was arrested; guard-boats were stationed on the coast; half the property of the fugitives was awarded to those who denounced them; and a succession of edicts were issued, awarding fine, imprisonment, galleys, and finally death, as the penalty for aiding the escape of Protestants.*

The capital seemed likely to afford some protection against violence in matters of conscience, concealment being so much easier among a crowded population; but the wily directors of the persecution had provided a remedy. An ordinance issued a few days before that of revocation enjoins all Protestants, arrived in Paris or the suburbs within a year, to retire to their homes in the delay of four days, under a penalty of a thousand livres.†

The persecution was general. Even the independent principality of Orange was visited by the dragoons, and the same violence exercised there as in the French king's territory. The correspondence of Louvois will give an idea of the feeling which then pervaded the authorities. Soon after the edict of revocation, he wrote to the Duke de Noailles, "His Majesty wishes the most severe rigours to be inflicted on those who will not follow *his* religion; they who desire the stupid glory of being the last to convert must be pressed to extremities."‡

Poitou was exposed to a third *dragonnade* in September, 1685, when the inflictions of the former visits were surpassed. The narrative already quoted on several occasions describes the devastation at Mauzé, where the author's house was plundered, and nothing left but the bare walls.§ The inhabitants took shelter where it could be had: a difficult affair, as none dared receive a fugitive into their houses. "Everybody," observes Migault, "was under the influence of terror; a brother scarcely durst receive a brother. In the course of this month I passed three days with mine; and it is impossible to imagine the continual alarm which tormented him, lest I should be discovered in his house."||

After wandering about the country, at one time taking refuge in a cave, at others escaping as if by miracle from the dragoons, he proceeded to Rochelle with a view to prepare for leaving France. As a stranger in that town, his movements were closely watched: he was arrested, and the treatment he endured at length overcame his resolution—he consented to sign an act of abjuration.¶ From that time all his efforts were directed towards an eternal abandonment of the land which had witnessed what he felt as a disgrace of the foulest dye; but so many difficulties intervened, that his escape with his family was not effected until April, 1688.**

Although it was declared a capital crime to worship the Almighty according to the Protestant form, numbers continued to assemble in retired places, ready to submit to death rather than swerve from

their duty. On one occasion, the intendant of Poitou, having surprised an assembly at worship in a sequestered field, fiercely charged upon them with his dragoons. Many perished on the scaffold, for no other cause than their perseverance in following the dictates of conscience; and three, whose names are recorded by Migault, suffered at St. Maixent.*

Never was oppression more cruel than that endured by the unfortunate Huguenots at this period—harassed and tormented if they remained in the kingdom, yet punished as malefactors if they attempted to escape. And still this horrid persecution has apologists. The pious zeal of Louis XIV. was eulogised in the pulpits; and every publication in France was replete with bold denials of the naked truth, or with miserable arguments based upon unwarrantable surmises, for justifying what had passed. The official instructions, issued by Louvois, embody frequent recommendations of mildness in the proceedings; and the vindicators of the measure refer to these studied documents, as sufficient to repel and confute the complaints of the sufferers. But even the excess of eulogy has in several instances borne testimony to the truth of the broad charge of persecution; and, without noticing the numerous writers who emulously strove to exceed each other in praising the monarch's sublime design, the following extract will suffice for an example: it is taken from the work of a Barnabite monk, who lived in the succeeding reign; and the tenacity with which he justifies the measure is an additional proof that the revocation of the edict of Nantes was in reality more of a theological than of a political nature; because at the time he wrote personal feeling had subsided, the authors and promoters of the measure had ceased to exist, and the feeble remnant of the Huguenot party had become objects of general compassion. "The compulsory conversions," he observes, "must not be placed to his (the king's) account, any more than to that of the bishops and governors of provinces. If their orders were not always punctually executed, it would be difficult to indicate even one which was dictated by a spirit of unjust and tyrannical intolerance; for that is the matter in question; and the *dragonnades*, the *missionnaires bottés*, against which so much has been said, were not *everywhere equally odious*. There were innocent Calvinists; but for one such there were a hundred criminals."†

After this admission that odious proceedings had taken place in some parts, the Barnabite, in a warm strain of partisanship, adds the following remark: "But I have said, and cannot too often repeat it, the church employs none but spiritual arms. The penalties it imposes are not murderous in their nature: it does not direct those which are borrowed from the temporal authority, and which should fall only upon crimes hurtful to the state."‡ What a hollow subterfuge! It resembles that of the Inquisition, which, in handing over a victim to the *auto-da-fé*, pretends that the church is no party to the execution.

In the revocation of the edict of Nantes, Louis XIV. found the limits of his power. It was a superfluous measure, inasmuch as the persecution had preceded the enactment. It failed of converting the steadfast; and supplementary decrees increased

* The principal enactments on this subject are dated 31st May, 20th Aug., and 20th Nov., 1685; 26th April and 7th May, 1686; and 12th Oct., 1687.

† Ordinance dated 15th Oct., 1685.

‡ Letter dated 5th Nov., 1685. Rulhière, vol. i. p. 344. De Larrey, *Hist. de Louis XIV.*, vol. v. p. 180.

§ Migault, p. 77.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¶ Feb., 1686. *Ibid.*, p. 94 et seq.

** *Ibid.*, p. 159.

* Thomas Marché, James Guérin, and Peter Rousseau.

† Mirassou, *Hist. des Troubles de Béarn*, p. 345.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

published in rapid succession, some of which contained provisions so monstrous as to render execution impracticable. Among others, an edict which authorised the separation of all children from Protestant parents;* the space requisite for their reception, and the expense attendant on their maintenance, rendered the edict a dead letter.

There were some very severe enactments to deter preachers from attempting to return to France. The penalty of death was awarded to any minister who should be found in the kingdom: all persons receiving or assisting them to be sent, the men to the galleys for life, the women to be shaved and imprisoned, with confiscation of property in either case. A reward of five thousand five hundred livres was promised to any one giving information by which a minister could be arrested; and the penalty of death for any one discovered preaching or exercising other worship than the Roman Catholic.† In executing this law, Basville was dreadfully severe. Twenty Protestants were soon after put to death in Languedoc; and an active pursuit was set on foot for seizing the fugitive ministers, who defied the haughty monarch's edicts, and returned clandestinely among their flocks.‡

The readiness with which they were everywhere received, supported, and warned of danger, added to the ingenuity of their disguises, enabled them to baffle the vigilance of the government. Sometimes they passed as pilgrims, or dealers in images and rosaries; sometimes as soldiers. In all cases they were joyfully hailed by their brethren, and crowds attended their preaching in caverns and secret places.§ The worship of the desert became very general, notwithstanding the dangers to which it was exposed; and, when the Protestants were prevented by the presence of troops from acting as they would, they still refused to attend mass, or to send their children to the Catholic schools; and disregarded every practice commanded by the church of Rome.||

Emigration continued in defiance of the laws for preventing it, and in spite of the encouragement given to impede the departure of fugitives, whose clothes and other effects were distributed among the captors.¶ There were repeated instances of converts returning to the faith they had consented to abjure, when pressed by violence; others at the point of death would spurn the Romish sacraments. These symptoms caused much alarm among the zealots, who obtained an edict by which all those who refused the sacraments during their illness should after their death be drawn upon hurdles; and, in the event of their recovery, the men were condemned to the galleys for life, the women to confinement, with confiscation of property.**

In pursuance of this edict, the troops received orders in some provinces to ascertain whether the new converts were regular in their attendance at mass, and if they constantly practised the duties enjoined by the Romish church. The king perceived that his advisers had persuaded him virtually to establish an inquisition; and the orders were revoked, although secretly, lest

obstinate Protestants might infer from the circumstance a change in his own principles. He had been assured that the edict was merely a threat to complete the general conversion: but in many towns the disgusting scene of its literal execution took place. Priests, attended by magistrates, would beset a dying man; and, unless he yielded to their invitations, his remains were no sooner cold than the populace was regaled with the barbarous spectacle decreed by the edict.

The intendants were informed by a circular that, as the law had not produced all the advantages which had been hoped for, whenever converted Huguenots endeavoured to make a display of their obstinacy, the edict might be rigorously executed: but when it arose purely from conviction, and the relatives expressed their disapprobation, the circumstance should not be noticed; and to that end, "his majesty deems it right that ecclesiastics should not be so ready to call in the magistrates as witnesses, so that they may not be obliged to carry the declaration into effect."*

However, some years after, the Bishop of Nismes, addressing the secretary of state, observes, "I have desired my curates, according to his majesty's orders, to watch the new converts who are ill: they find many who refuse to listen to them, declaring they will die in the religion in which they were born. The judges are called in, after the priest has done his utmost to bring him back."†

Marshal Vauban, with the generosity allied to true courage, presented a memorial to Louvois, deploring the injury which his ruinous measures inflicted on the country, and demanding a retraction of all that had been done during the preceding nine years. The following expression is remarkable: "Compulsory conversion has inspired a general horror of the conduct of the ecclesiastics."‡

At the death of Louvois in 1691, the royal council was swayed by Beauvilliers, Pontchartrain, and Pomponne, men favourably disposed towards the Jansenists. That party at length succeeded in allaying the king's ardour for compelling all his subjects to adopt his faith. Their principles throughout had been uniform; and a compulsory participation in the sacraments was ever regarded by them as a profanation. But they were disliked by Louis, whose conscience was in the care of the Jesuits; and their efforts were unavailing, until Fénelon and d'Aguesseau by their arguments convinced Madame de Maintenon of the dangers attendant upon the king's policy. Soon after those eminent men had joined the court the persecution slackened, and the dragonnades ceased; but the laws against emigration remained.

These results might have been obtained much earlier, but for the extravagant praises bestowed upon Louis, and which he had sanctioned by lavish remuneration. Numbers of his subjects were legally and civilly dead, with the anomalous tyranny of maintaining a claim upon their loyalty and obedience.§ Spoliation, beyond all precedent, had

* Registered in parliament, 12th Jan., 1686.

† Declaration du Roy, dated 1st July, 1686. Registered in parliament 12th July.

‡ Noailles, vol. i. p. 111.

§ Rulhière, vol. i. p. 348.

|| Noailles, vol. i. p. 112.

¶ Ordonnance du 26 Avril, 1686.

** Déclaration du 29 Avril, 1686.

* 5th Feb., 1687. Rulhière, vol. i. pp. 350—357.

† 4th June, 1699. Flechier, *Lettres*, &c., vol. i. p. 137.

‡ Rulhière, vol. i. p. 380.

§ In 1689 the Dey of Algiers made a distinction between the Huguenots and the Catholics who fell into his power. When a French ship was sent to claim captives, he surrendered the latter, but refused to deliver the Protestants, who, he said, were no longer the king's subjects, since he had expelled them from his kingdom — *Palance de la Religion et de la Politique*, p. 184. Hague, 1695.

spread poverty and desolation far and wide: yet the church had gained a victory, and the modern Constantine's praises were proclaimed in orations and poems—by monuments and addresses. Madame de Maintenon might well write, "How can he renounce an enterprise, upon which he has permitted such praise to be offered him?"*

CHAPTER LXII.

Troubles in the Vivarais—Notice of Claude Brousson—Severities at Orange—Remarks on the intendant Basville, and on the emigration of the Huguenots.

The publication of a mystical work in 1686 which announced the speedy overthrow of popery, and promised in glowing terms the triumph of true religion over error, gave rise to a movement in the Vivarais, which for a time threatened serious consequences. The book in question was composed by Jurieu, a Protestant writer of some eminence; but his treatise was severely censured by his fellow ministers, and condemned by several synods for its visionary tendencies.† Most probably its chief defect in the estimation of the exiled theologians caused its importance among the Huguenots, still groaning under persecution. How could they refrain from consoling themselves with the hope that its predictions would be fulfilled? They would naturally cherish views so favourable to their circumstances; and the vicinity of Geneva enabled preachers and partisans to raise the hopes and expectations of the simple-hearted mountaineers by whom the bordering districts were peopled, and in whose opinion the compulsory abjurations had produced no other effect than a more determined hatred of Romanism.

At the close of 1688 circumstances combined to favour Jurieu's system of interpretation. The dethronement of James II., and the league formed against Louis XIV., revived the hopes of the Huguenots so much, that in a short time sanguine expectations were elevated into a general confiding enthusiasm, not unfrequently producing extravagance. Sad indeed was the disappointment of the Protestants of Dauphiny: a few months sufficed to annihilate their dreams of restored liberty; and the severity inflicted upon the principal actors was an unequivocal lesson for a population noted for tenacity in religious views, and obnoxious on account of the difficulty experienced in forcing their conversion. That was their chief crime—a fault far less pardonable than joining in this effervescence, which did not deserve the name of an insurrection.

Geneva at this period teemed with Protestant refugees, and especially ministers. They perceived the effect produced upon the public by the prevalent notions, and warmly promoted the sentiment, with the view of effecting a change in the situation of the Huguenots. Much talent, hitherto latent, was now drawn out into activity; every capacity was brought into play; even if the service was merely to convey communications, or to serve as guides to the proscribed preachers.

Du Serre, a glass-maker of Dieu-le-Fit, promul-

* In a Memoir written in 1690 or 1691, at which period the restoration of the eucit of Nantes was regarded as probable. This piece is given at length by La Beaumelle, vol. vi.

† De l'Accomplissement des Prophéties. See Bayle, *Lettre à M. Minutoli*, 6th Oct., 1692.

gated the doctrines in Dauphiny.* Meetings were frequently held in secret, consisting of few persons, but most obnoxious in their nature, as the constant themes of discussion were the antichristian character of the papacy, appeals to repent of abjuration, and severe criticisms on the mass.

According to the statements of the stronger party, which are deeply tinged with a sentiment of hatred,† two leaders were conspicuous above all others by the parts they assumed: Gabriel Astier, a young man of Clieu in Dauphiny, and a shepherdess of Crest, named Isabeau Vincent, known, it is stated, as the Fair Isabeau.‡ After preaching for some time in the streets and public places of Grenoble, she was arrested with several companions: she manifested great firmness in her interrogatories, professing contempt of death, and declaring her conviction that others would rise up to supply her place, and surpass her powers. Her resolution was not put to the test; for during her imprisonment she yielded to persuasion, and embraced the Romish religion.§

Astier, who had chosen the Vivarais for the scene of his exertions, was greatly encouraged by the success of his preaching. His relatives and connexions joined in the work, and spread his tenets throughout the country, which, being difficult for the passage of troops, was comparatively secure for the preachers; while the rustic simplicity of the inhabitants, and the recollections of the late persecution combined to give force to their sermons. At the outset the congregations assembled in barns: but their confidence augmented with their numbers; and Astier was in the frequent habit of preaching on the hills to meetings of several thousands.|| They were accompanied, according to the Bishop of Nismes, "by two prophetesses, equally mad, and of debauched lives."¶

The magistrates and military chiefs of the province did not remain idle during such bold infringements of the king's decrees, and a regiment was sent to disperse the assemblies. Some Huguenots were killed by a detachment; upon which their companions attacked the troops so furiously with stones, that the captain and nine of his men were slain. The assembly celebrated their victory by singing a psalm on the ruins of a temple, and then dispersed; but it was to collect again in other places.** The attack tended only to irritate the party and increase their numbers.

The Count de Broglie, lieutenant-general of the forces in Languedoc, and Basville, intendant of the province, then proceeded to stay the sedition.†† They quitted Montpellier for the Vivarais, and by great exertions a considerable force was soon collected for restoring order.‡‡ Colonel Folville had sent for dragoons, militia, and other reinforcements from the surrounding parts: he had learned by

* Brueys, *Hist. du Fanatisme*, vol. i. p. 97. Utrecht, 1737, 12mo. Fléchier (*Relation des Fanatiques*) calls Du Serre *gentilhomme verrier*.

† Bishop Fléchier is beside himself on this subject: with him no terms are too harsh or too gross for obstinate heretics. See his *Lettres, Récit, jidèle*, &c.

‡ Brueys, vol. i. p. 116.

§ Ibid., vol. i. p. 145.

¶ Ibid., pp. 124 and 134.

|| Fléchier, *Récit, jidèle*, &c. This opuscle is printed with his *Lettres choisies*.

** Fléchier, *Récit, jidèle*, &c., p. 387.

†† In a manifest, subsequently published by the inhabitants of the Covenens, it is stated that Broglie was Basville's brother-in-law. Dated 15th March, 1703, and preserved by Lamberty, vol. ii. p. 527.

‡‡ 17th Feb., 1689. Brueys, vol. i. p. 171.

experience the inutility of merely dispersing them, as the military force in Dauphiny was inadequate to prevent their re-assembling. While undecided as to the point he should select for his first operation, some loud shoutings from a mountain determined his movement. He found a numerous assemblage, so full of determination that, although they had ample time to escape, they continued their devotions and refused to listen to an offer of pardon. Folville, having barred most of the issues, then charged upon them. Very few had fire-arms, and the soldiers were assailed with stones and other missiles; but when they were at close quarters the swords and bayonets proved irresistible, and the rustics endeavoured to escape among the precipices and woods, where they could not be followed without danger and difficulty. Between three and four hundred were killed; fifty were made prisoners, and the remainder were scattered among the surrounding hills and forests.* Another meeting was surprised at Privas: they were attacked, observes Fléchier, in the midst of their prophetic declamations; twelve were killed, and the house they met in was burned.†

Similar scenes occurred at Besset, Pourchères, and other places, where a refusal to disperse was followed by a charge of the military. Viviers, Bishop of Lodève, followed the troops, in order to use his clerical authority and influence for the conversion of the mountaineers; while Basville dispensed the severities of the law with the diligence for which he is celebrated. He condemned the leaders to capital punishment, and gave milder judgments against their companions, exempting those only whose ignorance proved them incapable of anything more than submission to the powerful influence of their preachers.

The assemblies soon after ceased; but the authorities would not desist from the pursuit of Gabriel Astier. He had not been found among the killed or captives; and his portrait was extensively distributed, for assisting his arrest. He was at length discovered in the ranks of a regiment at Montpellier, having enlisted as the best means of escaping. Basville condemned him to death, and he was hanged at Bays on the second of April, 1689.‡

From this time until the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick, nothing of importance occurred. Edicts and proclamations against emigration were repeatedly issued, and many preachers were victims to their resolution in visiting the country from which they were forever banished. The constancy of these martyrs is almost incredible; and, if an individual case is selected for example, it is less on account of his superior firmness than from the malignity which has pursued his memory, and given publicity to an unfounded accusation.

Claude Brousson was originally an advocate of Nîmes; he was afterwards employed in the mixed chamber at Castres, and followed that court when it was incorporated with the parliament of Toulouse. He presided at an assembly held in that city in 1683, for consulting upon the general interests of the Protestants under the threatening aspect of affairs; and, as the increasing difficulties deterred some from entering upon the ministerial office, he

devoted himself to the ecclesiastical service of the reformed church. His sermons, which have been printed, display much pious zeal and scriptural erudition;* they likewise prove uncommon facility on his part, as he was constantly a wanderer, and preached by stealth in caves and barns. He was arrested at Oloron, and executed at Montpellier on the 4th of November, 1698.

His character is maliciously portrayed by Brueys, who described him as "a gloomy splenetic, with a very ordinary genius, and inflated with pride: having a slight knowledge of Scripture, affecting moderation, but meditating insurrection."† He had a colleague named François Vivens, who is represented by the same writer as a "libertine and thief, with the hardihood of a rascal, rather than real courage." He is stated to have ordained Brousson in 1689, but, as much that has been advanced concerning the character of the latter has been disproved, this may also be unfounded. At all events, the assumption affords Brueys an opportunity for invective. "Thus a public assassin laid his bloody hands upon a seditious visionary, and declared him a minister of the Gospel."‡

Vivens does not appear to have been highly esteemed as a preacher, or his character would most probably have been vindicated from such accusations. Indeed, if the current accounts respecting his end are well founded, he was better qualified for conducting a partisan warfare than to impart religious instruction. In the spring of 1692 he was surprised in a cavern, between Anduze and Alais; and his desperate defence almost deterred his assailants from the perilous task of his capture. Two companions loaded his piece, while he fired on the soldiers, several of whom were slain; and he was at length killed by an officer of militia, while levelling his musket at the commander of the detachment. His death was immediately followed by the surrender of his comrades, who were hanged at Alais.§

Brousson has been accused, conjointly with Vivens, of forming a project for raising an insurrection; and an intercepted letter addressed to Count Schomberg, inviting a foreign invasion, has been alleged and argued upon to justify his condemnation and blacken his character. This version has been adopted by Voltaire,|| and, as a matter of course, by all popish writers; yet his judges must have been satisfied that he was not so guilty, or his punishment would hardly have been commuted. His conference with Basville after condemnation was kept secret: he was sentenced to be broken alive after being tortured; but was spared such suffering, as the rack was remitted, and he was strangled before his body was placed upon the wheel. Interment was also permitted; and no reply was made to the publications of his friends, who refuted the charges brought against him within a month after his execution.¶

The persecuted Huguenots had vainly hoped that their interests would have been attended to in the negotiation for the treaty of Ryswick; but they discovered, to their cost, that the cessation

* *La Manne du Désert, or Sermons* by Claude Brousson, 3 vols. 12mo. Utrecht, 1695.

† Brueys, vol. i. p. 208.

‡ Ibid., vol. i. p. 221.

§ Ibid., vol. i. p. 261.

|| Siècle de Louis XIV., ch. xxxvii.

¶ De Larrey, vol. vii. p. 75.

* Brueys, vol. i. p. 183. Fléchier, *Récit. fidèle*, &c., p. 394.

† *Récit. fidèle*, p. 397.

‡ Brueys, vol. i. p. 195.

of foreign disputes only served to revive the efforts of domestic tyranny.* It was no longer sufficient to prevent assemblies for worship: violence was again resorted to for compelling a change of religion, and the law against relapsed heretics was severely enforced. Even Orange, an independent principality in the centre of the Vaucluse, was exposed to the despotism of a monarch who had no claim on its allegiance.† Relying on the privileges inferred from the preliminary negotiations, the inhabitants re-opened their temples, and the ministers resumed their functions. By degrees the Protestants of the neighbouring district proceeded there, to join in the religious services; and the vice-legat of Avignon, perceiving his inability to prevent their attendance, withdrew the guards posted at the bridges and passes.‡ This removal of restraint increased the confidence of the country-people, who then attended in great numbers.

However, when it was ascertained that above seven thousand Protestants were assembled, the vice-legat sent troops, under pretext that the Catholics were exposed to insult; and informed the populace that, if they would fall upon the Huguenots and plunder them, the spoil should be their own. The unsuspecting Protestants were in consequence assailed, robbed, and even stripped, as they were returning home in small parties; and numbers were led as prisoners to Roquemaure. Basville, being informed of what had occurred, sent orders for them to be conducted to Montpellier: they were tied together two by two, to the number of ninety-seven men and thirty-eight women.

A party of forty was retiring into Dauphiny; and in order to escape a similar disaster, had avoided all the towns and villages. They were attacked at Portecleire, in the district of Orange. A body of peasants well-armed fell upon them, induced by the promise of their spoils. The Protestants, having no means of defence, were an easy prey; and the female captives were stripped quite naked. Some of the party escaped into the woods, and one unfortunate man, being seized, was stripped and tied to a tree, to die of cold and starvation. On the third day of his agony, an Irishman passing by was moved with pity, and cut the cords which bound him; but immediately four men rushed forward, declaring that the Huguenot should die in that manner, and that he should have similar treatment if he interfered. The brutality exercised on this occasion is almost incredible. Females were found with their noses cut off, and their eyes put out; and the bodies of the slain were left at the laystalls.§

The readiness to resume Protestantism, manifested by the concourse at Orange, was sufficient to convince Louis that he had incurred great odium to little purpose. If persecution was

slackened, the assemblies were numerously attended; and on the other hand, if the penal edicts were enforced, emigration recommenced. The government complained of the libels composed by the fugitives in England and Holland; but no publication is more injurious to the king's character than the collection of his own edicts, which awarded confiscation, the galleys, and even death, as the penalty for infractions of previous laws, so monstrous in their character, that their observance could not be expected.

In 1697 the king ordered a succinct return of the state of the country, in all its bearings—military, civil, ecclesiastical and productive; and, in consequence, each intendant drew up a memoir, from which some details might be fairly expected concerning the condition of the Huguenots, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. But the duties and responsibility of the intendants prevented them from dispassionately reporting the truth, and in general the existence of Protestants is but slightly alluded to. The office of intendant was a modern invention; one of those measures by which the last traces of seigniorial independence were obliterated, in the establishment of absolute monarchy; and the common people soon discovered that additional chains were thus forged for their oppression. "They learned," observes a judicious writer, "that these new magistrates were to be the immediate instruments of their misery: that their lives, their properties, and their families would be at their disposal. Masters of their children, by forced enrolments; of their property, by depriving them of sustenance; and of their lives, by the prison, the gibbet, or the wheel.*"

Lefevre d'Ormesson, intendant of Riom, gives a specimen of the value of these official accounts. He reports that the province had the happiness to be scarcely infected with heresy, as there were not more than ten Huguenot families at the publication of the edict of revocation; which he declares "the most glorious of the king's acts, the most advantageous to religion, most beneficial to the state." Yet he subsequently confesses that two towns in his generality continue very much impoverished by the retreat of the Huguenots.†

Basville, intendant of Languedoc, was the most eminent of these functionaries. His plan was to strike terror into the minds of those whom he knew to be ranking under oppression. Anticipating a period of resistance, he prepared measures for aiding the movement of troops, by opening roads and constructing forts. The new converts found themselves as much the objects of suspicion as the staunch Huguenots;‡ and persecution drove many to the desperate resolution of professing their first faith, although it exposed them to the worst consequences, as relapsed heretics. This intendant's memoir was much better composed than any which were presented; and Louis is said to have perused it with satisfaction. Basville unfolds the services he has rendered the crown, but of course conceals the fact, that an insurrection was to be apprehended from his excessive rigour. Insensible to the misery of which he was the

* There is much curious and interesting information on this subject in a work entitled *Relation de tout ce qui s'est fait dans les affaires de la Religion réformée et pour ses intérêts, depuis le commencement de la paix de Reswick*. Rotterdam, 1698.

† This territory had been treated in a most hostile manner at the revocation, which is attributed by Puffendorf to a hatred of the prince.

‡ August, 1697. The treaty was concluded 20th Sept.

§ Limiers, vol. v. pp. 243–247. A declaration was soon after published forbidding all persons from settling at Orange, and awarding death as the penalty for proceeding there to contract marriage, or perform any religious act. Dated Versailles, 23rd Nov., 1697.

* Boulainvilliers, *Etat de la France*, préface, p. 39.

† Boulainvilliers, *Discours sur le Mémoire de Riom*.

‡ "Peu sont réellement catholiques: ils conservent presque tous leur mauvaise religion dans leur cœur, dans l'espoir d'un changement." Basville, *Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. de Languedoc*, p. 79. Amsterdam, 1734.

author, and to the death of several thousand persons, sacrificed to maintain his sway, he speaks only of the necessity of obedience: "Can we," observes the writer before quoted, "avoid considering him as one of the most cruel instruments of the public suffering, and as the most dangerous seducer of our prince's piety?"* In commenting upon the memoir of this intendant, the same author declares: "One hundred thousand persons were sacrificed to justify the conduct of M. de Basville; and of that number, the tenth part perished in the flames, by the gibbet, or on the wheel."†

The apologists of this persecution have attempted to show that the number of victims has been much exaggerated, and especially in the extent to which emigration was carried. None of the statements published by the refugees can be received as altogether correct; but there is a wide difference between the deductions to be made on account of erroneous impressions, and the hardy denial of any injury being sustained by France, through the loss of so many industrious subjects. It was on that point that the French government was most exposed to positive, specific censure: hiring writers therefore directed their efforts to ward off the expected attacks, and vindicate the policy of their patron in the eyes of posterity. There is strong evidence of the extent of emigration in the persons of their descendants, numerous at the present day in every Protestant state; and a letter from the states-general to the King of Sweden‡ establishes the fact that their numbers were so great in Holland, that the country could support no more: his Swedish majesty was in consequence entreated to locate them in his German provinces.

Besides which, it may be asked, for what reason were so many severe edicts issued against emigration during half a century, if the preference shown for a state of exile had not menaced the prosperity of France, while it proved the unhappy condition of a numerous class of its inhabitants. But the unprecedented severity of the law did not deter the Huguenots from making an effort to escape. Every day fugitives passed the frontier in defiance of the proclamations, and Bayle relates, in a letter to a friend, that thirty persons from Caen, with their children, had reached Rotterdam in a small vessel, with a hundred others from different provinces.§

A contemporary statement mentions eleven English regiments, composed *entirely* of refugees, besides others enrolled among the troops of the line. There were in London twenty-two French churches, supported by the government; about three thousand refugees were maintained by public subscription; many received grants from the crown; and a great number lived by their own industry.|| Some of the nobility were naturalised

and obtained high rank; among others Ruvigny, son of the marquis, was made earl of Galway, and Schomberg received the dignity of duke.

CHAPTER LXIII.

Commencement of the Camisard War under the Count de Broglie.

THE cruelties exercised by Basville were, for a long period, patiently endured by the Huguenots of Languedoc. Their constancy in meeting for prayer and religious exercises exposed them to frequent attacks, invariably followed by the condemnation of those who were unfortunately seized. Many were hanged; preachers were broken on the wheel, or burned alive; and numbers, convicted merely of being present, were sent to the galleys. To detail these revolting spectacles would be impossible; but the following instance will suffice to establish the violence and extent of the persecution, some years after Louis had been congratulated on the extinction of heresy in his dominions, and at a period when the court affected to deny the existence of any Protestants in France. Indeed whenever an edict was issued against them, they were uniformly termed *new converts*.

Some Protestants had assembled at le Creux de Vaie in the Vivarais, when a body of soldiers fired upon them, killing many and wounding more; the remainder were nearly all secured.* Basville condemned five of the prisoners to be hanged—four men and a girl: they were each executed in a different town. Five others were sentenced to the galleys, and among them were three brothers named Marlié. Their father was one of those who suffered capitally; another brother was wounded by the soldiers, and died in prison; their family dwelling was destroyed, and all their property confiscated.† Thus an entire family was cut off, for no other cause than a perseverance in their religious duties.

The mountaineers of the Cevennes and the Vivarais had for ages cherished the Scriptural doctrines embodied in the tenets of Protestantism. This is clearly proved by the conduct of the Vaudois and Albigenses, in the twelfth century; by the revival of the sacred flame among their descendants, immediately after Luther's preaching was made known; and by the firmness with which they resisted the tyranny of Basville and his associates. Even to the present day, their descendants remain steadfastly attached to the faith for which their forefathers suffered so much; and there are many families lineally descended from Basville's victims, among whom the profession of Protestantism has never ceased.

Basville was actively seconded in his rigours by the Abbé Du Chaila, whose disposition had attracted the intendant's notice in 1687. His zeal and severity, with other qualities so well calculated for the suppression of heresy, had procured him the office of *inspector of missions* in the Ce-

* Boulainvilliers, preface, p. 56.

† Ibid., *Discours sur le Mémoire de Languedoc*.

‡ "Nostra quidem terra tam angustis circumscriptur limitibus, totque repleta est ex Gallia religionis causâ profugis, ut plures alere nequeat quapropter si sub imperio regie majestatis vestræ, præsertim in provinciis ejus Germanicis, major daretur opportunitas, Regiam majestatem vestram enixè rogamus, velit huic genti afflictæ, vel partem eorum, terras ubi domicilium statuunt largiri." The letter, dated Hague, 6th Nov. 1698, is given at length by Lamberty, *Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. du 18^{me} Siècle*, vol. i. p. 35.

§ Letter to M. Janicon, dated 8th Oct., 1699.

|| Mémoires et Observations faites par un Voyageur en Angleterre, 12mo. La Haye, 1698, p. 362.

* 14th Sept., 1698.

† *Mercure Historique*, Nov., 1698, quoted by Court Hist. des Troubles des Cevennes ou de la Guerre des Camisards, vol. i. p. 11. This author was an inhabitant of Nîmes, and drew much of his information from actors in the scenes which he describes.

vennes; and in the fulfilment of the duties which thus devolved upon him no means were too violent for his adoption. He would accompany the troops searching for assemblies engaged in secret worship; and the prisoners who fell into his hands were treated with cruelty almost surpassing credibility. Whenever his tortures failed of effecting abjuration, or extorting some statement to assist his search for other victims, he would confine his captives in narrow cells, called *ceps*, where the impossibility of moving caused terrible torments.* His obduracy at length brought down upon himself a severe retribution; and his death was the signal for an insurrection, almost unparalleled in history.

In July, 1702, a guide named Massip was arrested at Pont-de-Montvert, as he was conducting a party of fugitive Protestants to Geneva.† Du Chaila had been informed by his spies of the projected evasion; and placed the whole party in the *ceps*, to await judgment. Great interest was made to move the inexorable abbé in favour of some young ladies, who for security were travelling in male attire; but in vain. And as a warm appeal was addressed to some assembled Huguenots, that an effort should be made for their rescue, the abbé declared that, on his return to Pont-de-Montvert, he would order Massip to be executed. The Huguenots re-assembled, nearly fifty in number; and, after prayer, proceeded in a body to that village, armed chiefly with swords, old halberts and scythes; only a few had fire-arms. They entered the place at nightfall: as they chaunted a psalm on their march, the abbé, who was already there, imagined a religious assembly was being held, and accordingly ordered some soldiers to fall upon them. Almost immediately the house he lodged in was surrounded, and numerous voices claimed the enlargement of his captives. Du Chaila gave orders to fire; and one of the liberators being killed, his comrades forced open the door. While some proceeded to free the prisoners, others sought the abbé, who was barricaded in his chamber. An invitation to surrender was answered by a discharge of fire-arms, and the enraged assailants at once decided on setting fire to the house. The progress of the flames compelled the abbé to retreat. Aided by a servant, he descended to the garden, by tying his sheets together. In the attempt, he fell and broke his leg; yet with his servant's assistance, he sought concealment among the shrubs and bushes, where the light of the conflagration caused his detection. The Huguenots at once reproached him with his cruelty, to which he replied by abjectly begging his life.‡ He was almost instantly pierced with nearly fifty wounds, every blow being accompanied by expressions to this effect: "That is for your violence towards my father!" "That for sending my brother to the galleys!" &c. Several residents in the house were killed with him: but a soldier and one servant were spared, as the liberated prisoners spoke in

their favour.* This energetic proceeding gave rise to the war of the *Camisards*.†

A deed of such enormity was no sooner committed, than the perpetrators perceived the severe pursuit which must follow; for however the circumstances might claim and find palliation, in the odious cruelty by which it was provoked, that consideration would have no weight with their enemies, armed with every description of authority, and doubly incensed against them for this demonstration. Their case became desperate; they decided on retreating into the forests, and there defending themselves to the utmost; and in their excitement, took revenge upon several priests, and other persons who had been active in the persecution.

The clergy were greatly alarmed, and the Count de Broglie mustered the nobility and militia, to pursue the insurgents. He was for some days uninformed of the route they had taken; and under the impression that they retired to their respective homes, he dismissed his forces, and retired to Montpellier, leaving small detachments in the different towns, under the command of Captain Poul, an officer notorious for his severity. He soon discovered the retreat of the insurgents; and falling upon them suddenly, captured *Esprit Segurier*, chief of the band, with two others.

It is related that while Poul was conducting his prisoners to Florac, he thus addressed their chief: "Well! wretched man, how dost thou expect to be treated?" To which Segurier replied haughtily, "As I would have treated thee, hadst thou fallen into my hands."‡

Basville, with all possible dispatch, sent a chamber of Justice from Nîmes to condemn the prisoners. Segurier was sentenced to have his hand cut off, and to be burnt alive at Pont-de-Montvert: his companions were condemned to be broken on the wheel; one at Devèze, the other at St. André, those being the principal scenes of their violence. Segurier died with such firmness that the spectators were astonished: his composure was undisturbed by the flames; and he declared to the last that he gloried in having given the first blow to the Abbé Du Chaila.§

A scene of desolation succeeded this severity: parties of soldiers scoured the country, and the information of a priest was sufficient to have any one arrested—his condemnation ensued as a matter of course; and, to spread the intimidation, the executions took place in different towns. The murder of the abbé and the outrages which followed were deeds meriting condign punishment; and, if none but the actors in those tragic scenes had been executed, no complaint could have been raised against the intendant Basville: but he assumed that it was the result of a conspiracy, in which all the Protestants and new converts were concerned. An ordinance was subsequently published, rendering every township responsible for all acts committed within it; and lists were

* Louvrelleuil (*Le Fanatisme Renouveau*) quoted by Court, vol. i. p. 33. Louvrelleuil was a priest: his work was published in 1704, and a continuation in 1706.

† Court assures us that he conversed frequently with Massip, and had from his lips full particulars of this event, his imprisonment, and the ill-treatment he received from Du Chaila, as well as the circumstances of the abbé's death. Vol. i. p. 43.

‡ Brueys says that his life would have been spared, had he changed his religion and consented to become their minister—an absurdity. *Hist. du Fanatisme*, vol. i. pp. 296, 301.

* Court, vol. i. p. 44.

† There are several opinions as to the origin of this word: the most probable derivation is a corruption of *camisade*, a nocturnal attack.

‡ Brueys, vol. i. p. 318. It is also mentioned by the anonymous author of *Hist. des Camisards*, printed 1744, vol. i. p. 132. This writer has evidently compiled his account from oral statements. There is a confusion in the dates which lessens its historical value; yet, as a corroborating testimony, it is worth consulting.

§ Court, vol. i. p. 68.

made of every Protestant absent from his dwelling.* The malcontents were then joined by many, who, in despair, saw no safety in their homes; and who, if they failed to better their condition, were convinced that nothing could render it worse.

One project of the insurgents was to leave the country in a body; another, for each to find a retreat separately as he best could. In their dilemma they were harangued by one of their number, named Laporte.† He had some military experience; and, by his appeal, induced them to proceed in their dangerous undertaking, to deliver the captives, punish their persecutors, and claim the right of worship by force of arms. "They might and probably would perish," said Laporte, "but it was more glorious to fall in arms, than to die tamely, under the hands of the executioner." He was forthwith elected their chief; and proceeded to instruct his companions in military tactics.‡ His efforts were encouraged by the success of Castanet, and Roland, or Rolland,§ who at the same time formed each a corps, composed of Protestants who felt themselves obnoxious to the authorities on account of their religious sentiments. These bodies were soon augmented by recruits when their early successes were known, and their means of arming were increased.

"It was thought," observes Brueys, "that the terrible execution, just made of the most atrocious, would have deterred others from imitating them: but one had to deal with madmen, on whom example produced no effect; whom neither the gibbet, the wheel, nor the stake could render reasonable. It was evident, by the result, that the evil was irritated instead of being cured."||

The operations of the three insurgent leaders were, to a certain extent, in concert; but each command was distinct. Their most pressing necessity was for arms. It was useless to seek them among the Protestants, as every weapon in their possession had long been seized. The priests were, in general, the depositories of such confiscations; and, as force alone could remove them from such keeping, the Camisards combined their operations of vengeance with the effort to obtain the means of effecting it.

Laporte soon became celebrated in the province, and Poul was earnestly bent upon his capture. Stratagem and corruption were both tried, but in vain. At length it was known where the rebel chief was to sleep: Poul took his measures for preventing escape; and, on the alarm being given, the Camisards prepared for defence. A heavy shower rendered their muskets almost useless; only three pieces were discharged at the first volley, but each dispatched an enemy. The soldiers then rushed upon the insurgents, who were retreating among the rocks, when their leader was struck by a musket-ball. The Camisards lost nine of their number, whose heads were cut off, and exposed in the towns, along with those of the soldiers who

fell, and who thus contributed to swell their commander's triumph.*

Meanwhile a new company was formed by a youth, who became subsequently the chief of the insurrection, Jean Cavalier, a native of Ribaute, near Anduze, at that time only twenty-one years of age. He had for some time assisted a shepherd, and afterwards a baker of Anduze, from which place he withdrew to Geneva to escape persecution. He was there when he heard of the movements in the Cevennes; and felt a conviction that he was called by Heaven to assist his brethren. Being at an assembly in his native village, he proposed to the young men to take arms, and either join their friends in the Cevennes, or create a diversion in their favour. He represented, with energy, that it was disgraceful to remain quiet, and allow their brethren to be massacred, without an effort on their behalf; that they ought equally to aim at the liberation of their captive kinsmen; and that, as religion should be more precious in their estimation than existence, they were bound to risk their lives in order to obtain liberty of worship. The discourse found an echo in the bosoms of the hearers, and they met the following day, eighteen in number. But their means corresponded little with their resolution: among the whole party there were no other arms than one musket and two old swords; while none but Cavalier had the least notion of military exercise, and his instruction was limited to seeing the manœuvres of the town guards at Geneva. Their enthusiasm was not, however, damped by their scanty resources: they were well versed in the Scriptures; and, descanting upon the examples of Moses and Gideon, they proceeded to the residence of the prior of St. Martin, where they were certain of finding a supply. Their route lay through Anduze, where they beheld the heads of Laporte and his companions fixed upon the bridge: instead of terrifying them, it redoubled their desire to enter upon their campaign. Cavalier's expectation was justified on reaching the prior's house: that ecclesiastic was well known for the mildness of his character; and, confiding in his own reputation, he had remained at home when all other priests were terror-struck, and fled to the towns on account of the revolt. He received the troop with serenity; and, on learning that they required arms, he allowed them to carry away the recent spoils of neighbouring Protestants, sufficient to equip twenty men.†

This commencement was a good omen; but Cavalier took other measures for advancing his cause. He held religious assemblies, and preached with fluency and force. The Protestants with joy beheld his rising importance: some compared him to Gideon and Maccabæus, others to Zisca and Ragotzi.‡ There was nothing in his person to impress beholders. On the contrary, he is represented as small in stature; the head large, and sunk upon the shoulders; with a broad red face and light hair. His countenance did not bespeak intelligence; but his career proves that he was well endowed.

The Count de Broglie being informed of his holding a meeting at Aigues Vives, immediately proceeded there.§ Having summoned the entire community, without troubling himself with inves-

* Ordinance dated 10th Oct., 1702. Court, vol. i. p. 104. Brueys, vol. i. p. 371.

† Brueys says he was *un fameux scélérat*, a preacher, and a disciple of Vivens: he confounds him with a minister of the same name, executed at Montpellier in 1696.

‡ Court, vol. i. p. 72.

§ André Castanet was originally a forest-keeper; though uneducated, he became a preacher of note in the mountains. Rolland was Laporte's nephew; he had served in the army, and was also an energetic preacher.

|| Brueys, vol. i. p. 328.

* 12th Oct., 1702. Court, vol. i. p. 112.

† Court, vol. i. pp. 107, 115.

‡ Menard, vol. vi. p. 381.

§ 15th Nov., 1702.

tigation, he selected sixteen persons as objects of the legal vindict. Four of them were hanged at the church door, and twelve were sent to the galleys: the town was further assessed with a fine of a thousand livres to defray the expenses. This act of flagrant injustice was generally condemned, and was one of the causes of Broglie's recall.*

Cavalier's troop continued to increase: every day added to his supply of arms; and, as he was soon joined by several other companies, it was considered necessary to invest him regularly with authority as commander-in-chief. He represented that several among them were more competent; but the general voice was in his favour, and he accepted the command, on condition that he should have power of life and death over the troop without calling a council of war. The insurgents consented; but it does not appear that Cavalier ever abused that prerogative.†

From the time their force was organised, they regularly performed divine worship, administered the Lord's Supper, and celebrated marriages and baptisms in every town. Their numbers included some who had great talent for preaching; and the romantic, hazardous life they led contributed so much to promote their enthusiasm, that several believed themselves inspired. Their motive for taking arms was to enjoy the right of worship; and in the woods and caverns they were constantly engaged in devotional exercises, especially on Sundays, for the convenience of the country labourers, who flocked to hear them; and it was their invariable custom before they marched to pray for divine guidance, and on halting to offer public thanksgiving.‡ Need we then wonder at the energy they manifested, their contempt of death, and the admirable order which prevailed among them? They were supported by the courage which religious conviction can alone impart.

It is not precisely known what was the largest force the Camisards mustered: they were never all collected, and prudence compelled them to conceal their numbers. The general sympathy in their favour brought them recruits, even while they were engaged. This occurred at the battle of Martignargues, when several villages sounded the tocsin during the combat, so that Cavalier's force was greatly augmented by the peasantry.§ At one period this chieftain was accompanied by two thousand men: but there were strong detachments in various parts of the Cevennes; and their plan of operating in small bodies, over a wide extent of country, prevented the concentration of the royal troops. Yet they must have been numerous; for, with few exceptions, all the rustic population was with them; and these hardy, uneducated mountaineers, inured to peril and constantly exposed to an ignominious death, were kept in habits of good order and fellowship. There were no quarrels nor slanderings among them; oaths and obscenity were unknown; their goods and provisions were in common; and they addressed their chief as *brother*. In the accounts given by their enemies, it is insinuated that great debauchery was practised among them, and the presence of women found among their slain has been adduced as a

proof. But all the inhabitants of the Cevennes well knew why women and girls were sometimes seized in their company, and not unfrequently killed by their side. They were the wives and daughters of Camisards who carried them provisions, or were bearers of communications from friends in the towns; and as the military looked keenly after all persons connected with the insurgents, their female relations often remained among them for safety.

For their sustenance they received contributions from the Protestants, who joyfully aided in supporting their brethren; * and when an ordinance decreed the punishment of death against any who gave them provisions, the Camisards formed stores in caverns, which they replenished at the expense of the Catholic clergy, and from the houses of gentlemen who had promoted the persecution. The want of shoes was their greatest inconvenience, as the rugged paths they traversed quickly used their stock; but that deficiency was partly supplied by taking those worn by the soldiers they killed, partly by purchases in the towns.

They found it almost impossible to obtain ammunition in sufficient quantities, on account of the severe orders given by the intendant: they accordingly persevered in making it for their own use. The leads of churches supplied them with bullets, and the pewter utensils of an abbé were often melted for that purpose: it was found that soldiers wounded by pewter balls rarely recovered; and a malignant rumour was circulated, that their bullets had been steeped in poison.† The Camisards also endeavoured to cast cannon; for they are accused of stealing eighteen church bells, to be converted into culverines, in which they were assisted by an agent of the Duke of Savoy.‡

It sometimes happened that emissaries joined them, or the temptation of a large bribe would induce a weak brother to denounce their movements. These dangers were however warded off by means which, though they may appear visionary, were quite consistent with the character and objects of the Camisards. The leaders declared themselves informed by *inspiration* of the presence of traitors. On one occasion, Claris (whose functions resembled the commissariat department) announced to the assembly that the treason of two men had been revealed to him. Cavalier instantly ordered those under arms to surround the meeting, and Claris seized by the arm one whom he charged with a design to betray them: his confederate then rushed forward, threw himself at Cavalier's feet, confessed his crime, and implored mercy. The names of the traitors are preserved by a highly esteemed writer, who was satisfied that the incident did so occur, and has related a most extravagant scene which followed.§ There existed at the time a strong impression of miraculous interposition, which is recorded with gravity by one party, and ridiculed by the other; but the force of conscience in the traitors, on being challenged, and strong discernment in Claris, are quite sufficient to explain the detection.

A brief notice of the leading Camisards may assist the reader: in addition to those already

* Court, vol. i. p. 121.

† Ibid., vol. i. p. 135.

‡ Court, vol. i. p. 179.

§ Mém. du duc de Villars, vol. ii. p. 152. 12mo., La Haye, 1758.

* The country abounds with chestnut-trees, presenting a supply of food in the immediate vicinity of their retreats.

† Court, vol. i. p. 185.

‡ Villars, vol. ii. p. 145.

§ Court, vol. i. p. 438.

mentioned, were Abdias Morel, surnamed Catinat, who had served under the marshal of that name: he commanded the cavalry, and was the most feared of all the insurgents: Nicholas Joany, who also had served in the army, and frequently distinguished himself in this war; and Ravanel, who yielded to none of his party in courage and energy: the latter was Cavalier's lieutenant. Salomon Couderc, one of those who contributed to the death of the Abbé Du Chaila: he was not only formidable as a chieftain, but had great influence as a preacher: he was believed to have the gift of inspiration, and is frequently termed the prophet Salomon, by contemporaries. He had a relative of the same name, who was designated La Fleur, one of the abbé's prisoners at the time of his murder. Esperandieu was another Camisard of eminence: he was killed in one of their earliest victories. Cavalier and Joany alone survived the wars; Rolland and Esperandieu died in arms: the other chiefs all perished at the stake or on the wheel.

These details were requisite to explain how a small force, without a single officer or person of distinction, could have resisted a strong body of troops for the space of eighteen months, under one marshal; while his successor in the command, of the same rank, could appease the revolt only by a formal treaty with Cavalier. The military movements during this insurrection were carried on by small bodies of men, as the designs of the Camisards were to occupy their enemies in every direction: the encounters were consequently very numerous; and what in ordinary warfare would be scarcely worth mention, or at most be alluded to as a mere skirmish, in this struggle acquired the importance of a battle. Thirty-four such engagements are described by historians; and in a very great proportion the Camisards had the advantage. The more important can alone be mentioned here; but they will fully exhibit the determined courage of the mountaineers.

The Count de Broglie, who had impatiently sought an opportunity to attack the insurgents, overtook them at Val-de-Bane, on the 12th of January, 1703. There were not above two hundred Camisards assembled, and Cavalier being absent, the command had devolved upon Ravanel. The approach of the troops did not move the resolute band, who continued singing a psalm,* with one knee on the ground, until they had received the first volley; when they replied with such effect, that their enemies retreated. Poul, the officer already mentioned, was thrown from his saddle, struck by a stone which a lad aimed at his head. The stripling killed Poul with his own sword, and mounted his horse to join in pursuing the routed troops. Broglie found it impossible to rally his men, and withdrew to Bernis.† The defeat caused great consternation in Nismes, of which Cavalier availed himself: he had entered the city in disguise, for the purpose of procuring

powder; and the pretext of preparing for the defence of the town was advanced by his friends, who under other circumstances would not have dared to apply for the prohibited article.*

Basville's administration of Languedoc unfolds a scene of cruelty and severity scarcely equalled, certainly never surpassed in any country. The revolt of the Camisards was sufficient to inspire terror; but the chief ground of the alarm was the consciousness of incessant and unprovoked persecution. However, the instruments of the king's bigotry, unwilling to confess its injustice, represented the evil as the natural consequence of heresy, the source of every bad passion. Even the Bishop of Nismes is open to much censure on this head; though his character is held up, with that of Fénelon, as a sufficient reply to all detractors of the Romish clergy. In his letters no expressions are too harsh to be applied to the insurgents, on whom he lavishes the terms wretch and fanatic, and to whom he imputes the commission of every crime. In the same feeling he complains of the lukewarmness of the authorities; and expresses his astonishment that so many enormities have been committed *without reprisals* being adopted.†

It was hoped, and indeed expected, that winter would put an end to the excursions of the Camisards; and when Basville discovered that the severity of the season gave him no relief, he summoned the principal officers of Languedoc, to consider the most efficacious means for terminating the insurrection. Among other measures, it was proposed to kill all the Protestants of the province, and burn every town suspected of favouring the revolt. Awful as it was, that project was supported in the council, on the ground, "That it was doing nothing to kill the Camisards found in arms; because the country being infected, supplied others, and in greater number."‡ Happily, Basville reflected upon the injury his reputation would sustain, from the ruin which must follow such a measure: he adopted a comparatively lenient plan—that of pursuing the insurgents without relaxation.

The Camisards, being hunted like wild beasts, embraced every opportunity of revenge. A garrison placed in the castle of St. Felix soon experienced their fury. Rolland commenced his attack, by setting fire to some barns dependant on the castle, sending information to the governor, who sallied forth with a body of men to seize the assailants. Rolland meanwhile advanced to the castle, and promised to spare the lives of those who opened the gates: two yielded, the others were all killed, and the castle was fired, after the assailants had taken away forty-five muskets, a barrel of powder, and some provisions. The governor perceiving the flames of his castle, hastened back, and was attacked so fiercely by Rolland's men, that he escaped with difficulty, after losing the greater part of his detachment.§ Similar expeditions were entered on by Cavalier and other chiefs, but they were loudly condemned by the Protestants: a Swiss synod addressed a letter to the Camisards, severely reprimanding their violence; and this intervention is admitted to have

* *Memoirs of Cavalier*, London, 1726; quoted by Court, *ut supra*.

† Flechier, *Lettres choisies*, 3rd Jan. and 1st Oct., 1703; 9th Feb., 1704.

‡ Bruyès, vol. ii. p. 29.

§ 27th Jan., 1703. Court, vol. i. p. 216.

* The sixty-eighth, thus versified:—

Que Dieu se montre seulennet,
Et l'on verra dans le moment
Abandonner la place;
Le camp des ennemis épars,
Epouvanté de toutes parts,
Fuir devant sa face, &c.

† Court, vol. i. p. 205. Bruyès states that Poul was killed by a musket-ball, vol. ii. p. 205. The author of "Hist. des Camisards" says he received a pistol-shot, and that his head was cleft by a sabre as he endeavoured to rise, vol. ii. p. 11.

saved the lives of several priests who fell into their power.*

About the same period, the Count du Roure wrote to Cavalier, demanding his motives for taking arms. The Camisard replied, "That it was in self-defence: that the cruel persecution to which they had been exposed for twenty years, and which daily increased, had constrained him and his friends, who preferred death to the relinquishment of a religion they considered good, or to attend mass and prostrate themselves before images of wood and stone, against the light of their conscience. They were ready to lay down their arms, and employ their lives and property for the king's service, whenever they had obtained liberty of conscience, the liberation of their brethren imprisoned for religion, and a cessation of cruel and ignominious punishments for the Protestants.†"

Cavalier then made an attempt to penetrate into the Vivarais, where he expected to find an addition to his force among the Protestants of that district; but the passages of the Ardèche were so well guarded, that he renounced the project: his return gave rise to two encounters of some importance. A marshal-de-camp, named Julien, commanded the troops stationed on that quarter: he was a converted Protestant, and had been page to the Prince of Orange: a disappointment induced him to apply for employment in the French army, and his desire to prove the sincerity of his abjuration led to acts of extreme barbarity. He gave no quarter, and obtained much approbation from the bishops and clergy. Although his language was outrageously blasphemous, his bigotry carried him into a senseless extreme, in the punctual observance of Romish discipline;‡ and another converted Protestant, who cherished feelings equally violent, gives his panegyric in these terms: "His great services convinced everybody that a better choice could not have been made."§

One of his regiments overtook Cavalier at Vagnas, a small town not far from the Ardèche. The Count du Roure and the Baron de la Gorce, each with a body of militia, co-operated in the plan ordered by Julien, who hoped to surround the insurgents, and make a general capture. Notwithstanding the extreme disparity of their force, the Camisards awaited the attack with composure. They received the first volley without stirring; and then fired with such precision, that the assailants were completely routed. Five captains, including the Baron de la Gorce, several subalterns, and a considerable number of soldiers, were slain on the side of the troops: on the part of the Camisards, Esperandieu alone was killed, and a few were wounded.||

The Count du Roure sent immediate intelligence to Julien, who hastened to repair the disaster, marching all night, although the roads were a foot deep in snow. His reinforcement greatly increased the chances of victory: but Cavalier awaited him with resolution at Barjac. Julien, aware of the invincible courage of his opponents, prepared an ambushade. The action passed off in the same manner as on the previous day; but when the Camisards pursued their advantage, they found

themselves exposed to the attack of fresh troops, and were compelled to retreat into the woods. The amount of their loss was published by their enemies as three hundred:* Cavalier, however, states in his own memoirs, that on reviewing his forces, he found the number of missing between fifty and sixty, some of whom were drowned in the river Cèze: he considers his own escape on this occasion as almost miraculous.†

It would be tedious to detail the operations of the chiefs during Cavalier's absence. The unfortunate town of Genouillac was taken and retaken three different times by the contending parties; and both parties experienced in turn the effects of vengeance. Julien finally gave up the place to plunder and massacre.‡

The unsettled state of the country occasioned disorders on every side: but some Catholic partisans appear to have aimed at surpassing the exploits of the Camisards; and as their ravages were frequently attributed to the Protestants, the latter were doubly injured. They spared neither property nor person; killed indiscriminately men, women, and children; were active in burning houses, and most rapacious in pillage. At first these bandits were called *Florentines*, as the company was formed at St. Florent: others afterwards imitated their example, and they received the general appellation of *Cadets de la Croix*. They had four commanders, the most celebrated of whom was a retired military officer, named La Fayette.§ Through remorse from a life of debauchery, he had withdrawn to a hermitage, whence he emerged, in the cause of his religion, under the name of brother Gabriel: he had a corps of three hundred men, paid by contributions levied upon the new converts.|| Bishop Fléchier has thought proper to eulogise this man in one of his epistles: "We must cheer Brother Gabriel—endeavours are made to decry him and his troop; we have well supported him. I know not what he is destined to; but should be glad that he effected something of importance."¶

Bruce admits that these bands were contrary to the precepts of the Gospel, but apologizes for the injudicious zeal of the Catholics, by alleging in excuse "their churches burned, their curates massacred, and their families destroyed."** In good policy, this writer should have abstained from such an extenuation; because the same arguments, with a hundred-fold greater force, may be urged on the adverse side. The justification was moreover misplaced; because those bands had ample authority in the bull issued by Clement XI., who enjoined a crusade against the "accursed and miserable race," which he assimilated to the ancient Albigenses; and granted absolute and general pardon for every sin, to those who might be killed in effecting their extermination.††

* Brucey, vol. ii. p. 70.

† Court, vol. i. p. 230.

‡ 23rd Feb., 1703. Court, vol. ii. p. 233.

§ Brucey calls him La Sagote, and says he took arms because his hermitage had been pillaged; on which occasion he consulted the Bishop of Nismes, who approved of his resolution, praised his design, and recommended him to Marshal Montrevel, vol. ii. p. 243.

|| Court, vol. i. p. 347.

¶ Fléchier, *Lettres*, 9 Fev. 1704.

** Brucey, vol. ii. p. 77.

†† Court, vol. i. p. 349. The bull, dated 1st May, 1703, was addressed to the Bishops of Montpellier, Nismes, Uzes, Viviers, Mende, and Alais, each of whom published it, with a *mandement* addressed to their clergy. It is not in the

* Brucey, vol. ii. p. 30.

† Cavalier, quoted by Court, vol. i. p. 226.

‡ Ayalier, quoted by Court, vol. i. p. 198.

§ Brucey, vol. ii. p. 26.

|| Court, vol. i. p. 198. Brucey, vol. ii. p. 57.

The serious character of the insurrection, after Broglie's defeat, caused great alarm at court. Marshal Montrevel succeeded him in the command, with an increased force for suppressing the revolt. Yet it is maintained, upon good authority, that the marshal's nomination was given under another pretext, and that the king was kept in complete ignorance of the troubles in the south of France. The ill-judged measures Louis had been persuaded to adopt were in train to falsify the assurances by which he had been deceived. Madame de Maintenon, as usual, endeavoured to spare him every additional anxiety; and the whole council joined in deceiving the monarch, who fondly imagined his sway was absolute. Yet the new appointment demanded the allegation of some motive; and the duke du Maine facilitated the views of that influential lady. As governor of Languedoc, he requested that the forces should be commanded by a marshal; and Louis, far advanced in dotage, consented to please his illegitimate son. Montrevel was unquestionably tutored before he left Paris; and the minister at war wrote to Basville, "Take care not to give this the appearance of a serious war."* These instructions contributed greatly to prolong the resistance of the Camisards.

CHAPTER LXIV.

Continuation of the Camisard war under Marshal Montrevel.

MARSHAL MONTREVEL arrived at Nismes on the 15th of February, 1703. Basville, Julien, and another general, named Paratte, waited there to confer with him upon the state of the province. His presence inspired the Catholics with great hopes, as the increased military force rendered the suppression of the revolt a comparatively easy matter. But the combat of Mas de Serières showed that impending danger produced no intimidation on the Camisards: on that occasion, Ravanel had the honour of measuring his strength with the marshal. He had approached Nismes with between three and four hundred men, less with any hostile design, than to procure supplies from his friends in the city. He had even expressed the desire and hope of passing a day or two quietly; but some straggling soldiers having discovered his presence, the marshal immediately collected his forces, and sallied from Nismes at the head of a little army.† Ravanel, accustomed to engage with superior numbers, was undismayed at his approach. Although attacked on all sides, the Camisards fought with a desperation, which their opponents could not refrain from eulogizing. Night alone terminated the conflict; for the marshal's force enabled his soldiers to repose by turns, and Ravanel considered defeat as certain from the onset: yet surrender was out of the question, and in their determination to perish, rather than be captured, they displayed prodigies of valour.

Bullarium; but its existence appears to be admitted, as M. Court has not been attacked for advancing it, although severely criticised for other statements. An anonymous author gives the *mandement* of Ambrose, Bishop of Alais, dated 29th May, 1703, with a copy of the bull in question. *Hist. des Camisards*, vol. ii. p. 119.

* Rulhière, vol. ii. pp. 281—283.

† 20th Feb., 1703.

After all, their loss was very trifling; being only twenty-three men and two women. Their enemies however say it was considerable.* But one circumstance connected with this engagement proves the victory was dearly bought: Montrevel immediately ordered the bodies of the slain to be stripped, in order that the soldiers might not be distinguished from the Camisards.†

Montrevel proceeded upon his task of pacifying the province by acts of extreme severity, ordering several towns inhabited by Protestants to be pillaged and burnt; among others, Marvejols on the Gard, for no other cause than the misfortune of some troops being defeated by the Camisards in the neighbourhood: this "guilty place," as it has been called, was destroyed and burnt by the troops in consequence.‡ He likewise issued two ordinances:§ the first declares as accomplices all who assisted the insurgents directly or indirectly; enjoins all absent from their houses to return within eight days; and forbids the presence of all who are not regular inhabitants of the province. Any such being seized without a passport, to be reputed an insurgent, and executed as such. The second ordinance confirms a previous disposition of the intendant, rendering every commune responsible for all violence committed within its limits.

Like Basville, he was impressed with the idea of a general conspiracy of the Protestants; and, as a further measure, proposed to seize a number of new converts from different parts, confine them in citadels, and declare that, for every murder or conflagration, he would hang three or four persons as hostages of the place, where such outrages were committed.|| This scheme was too violent to obtain the sanction of the government; and Montrevel, having summoned the Protestant nobility of Languedoc, addressed them with an apparent wish to be tolerant. He urged their co-operation in suppressing the revolt; and concluded by declaring, that although he wished every one to be Catholic, he would not constrain any: all he demanded was fidelity to the king.¶

If the marshal's arguments had no weight with the assembled Protestants, his *reign of terror* was sufficient to subdue them: for he not only gave up to pillage places where the Camisards had been well received, he even inflicted his severity on villages where the inhabitants were unable to resist them. He condemned numbers to be burnt alive, or broken on the wheel, on the bare suspicion of having favoured the malcontents, or for being absent from their cottages: they were mostly executed without any form of trial. The heroism of these sufferers is noticed by a magistrate of Nismes, who bears ample testimony to the awful frequency of the executions. "There were many shot by the troops, and a great number perished by various tortures at Montpellier, Mende, Alais, and especially Nismes; but, as we have already stated, these dreadful spectacles made no impression—the new converts regarded the condemned as martyrs. The resolution they displayed in death confirmed them in their old religion; and if I may be permitted to

* Fléchier, *Lettre* du 25 Avril, 1703, says "about a hundred." Bruyès, vol. ii. p. 87, "above two hundred;" while the troops lost only one dragon and a few wounded!!!

† Court, vol. i. p. 246.

‡ 25th Feb., 1703. Bruyès, vol. ii. p. 84.

§ Dated 23rd and 24th Feb., 1703.

|| Court, vol. p. 255.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

say it, the examples given to the public produced quite a contrary effect to what was intended.* The Bishop of Nismes likewise bears witness to the terrible fact, in a pastoral letter addressed to his clergy; wherein he laments that many of them are present at the frequent executions, and adds, "The church, so circumspect and so charitable, cannot approve of such sad and indecent curiosity."†

A more summary mode of punishing the Protestants was adopted on the occasion of an assembly for worship held at a mill in the suburbs of Nismes.‡ According to the statement of a hostile writer, "It was not a body of armed men; it was merely one of those religious meetings, convoked contrary to the king's orders, where they preached in spite of his prohibition."§ About one hundred and fifty were collected, principally old men, women, and children. Montrevel, indignant at the circumstance, surrounded the mill, and on a signal being given, dragoons broke in and massacred the party. A few attempted to escape by the windows, but a sentinel drove them back to the butchery; and as the work of horror was too long for Montrevel's impatience, he set fire to the edifice, which was soon enveloped in a body of flames. Some unfortunate creatures, wounded and burned, were still able to clear the flaming pile; but the dragoons forced them back, to expire in the conflagration. A girl of seventeen was saved by the marshal's valet: his generous deed, the result of compassion, only served to display the diabolical feelings of his master, who ordered his valet and the girl to be put to death on the spot. The poor girl was executed; and the valet bound for a similar fate, when some religieuses pleaded in his behalf, and obtained his life. But Montrevel blamed himself for his weakness in yielding, and banished the valet from the town. Some Catholics who were amusing themselves in a neighbouring garden were killed by the marshal's orders: in vain they asserted their religion; he declared they had escaped from the mill, and they were executed. In his excess of fury, he was even on the point of devoting Nismes to devastation.||

De la Baume's account corroborates the foregoing, with a trifling difference as to the numbers killed: "It cost," he says, "the lives of eighty persons, all of the dregs of the people," and afterwards adds, "The court approved of the marshal's conduct."¶ To the disgrace of the Bishop of Nismes, he also justifies the deed, while he distorts the truth, in order to diminish its odium. "They even dared, on Palm Sunday, to hold a meeting at a mill, without any precaution, at the gate of the town; and while we were chanting vespers, they sang psalms and preached. The marshal left his house, assembled some troops, and put to the sword men and women composing the assembly, to the number of more than fifty persons; and burned the house where it was held. This example

was necessary to stay the arrogance of these fellows."*

It is unnecessary further to portray the character of Montrevel's administration, for a complete narrative of this epoch of blood-thirsty tyranny would be fatiguingly voluminous. Its duration is well attested by historians, inclined by their undisguised prejudices to throw a veil over such occurrences. Brueys mentions the fact of six executions occurring in one day;† and observes in another part of his work, "I should weary the reader if I were to give an exact detail of all those who were arrested and punished; for scarcely a day passed without several of these wretches being made examples."‡ And de la Baume informs us, that the court of which he was a member judged, in the month of August alone, "a great number of fanatics, who were condemned to various kinds of punishment."§

As a natural result, the Camisards resolved upon selling their lives dearly, when attacked, and embraced every opportunity of wreaking vengeance on their pitiless enemies. The inhabitants of La Salle had been prominent in causing vexations to the Protestants in general, those who remained quiet suffering as much as the relations of those in arms. Cavalier in consequence determined on giving them a lesson of severity. Having dressed his followers in uniforms taken from the soldiers killed in recent encounters, he advanced at their head, in the full dress of an officer, fully persuaded that on his approach to that town the most violent of the inhabitants would come out to hail his arrival. The company of zealots advanced to express their joy at the arrival of the troops, by whose aid their district would soon be freed from the Camisards. Their congratulations were mingled with boastings upon their individual deeds; and each took credit for something done against the Protestants. A lame man surpassed all others in his accounts: he claimed the honour of contributing to the arrest of several preachers who were hanged, and declared his readiness to indicate the dwellings of Huguenots, where numbers might be seized. To his awful surprise, one of Cavalier's men addressed him fiercely: "Hast thou finished?" The boaster with trembling asked why such a question was put, and almost immediately the poor wretch and his companions, nearly forty in number, were put to the sword.§

Similar deeds of violence followed on both sides; and more frequently towards the close of the year, when Basville deliberately prepared for destroying the resources of the insurgents by devastating thirty-one parishes, comprising one hundred and sixty-six villages. This scheme, which menaced ruin to all the Catholic gentry of the district, was not adopted without hesitation; but as the alternative of indemnifying the loyal part of the inhabitants was a trifle, compared with the suppression of the revolt, the project was ultimately approved by the court.||

Montrevel then published an ordinance for collecting the Catholics in the towns, where the authorities would provide for their subsistence. Another decree enjoined the new converts to return to their houses within eight days; and forbade their stirring out, upon any pretext, without a passport,

* Fléclier, *Lettre du 25 Avril*, 1703.

† Brueys, vol. ii. p. 179.

‡ Court, vol. i. p. 426.

§ April, 1703. Court, vol. i. p. 331.

|| Brueys, vol. ii. p. 213. Court, vol. i. p. 463.

* *Hist. de la Révolte des Fanatiques*, par de la Baume, conseiller au présidial de Nismes, quoted by Court, vol. i. p. 305.

† Fléclier, *Lettre Pastorale*.

‡ Palm Sunday, 1st April, 1703.

§ Brueys, vol. ii. p. 128.

|| Court has minutely related this horrible scene: he was intimate with those who had witnessed it, vol. i. p. 309. Mé-nard seems unwilling to censure the marshal. *Hist. de Nismes*, vol. vi. p. 387.

¶ Quoted by Court, vol. i. pp. 313—315.

under pain of the galleys for life. Basville at the same time prepared lists of the new converts, in the different parishes, in which the names of absentees were to be carefully noted. The gentry among them were allowed to choose the town in which they would reside; and were promised a share of the property to be confiscated. The parishes and towns marked out for destruction were four hundred and sixty-six in number;* and the inhabitants were ordered to bring their corn, cattle, &c., to certain places, with notice that the infraction of this order would be punished by the seizure of their goods; and for themselves, the treatment of rebels. To complete the list of barbarous preliminaries, the marshal gave orders that his officers, on arriving at a condemned village, were to read the proclamation forbidding the inhabitants to go home; but promising that no harm should befall them, as the king would not hear of any bloodshed!!†

Montrevel commenced his inhuman expedition on the 26th of September, 1703. The approach of so many troops coinciding with a summons for the whole population, convinced the unhappy villagers that they were all to be massacred: as many as could immediately joined the Camisards.‡

The marshal's first idea was to pull down the cottages, but the work proceeded too slowly for his impetuosity, and fire was substituted for manual demolition. The ravages of the devouring element speedily covered the land with desolation, and the horrors of reprisals and executions became more than ever frequent; for many ill-fated villagers avoided the towns through fear, and being seized were declared in contravention of the ordinance; while the aggravation of misery became an additional incitement to violence.§ This scene of horror, which was capable of calling forth the language of intercession, did not however move the Bishop of Nîmes, who wrote to the marshal in a style of warm approbation. "The project you are executing is severe, and will be doubtless useful. It cuts at the very root of the evil: it destroys the asylums of the seditious, and confines them in limits, where it will be more easy to subdue and discover them."|| In a subsequent letter is the following passage: "The court has been too long in deciding upon the remedies which must be employed for staying such great ills. Those which might have sufficed some months since are no longer adequate; and it will be necessary to adopt chastisements more severe than those rejected as too cruel."¶

The proclamations issued at this period against the Cadets de la Croix, prove that the Camisards were not the only disturbers of the peace of the country; and when their ravages were found oppressive, the troops were as inadequate to suppress them as the Protestant insurgents. But when the Cadets were seized, the treatment they experienced was very different: they were acknowledged brigands, but the others were fanatics.

* Court, vol. ii. p. 49. Brueys, vol. ii. p. 220.

† Ibid., vol. ii. p. 52.

‡ Brueys, vol. ii. p. 225.

§ To this cause may be attributed the murder of Madame Miraman, a Catholic lady, killed by four Camisards. Cavalier, in his Memoirs, admits that the men had joined his troop; but, to mark his indignation at their crime, he had them tried by a council of war: three were shot—the fourth proved that he endeavoured to prevent the murder, and was acquitted.

|| Fléchier, *Lettre du 1 Octobre, 1703.*

¶ Ibid., 23rd Oct., 1703.

After a long series of encounters in which the results had been varied, Cavalier was surprised at Nages, by the Count de Fimarcon.* Two Catholic historians claim the victory for their party, and greatly exaggerate Cavalier's loss;† but other accounts give a very different result; and a letter from the Bishop of Nîmes, written on the day of the battle, to the priest who sent intelligence of Cavalier's movements, is far from ascribing a triumphant result to the assailants. "The information you gave of the march of the fanatics was very good; and if the troops of the neighbourhood had been summoned in time, and M. de Fimarcon had collected a greater number of dragoons, or had been better supported, the affair would have been very important. They had then joined the rebels, who would have been entirely defeated; but they have escaped, and have lost but a few men."‡

The Camisards had time to quit the place and gain an eminence before they were attacked; and their energetic resolution compelled their enemies to retire. About thirty women were with the Camisards when the alarm was given. They had carried provisions to their husbands and brothers, and found themselves compelled to fight for their lives. A girl of seventeen, named Lucrèce Grignon, displayed great intrepidity, and stimulated her friends by her example. Shouting, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon" she disarmed a wounded dragoon, and joined in the pursuit of the flying soldiers. A reinforcement was coming to the assailants, but their rout was too complete to allow a renewal of the combat, in which Cavalier lost five of his comrades: on the side of the troops there fell a major, a lieutenant, and about thirty soldiers, besides a number of wounded. Cavalier himself was nearly taken at the outset: he had gone out to reconnoitre, and was intercepted by a cornet and two dragoons, concealed behind some olive trees. He was within pistol-shot when he perceived his danger; and the cornet called to him by name, offering quarter. Cavalier replied by instantly shooting him through the head with his musket. He then awaited the attack of the dragoons with a pistol in each hand. To encounter such a foe was almost certain death: they advanced upon him; each pistol carried true; and Cavalier rejoined his comrades, drawn up ready for battle. After his victory he proceeded to Clarensac, where he dined and remained three hours; during which interval he destroyed the walls, and preached a sermon,§—conduct highly characteristic of men, who aimed at imitating Joshua and the Israelite chieftains on entering Canaan.

Laborde, one of Fimarcon's officers, was defeated by Cavalier at Roques d'Aubais.|| He had four companies of dragoons, which he divided into two troops, in order to surround the Camisards. Cavalier likewise divided his force, to present a face to each opposing body. Confident of victory, the dragoons galloped down upon the insurgents; when, to their astonishment, their progress was arrested by a band of sixty recruits who had recently joined Cavalier; and who, for want of better weapons, were armed with slings. A shower of

* 13th Nov., 1703. Nages is a village two leagues west of Nîmes.

† Brueys, vol. ii. p. 238.

‡ Fléchier, *Lettre du 13 Novembre, 1703.*

§ Court, vol. ii. p. 121.

|| 17th Dec., 1703.

heavy stones threw the troops into confusion ; and the main body of the Camisards, rushing forward, completed their defeat. Twenty-five dragoons remained on the field of battle ; their horses and arms were a welcome prize to Cavalier, who celebrated his victory by divine service at Congenies.*

The sufferings of the Huguenots of Languedoc were not disregarded by the English and Dutch ; but the supplies sent for their relief were diverted from their destination. Pamphlets had been published, showing the benefit which would accrue to the allies from supporting the Camisards ; and several individuals were actively engaged in promoting a movement of that nature—the abbé de Bourlie, better known as the Marquis de Guiscard ; the Marquis de Miremont ; and Lord Galway, a nobleman of French origin. In addition, there were a number of intriguing characters, who speculated alike upon the confidence of the Camisards and the liberality of the allies. It is, however, certain that some measure to assist the insurgents was in contemplation : ships were perceived off the coast of Certe in the autumn of 1703 ; and two refugees, bearing Dutch commissions, were arrested on their way to join the Camisards. Their names were Jonquet and Peytau : the former was induced by promises to make important revelations : he was kept in prison until the peace of Utrecht. Peytau was firmer : he yielded only to prolonged torture ; and although his communication preserved France from invasion, it did not obtain any commutation of his sentence : he was broken on the wheel at Alais, and died with resolution.†

This incident occasioned some admonitory despatches to Montrevel ; who, in addition to his former horrors, ordered general arrests of the Protestants, and the massacre of all who were found away from the places assigned them. He sent, among other agents, the brigadier Planque, who scoured the Upper Cevennes, killing every one he found abroad, regardless of sex or age. He destroyed all the mills and ovens in the villages with a view to compel the peasantry to retire into the towns. Some did so ; but others, unwilling to abandon their homes, were put to the sword, to the number of nearly six hundred.‡

Were it desirable to crowd these pages with affecting or revolting scenes this epoch would supply entire volumes. The troops were excited to violence—unhappily, we know that they were urged on by the clergy. The bishop of Nismes has penned the following lines : “ I see, in a part of the troops, so little zeal for the service of God and the king, that I do not expect great success from the contemplated expeditions unless Heaven give ardour to our warriors.”§ His appeal was so well answered, that the Cadets de la Croix outstripped all expectation ; and he found himself, soon afterwards, obliged to write to one of his clergy : “ You must restrain the armed Catholics. They should combat, and fight the wars of the Lord ; and not plunder friends and foes.”|| The wholesale murders recently committed were not alluded to ; but the plunder of a Catholic demanded repression—alas ! for the blindness of bigotry !

There were scenes of barbarity on every side : if the cruelties of the troops, and their allies, the Cadets de la Croix, were described, justice would demand a list of the atrocities committed by the Camisards ; and, in contemplating the chronicles of the time, it is some relief to meet with a military engagement, as a less frightful scene. The victory obtained by Cavalier at the Devois de Martignargues* was highly important, as it led to Montrevel's recall : it was, besides, a brilliant achievement in a military point of view.

The marshal, being at Uzes, was informed that the Camisards were in that diocese, and sent La Jonquière against them with a detachment of marines and some companies of dragoons. A reinforcement of a hundred horsemen followed to support him. This detachment La Jonquière sent back, as he had full confidence in his men, who were impatient to wipe away the disgrace of a former defeat by Cavalier. Some heavy rains facilitated his tracking the insurgents, who, finding themselves discovered, awaited the attack with their accustomed resolution. Cavalier made a suitable prayer in the hearing of his men ; and, having exhorted them to fight manfully for their religion and liberty, he selected his ground, and made his arrangements for the expected conflict.

As soon as La Jonquière had received the reports of his officers, he advanced upon the Camisards, ordering a general volley within musket-shot : that discharge, however, produced no effect, as Cavalier had ordered his men to lay on the ground when they perceived the enemy prepare to fire. The movement was so well executed, that La Jonquière imagined they were nearly all killed or wounded ; and commanded his soldiers to charge with the bayonet. To his astonishment, the Camisards suddenly started up, singing their accustomed psalm.† They attacked their enemies with energy, and were supported by concealed bodies of men, who advanced on every side. The troops in dismay lost all power of defence. La Jonquière escaped by swimming across the Gard, leaving twenty-five officers, and almost all his men dead upon the field. The Camisards had twelve wounded, of whom two died. The spoils supplied the Camisards with arms of every kind, besides a number of good horses ; with money and jewels to a considerable extent, which afforded the means of procuring many necessities. Cavalier had scarcely retired from the scene of action, when the Marquis de Lalande arrived with eight hundred men : too late to attack the Camisards, he gave orders for removing the wounded and burying the slain.‡

Montrevel had daily fresh proofs that the majority of the population favoured the insurgents ; and to counteract their plans, he ordered a strict search in Nismes, which led to the arrest of about two hundred and fifty persons : they were confined in

* 15th March 1704. It is about midway between Alais and Uzes.

† The troops were often paralysed by the religious fervour of the Camisards. The anonymous historian mentions a conversation with an officer, who declared, as soon as his men heard *Que Dieu se montre* they were no longer under command. Vol. i. p. 244.

‡ The *Mém. de Villars* (vol. ii. p. 138) states that La Jonquière's division consisted of five hundred marines and fifty dragoons ; yet, farther on (p. 142), we find, “ the troops lost five or six hundred men, the insurgents only two hundred.” Louvreuil estimates the troops killed at above three hundred ; and De la Baume mentions that only four officers and one hundred and eighty men escaped. Court has summed up the conflicting accounts.

* Court, vol. ii. p. 175.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 80—85.

‡ 20th Feb., 1704. Villars, vol. ii. p. 137.

§ “ Si le ciel n'échauffe nos guerriers.” Fléchier, *Lettre* du 9 Février, 1704.

|| Lettre du 10 Avril, 1704.

a fort. He also built a new wall around the city, to enclose the suburbs; and the discovery of two thousand loaves at a baker's in the faubourg was a proof that the Camisards drew their supplies from such sources.*

Montrevel's removal from the command of the troops in Languedoc was ordered in compliance with the suggestions of Basville and the clergy. The marshal had at first opposed the cruel measures of the intendant: when the government ordered him, he obeyed with the unreserved ardour of a soldier; but he had raised secret enemies, and was deprived of the honour of tranquillising the province. Marshal Villars was already named as his successor; and Montrevel determined on gaining before his departure, some important advantages for the sake of his reputation. The day was fixed; and knowing that Cavalier was well informed of all that passed at Nîmes, he announced his intention of passing into Guyenne: an escort was ordered to attend him to Montpellier: Cavalier, relying on the information he received, proceeded to Caveirac, where he reposed his troops, whom he lodged by billets in the town and surrounding villages.†

The marshal was well informed of Cavalier's movements, and sent a battalion, and some dragoons under colonel Grandval in pursuit of him. An action took place at Caveirac, in which the Camisards were defeated by their own impetuosity.‡ Cavalier endeavoured to rally his men, and effect a retreat, when he discovered fresh bodies of troops collecting on every side, and among them a division under Montrevel in person. In vain did the intrepid Cavalier force his way through a difficult pass: he immediately perceived new obstacles to his escape: he retired upon Nages, and hoped to reach the plain of Calvisson; but every road and outlet was occupied by soldiers. The marshal had five thousand men; while his troops consisted of only eight hundred infantry, and a hundred horsemen. After vainly contending with such a superior force, Cavalier addressed his comrades, "My children, if our hearts fail us, we shall be captured and broken on the wheel. We have only one resource: we must cut our way through those men. Follow me! and keep close together!"§

An impetuous charge was made after this allocation, and the conflict was most obstinate and fierce. The Camisards opened for themselves a way to a bridge, across which they forced a passage. Montrevel was indefatigable in the action; and the pursuit was maintained until night-fall, when the approach to a wood, and the broken nature of the country put an end to this disastrous affair, which lasted from three o'clock till nine. The battle was considered as decisive; and Montrevel is reported to have said, "It is thus I take leave of my friends."||

There is some difference in the statements of the force of the Camisards, and the number they lost; both are exaggerated by the Catholic writers. But all concur in describing their retreat, as displaying unparalleled courage; and Cavalier's conduct on this occasion has obtained from an enemy the following eulogy: "Every one was surprised to see

a man of low origin, and without experience in the art of war, behave, under the most difficult and delicate circumstances, like a great general."*

CHAPTER LXV.

Conclusion of the Camisard war, under Marshal Villars.

CAVALIER's recent defeat was not so overwhelming a misfortune as to dishearten his party, had the disaster been confined to that battle. His friends had sufficient forces scattered throughout the Cevennes to complete his battalions; and the course of the war had shown that the king's troops were, in general, more harassed and fatigued than the insurgents, even when the results of an expedition were otherwise satisfactory. But a new dilemma befell the Camisards; a calamity of far more serious character, in the discovery of their principal magazine, near Hieuset. It was a vast cavern which served as hospital, arsenal, store-house, and asylum for their wives and children.

An aged female, who was observed to proceed occasionally to the wood which concealed this retreat, was charged with carrying supplies to some of the insurgents: she was arrested and threatened with death, if she did not reveal the object of her visits. Her answers were evasive, and Lalande, who commanded in that district, ordered her to be hanged. Her firmness withstood the effects of that threat until the moment of execution, when she purchased her pardon by revealing the fatal secret. A strong detachment proceeded with her to the cavern, where about thirty wounded Camisards gave evidence that her denunciation was true. Some of them were not expected to recover from the wounds received at Nages; but although their condition was sufficient to inspire pity, they were all put to death by the soldiers. As the troops advanced, they discovered large quantities of provisions of every kind, arms and ammunition, and a store of medicines and surgical instruments.† This was followed by the pillage of Hieuset and other towns, with the massacre of the inhabitants.‡

The discovery completely destroyed Cavalier's resources, as the province was too much impoverished to afford a renewal: but whether his genius could have rallied under such difficulties, so as to withstand the fresh troops who would accompany marshal Villars; or what plan he would have adopted for the personal safety of his followers, can only be conjectured. Happily for the province, and no less so for the marshal himself, a Protestant noble had ventured upon a mission to appease the insurrection.

The baron D'Aygalliers§ of Usez, who lamented the dreadful state of affairs, was of opinion that the advice of a Protestant might be effectual in persuading the Camisards to lay down their arms; and he further considered that such an important service would induce the king to appreciate the unchanging loyalty of the persecuted Huguenots. His plan was to commence with a journey to Paris;

* Villars, vol. ii. p. 152.

† Hist. des Camisards, vol. ii. p. 241.

‡ Court, vol. ii. p. 323.

§ De Rossel, baron D'Aygalliers, composed *Mémoires sur les Derniers Troubles de la Province de Languedoc*. Court had the use of this account, which is of great value, as the author relates only what he positively saw.

* Villars, vol. ii. p. 143. † Ibid., vol. ii. p. 147.

‡ 16th April, 1704.

§ Hist. des Camisards, vol. ii. p. 211.

|| Court, vol. ii. p. 313.

but without a passport he could not leave Uzez: how to obtain one was difficult, as he could not expect it would be given by Montrevel or Basville. Circumstances favoured his projects: he dined one day in company with the brigadier Paratte, an officer so blind in his bigotry, that in his view the religion followed and favoured by the king must be good; and he could not refrain from invective against those whose conscience did not permit such servility in their creed. On meeting D'Aygalières, he animadverted with violence against all who had borne arms against their sovereign. This was intended for the baron, who immediately after the revocation had joined the Prince of Orange: he did not however notice the allusion, but on the following day took occasion to call on Paratte, when he declared that his observations had made such an impression on his mind, that he was most anxious to prove his zeal and fidelity to the king—he concluded by asking a passport, which was readily given.

On reaching the capital, D'Aygalières drew up a memorial, in which he declared the Protestants of Languedoc were anxious and able to terminate the insurrection, provided the government would allow them to act. The Dukes de Chevreuse and Montford seconded his views, and the minister Chamillard introduced him to marshal Villars, who was preparing to set out for his command. After some conversation respecting the affairs of Languedoc, the marshal desired he would await his arrival at Lyons.*

Villars left Paris on the 30th of April for that city, having received the king's commands to bring back the insurgents to their duty by mild measures.† He was accompanied by D'Aygalières on leaving Lyons; and during the journey down the Rhone, the baron spared no efforts in cautioning the marshal against the prejudiced opinions he would receive from the clergy of Languedoc, who openly maintained there was no other way of settling the insurrection than by exterminating all the Protestants. Villars heard him with attention, and promised impartiality; and it is due to the marshal's character to state, that, beset as he was with the advocates of severity, he encouraged D'Aygalières in his laudable effort; and when the Protestants of Nîmes signed an act, requesting permission to march against the rebels, he thanked them, and authorised the promise of amnesty to all who would return to their homes within eight days. Still Basville exerted his influence to prevent Villars from granting the required permission; and D'Aygalières at length overcame his repugnance, and demanded an interview with the sanguinary intendant, whom he told, on entering, that although he would rather die than accept a glass of water at his hands, his desire to pacify the province induced him to intreat that the marshal might not be dissuaded from giving his project a trial. All difficulties were soon after removed, and D'Aygalières received his commission to wage war against the Camisards.‡ Such were the terms used, although D'Aygalières had no design of using other weapons than exhortation and argument. He set out the next day, and in every town announced amnesty to all who would surrender.

Basville and Lalande instantly became jealous of

the importance which D'Aygalières was likely to acquire; and without loss of time engaged La Combes, by whom Cavalier had been employed as shepherd's boy, to use his influence with the Camisard chief. Cavalier himself was inclined to despair of his cause, and the advice of his old master harmonised with his feelings: yet it is said that his answers were haughty, inasmuch as he declared he would never lay down his arms until liberty of conscience was established.* This was followed by an invitation to a conference from Lalande,† Catinat was sent by Cavalier to fix the place and time of meeting. The bridge of Avenes was selected; and within two hours Lalande and Cavalier were in presence.‡

Lalande was attended by thirty dragoons, colonel Menon, and about ten officers, and Cavalier's brother, a youth of fifteen, who was lately taken prisoner, and who was to be restored, with a view to promote conciliation. Cavalier was accompanied by sixty picked men of his infantry, and eight horsemen.§ Each party left his men at some distance from the bridge, and advanced singly to the parley, which lasted nearly two hours. The result was kept secret, and subsequently deprived Cavalier of the confidence of his men; but Lalande was so pleased with the conclusion, that he expressed a wish to see the Camisards under arms; and having approached them, scattered a handful of louis d'or before them. The present was refused by the men, who said they did not want money, but liberty of conscience. "That is beyond my power to grant," replied Lalande; "but you will do well to submit to the king's wishes." "We are ready," rejoined Cavalier, "to obey his orders, provided he will grant our just demands; otherwise we will die with arms in our hands, rather than be exposed to the cruel violence we have had to endure."¶ Before they separated, Cavalier informed his men that they might accept the money, as peace was concluded.¶ There was in fact an amnesty; for Cavalier's troop went that evening to Vezénobre, where they were quartered by billets; and divine service was performed in the temple, which had escaped demolition. Cavalier himself preached and prayed with such effect, that he drew tears from his hearers; and marshal Villars sent his nephew to inform the court of Cavalier's proposals.**

Fléchier, in a letter written the day following, after expressing himself in the coarsest invective against the *fanatics*, remarks that Cavalier entered into the negotiation because he was afraid of being surrendered. "The reasonings of this peasant," observes the prelate, "are very coarse and savage, although he be preacher, prophet, and general: still he is not without a fund of good sense for effecting his object."††

* Court, p. 343.

† In the *Mém. de Villars* it is said that the overture came from Cavalier; but that chieftain, in his own Memoirs, says that Lalande wrote first to him.

‡ 12th May, 1704.

§ This is Cavalier's account: Fléchier says there was a troop of three or four hundred, of whom eighty were mounted, and that M. de Lalande had only twenty dragoons. In the *Mémoires de Villars*, we find Cavalier was attended by about thirty badly-mounted horsemen and two hundred infantry, in which account Brueys coincides. If so much discrepancy is discovered in a detail of no moment, need we be surprised to find variance on questions of real importance?

¶ *Mém. de Cavalier*, quoted by Court.

¶ Villars, vol. ii. p. 173.—Brueys, vol. ii. p. 315.

** Court, vol. i. p. 350. †† Fléchier, *Lettre du 13 Mai*.

* Court, vol. iii. p. 271—281. † Villars, vol. ii. p. 156.

‡ 4th May, 1704. Court, vol. ii. p. 339.

On the very day of the conference Rolland completely defeated a strong detachment at Fondmorte. It was commanded by Courbeville, who was killed, with four captains, six lieutenants, and above two hundred soldiers. Viala, an advocate, who had been active in troubling the Protestants, was taken with his son and nephew: all three were massacred. Rolland obtained great booty in money, arms and clothing.* This event doubtless contributed to render the government more willing to accede to Cavalier's proposals.

Cavalier's troop was meanwhile quartered like the divisions of the royal army. He exchanged visits with the king's officers; and in every place had public worship, with all the freedom of the best times of Protestant liberty. He wrote to marshal Villars expressing his regret at the engagement of Fondmorte; and having met D'Aygalliers, was urged by that gentleman to request a conference with the marshal. D'Aygalliers, whose mission was to make war against the Camisards, was no sooner in their presence than the divisions mingled, embraced, and joined in singing psalms; while the leaders conversed on the line of conduct to be adopted. D'Aygalliers convinced Cavalier that the happiness of all his brethren in religion demanded his submission, and the Camisard chieftain signed an offer to submit with his troops to the king's clemency.† After this preliminary Villars hastened to bring the insurgent leader to positive terms, speculating probably on the effect which this increase of importance might have on the mind of an uneducated youth. The arrangements for the meeting were speedily concluded; hostages were left under the custody of Ravanel; and sentinels and piquets were posted to maintain a communication with the main body of the Camisards, before Cavalier ventured on entering Nismes.‡

Sandricourt, governor of that city, conversing with the marshal, endeavoured to prevent the conference, by representing the astonishment which would be caused by a low-bred man, known only by his crimes and rebellion, succeeding in concluding a treaty of peace with his sovereign. Villars replied by an allusion to the general advantage of the state; and Cavalier was soon after announced. He presented his sword to the marshal, who desired him to retain it; after which they conversed at length upon the projected pacification.§

After the conference Villars wrote again to court, and Cavalier sent a dispatch to Rolland urging him to follow his example. The Camisards were left in possession of Calvisson, awaiting the reply of the government; and during the interval were treated with more consideration than is usually shown for the regular troops. This did not however deter Cavalier from detaining hostages, and placing sentinels, as if hostilities had continued. The clergy were horrified at the consequences to be apprehended; the whole population was in such rapturous joy at free opportunities for worship according to their conscience, that the town resounded with accents of praise; and psalms and thanksgivings were openly heard in the streets and public places. The bishop of Nismes thus alludes to the spectacle: "We have seen Cavalier at our gates: his interview with the marshal and M. de

Basville; his submission and his pride; the boldness of the *scellérêts* who accompany him; the assembly of so many unpunished murderers; the concourse of new converts who go to see them; the psalms they chant, and with which the Vau-nage resounds; their sermons, in which they utter a thousand extravagancies, applauded by all our people; the prophets and prophetesses who spring up among them, and encourage the hope of the speedy re-establishment of their religion.—All this greatly scandalises and afflicts the Catholics; and seems sad to endure." But he adds, that the hope of restoring the Romish religion makes them overlook many things.*

Basville represented to the marshal that such a scandal ought not to be tolerated; that the assemblies should be forbidden, and the troops ordered to fall upon them. Villars would not listen to a project calculated to revive the insurrection, and desired the intendant to be patient for some time. He sent word however to the chiefs to restrain their preachers from extravagance.† The marshal's biographer makes no attempt to disguise his dislike to the Camisards, whom he styles miserable fanatics; but D'Aygalliers, who was present when Basville urged a renewal of persecution, has recorded an observation, highly to the marshal's credit. "There is something very ridiculous in the impatience of the priests on this subject: I have received I know not how many letters, filled with complaints, as if the prayers of the Camisards blistered not only the ears, but the skins of all the clergy. I wish from my heart I knew all those who have written to me, that they might be bastinadoed; for I think it a very great impropriety that those who have caused these disasters should complain and disapprove of the means used to make them cease."‡

On the 22nd of May the Chevalier de St. Pierre returned with the answer of the government to Cavalier's proposals. What were the terms demanded is not known. Cavalier being accused of betraying his party, for the advancement of his own interests, has given a prolix statement in his *Memoirs*, which on a close scrutiny will appear full of improbabilities: such for instance, as the asserted fact of Villars and Basville signing a complete approval of his demands, on the day following the conference. Common sense would require the submission of such terms to the king's approbation; and narrators of every party agree that Villars did so send them for the opinion of the court, before he ventured to sign the treaty. Basville was averse to the very last; and only signed as a matter of necessity, such was his hatred of the *scellérats*.§

In consequence of the marshal's instructions from court, he delivered to Cavalier a commission of colonel, with the right of appointing the officers of his regiment, which was to serve in Spain; and a pension of twelve hundred livres.||

Rolland had not yet submitted; but hopes were entertained that Cavalier would persuade him to accept terms, such as had been granted him; and for that purpose the Camisard chieftains met at Anduze. Cavalier repeated to Rolland all the arguments which D'Aygalliers had used in persuad-

* Fléchier, *Lettre du 23 Mai*, 1704.—The language of Brueys is similar. Vol. ii. p. 331.

† Villars, vol. ii. p. 187.

‡ D'Aygalliers, quoted by Court, vol. ii. p. 401

§ Brueys, vol. ii. p. 314. || Villars, vol. ii. p. 187.

* Villars, vol. ii. p. 177.—Brueys, vol. ii. p. 319.

† Court, vol. ii. p. 360. ‡ 16th May, 1704.

§ Villars, vol. ii. p. 180.—Brueys, vol. ii. p. 327.

ing him; but Rolland was not so easily drawn from what he deemed the path of duty. He accused Cavalier of having betrayed the cause; and vowed that he would not submit to anything short of recognised liberty of conscience. The interview was very stormy, and might have had fatal consequences, without the interposition of Salomon Couderc, who offered to proceed to Nismes and learn the conditions offered. Villars and Basville met and discussed the terms as before; and Salomon Couderc was authorised by the marshal to offer Rolland a colonel's commission, with privileges equal to Cavalier. It was soon evident that Rolland would refuse such terms; for Couderc, before he quitted Nismes, delivered to Lalande a letter from the inflexible chief to the marshal, observing, as he gave it, that peace could not be expected, without granting liberty of conscience. Rolland's letter was to the same effect: his conscience he declared would not permit him to depose his arms until the edict of Nantes was completely re-established, and the imprisoned Protestants were freed.*

There were unfortunately at this period some intriguing individuals who, if commissioned by any party, must have obtained their authority by misrepresentation: such were Sallier, Guiscard, Belcastel, and others, induced, by the desperate condition of their fortune, to obtain the means of improving it, by serving the allies, in preventing the restoration of tranquillity in France. Two of these agents were arrested at Avignon; their object was to encourage the Camisards by the promise of assistance. They were punished, but other emissaries were more successful;† and to this cause it is reasonable to attribute the extraordinary scene which occurred at Calvisson, when Cavalier returned there, after meeting Rolland.

In composing the regiment to be formed by virtue of Cavalier's commission, Ravel was named lieutenant-colonel, a post to which his bravery and successful expeditions fully entitled him. His mind was under that violent excitement, which, when based upon religious feeling, excludes all idea of fear, disregards every earthly consequence, and almost renders martyrdom an object of glory. The life he had led, the dangers to which he had been exposed, the plaudits of his brethren, which were obvious even in the thanksgivings offered to the Almighty, and the constant habit of mingling warfare and worship,—altogether, it was no more than a natural result, that he, one of the most active of the Camisards, should have taken fire the moment a suggestion was made to him that their cause was betrayed.

Cavalier on his return to Calvisson‡ was questioned by Ravel, in the presence of the principal officers, on the conditions of his treaty with the marshal. A refusal to impart particulars increased the eagerness of the demand; threats were uttered; and when at length Cavalier informed them that they were to serve in Portugal, he was assailed with the epithets *coward* and *traitor*. Ravel vowed that, for his part, he would not lay down his arms till religious liberty was granted, and their temples were restored. His violence caused Cavalier to draw his pistol; but Moysé, a preacher, appeased the rising quarrel. With the exception of forty men, the troop of Camisards followed Ravel; and when Cavalier endeavoured to change

their resolution, above twenty muskets were levelled at him. Moysé again addressed the Camisards, and saved their late leader's life; but fearing a sentiment of attachment might win them over to the man who had formed them to victory, Ravel and Moysé hastened the departure of the troop, which took the direction of Pierredon, shouting "The sword of the Lord!"*

This unexpected scene, at a moment when the complete pacification of the province was hoped for, caused some display of severe intentions, deemed requisite as a warning.

Almost immediately after Ravel's mutiny, an ordinance was issued, forbidding religious assemblies;† and another fixed the termination of the period of submission for the 5th of June; after which day the devastations of the preceding year would be renewed.‡ At the same time Villars expressed his complete approval of Cavalier's conduct; the remains of his troop were quartered at Valabregues, an island on the Rhône, and his offices were accepted by Villars, who postponed his measures of rigour until after the result of another effort, in concert with D'Aygalliers, to persuade the insurgents to submit: with a further view of conciliation, he ordered the gibbets and scaffolds to be generally removed.§

D'Aygalliers induced Rolland and Ravel who had joined him to meet on a mountain near Anduze. Cavalier's appearance gave rise to some animated reproaches between him and Rolland; but they afterwards embraced each other. Not so Ravel: he repeatedly called Cavalier a traitor, and a slave of Marshal Villars. Rolland was persuaded to accept the proffered terms; which, considering all the circumstances, were very reasonable. Cavalier and Rolland were each to have a regiment, to serve out of the kingdom; each might be attended by a minister; the prisoners were to be freed, the exiles recalled, and free permission to be generally granted for the emigration of the new converts. The Camisards who remained were to lay down their arms; and none were to be molested for their religion, if they remained peaceable. There was moreover full and complete amnesty. But Ravel could not suppose good faith, on the part of a king who had violated the most solemn engagements with the Protestants; he suddenly quitted them to harangue the troop, and impress his comrades with distrust. In consequence, when the negotiators of both parties proceeded to announce the result, an advanced guard seized on Rolland, and upbraiding him, carried him off to the main body. Cavalier was obliged to spur his horse, or he would have been sacrificed; and D'Aygalliers, who was too far advanced for retreat, found himself assailed with reproaches, and his life in great danger, having six muskets close pointed at his breast, and a pistol at each ear. His good intentions were however so well appreciated by the preachers, that the Camisards were pacified, and he was permitted to depart without injury.||

Meanwhile small parties of the Camisards occasionally rejoined their late commander: they were well treated by the marshal, and received great attention from the Protestants and new converts.

* Court, vol. ii. pp. 424—431. Villars, vol. ii. p. 189. Brueys, vol. ii. p. 343.

† Dated Nismes, 29th May, 1704.

‡ Dated St. Genies, 1st June, 1704.

§ Court, vol. ii. p. 455.

|| Ibid., p. 459.

* Court, vol. ii. p. 419 et seq.

† Villars, vol. ii. p. 194.

‡ 28th May, 1704.

They prayed and sang psalms so much, that the Catholics became indignant, and would have thrown them into the Rhône, but for the soldiers.*

Cavalier quitted Valabrègues on the 22nd of June, accompanied by one hundred and fifty men. It was considered that if the Camisard leaders had acted in concert, they might have obtained favourable terms for the Protestants in general: the efforts of d'Aygalières, however well intentioned, created jealousy, and destroyed combination. The little band was well received on their route. At Maçon they found orders to halt; and Cavalier came on alone to Versailles, to confer with Chamillard. The king wished to see the far-famed mountaineer. Cavalier was placed on the grand staircase, and was pointed out to the haughty monarch, as he passed: surprised and perhaps indignant, that one so young and homely should have braved his authority, he shrugged his shoulders and passed on.

Cavalier being suspicious of some treacherous design on the part of the government, communicated to his followers a project of evasion. It was generally approved: they traversed Montbelliard, entered Porentruy, and proceeded to Lausanne.

Villars recommenced a system of severity the day after Cavalier's departure, by arresting every one supposed to be connected with the Camisards. All the prisons were crowded, and above five thousand agricultural labourers were imprisoned on that suspicion, until they could give evidence of their catholicity.† At the same time a band of Cadets de la Croix, who had been imprisoned for their atrocities, were let loose upon the province, as auxiliaries to the king's forces.‡ The Camisards on their side resumed a hostile position; but although they continued their former system of warfare, they were less inclined to violence than before the armistice, of which de la Baume has recorded two examples.§

Rolland meanwhile sent letters and messages to the marshal, declaring his willingness to surrender, but explaining that he was restrained by his own followers. Villars then informed the king that he had to deal with madmen, who after consenting to submit and receive the royal pardon, suddenly broke off, and stood upon the defensive. In one of his dispatches the marshal observes: "If they continue this state of indecision, I shall constrain them by force."||

The appearance of a hostile fleet off the coast of Provence gave Villars some apprehensions. A storm dispersed the squadron, and drove some of the vessels ashore; by which means two French refugee officers were captured.¶ The aspect of affairs became serious, and Villars devastated and massacred, in imitation of his predecessor; at the same time the judicial vengeance was no less active.

D'Aygalières continued his efforts to persuade Rolland into submission, and a meeting was held

at Durfort for discussing the subject; but Ravel's obstinacy prevented the success of the negotiation. That enthusiastic man, accustomed to regard martyrdom as the highest honour, was insensible to all idea of consideration for others, desirous of leading a peaceable life, although they would prefer death to the disgrace of abandoning their party in its decadence. In reply to an observation made by D'Aygalières, he declared with energy—"I adore God! Cavalier is a traitor—but for my part, I will serve the Lord, even though thirty thousand devils would prevent it."*

The promise of a hundred louis d'or induced a young man named Malarte to betray Rolland's retreat.† Paratte sent a battalion of infantry and some dragoons to Castelnau, where the formidable Camisard was to lodge. The approach of the troops was not discovered until escape was no longer possible. Rolland half-dressed, with five of his officers, contrived to reach some trees behind the house, where they were discovered and surrounded. The resolute air of these desperate men caused the officers present to hesitate: the marshal would have preferred taking them alive; but a dragoon speedily settled their doubts, by levelling his piece at Rolland, who fell dead. His companions made no further resistance, and died upon the wheel with great firmness. Five bishops who were present at their execution were so lost to the requirements of propriety, as to manifest an indecent joy at the spectacle.‡ Rolland's body was brought to judgment, and condemned to be drawn on a hurdle and burned.§

From this time the Camisards sustained repeated losses and discouragements. Ravel remained undaunted, until all the other leaders had made terms with the government; and by the end of September the insurrection was terminated. The Camisards were conducted under escort to Geneva; they received the assurance that their captive brethren should be liberated, and that no Protestant should be molested on account of his religion.||

Cavalier served with distinction in the allied forces, and at his death was a general in the British army. The arrangements he had concluded for his companions would have opened for them an equally honourable career; but after the pacification of Languedoc, their position as discontented exiles made them an easy prey to political adventurers and agents; and particularly to such intriguers as Miremont, Guiscard, and Flotard. At the instigation of one or another of these men, most of the Camisard leaders returned to Languedoc. The Duke of Berwick had replaced Villars in the command; and his vigilance detected a conspiracy for rekindling a civil war in the Cévennes, as a diversion to favour the alliance against France. The death of Basville and the arrest of Berwick were to be the signals of insurrection: at least it is so asserted, and with some probability.¶

* D'Aygalières, quoted by Court, vol. iii. p. 36.

† Brueys, Louvreuil, and the Mém. de Villars exert upon a bit of scandal, respecting the demoiselles Cornely, said to be the mistresses of Rolland and his companion Mallié. If true, the fact is not very important; because the Camisards, from their station and circumstances, could not be selected as specimens of Protestant conduct: but, if false, how disgraceful for a party to advance such a calumnious argument!

‡ 14th Aug. 1704. Court, vol. iii. p. 56.

§ Brueys, vol. ii. p. 377. || Court, vol. iii. p. 92.

¶ Menard attributes the most atrocious projects to these misguided men; but his accusation is too violent to merit refutation. Hist. de Nîmes, vol. vi. p. 415.

* De la Baume, quoted by Court, vol. iii. p. 4.

† Court, vol. iii. p. 54.

‡ Plusieurs villages furent pillés et brûlés par les troupes; on fit de nouveaux enlèvements parmi les protestans suspects, et on autorisa de nouveau les courses des Cadets de la Croix . . . les troupes régulières fusillaient tous les Camisards dont elles s'emparent. Baragon, *Ab. de l'Hist. de Nîmes*, vol. iii. p. 203.

§ Court, vol. iii. p. 25.

|| Villars, vol. ii. p. 269.

¶ Pierre Martin, a captain in the English service; he was hanged. His companion was Charles de Goulaine, holding a Dutch commission; he was beheaded.

The plot being discovered, the result was fatal to all the conspirators. Castanet was arrested in the Vivarais, and died upon the wheel at Montpellier. Ravanel and two others were taken in Nîmes; and Catinat was seized while passing the gates of the city in disguise. Ravanel and Catinat were burned alive; their two comrades were broken: all four suffered with almost incredible resolution; and as it was feared they would address the spectators, drums were beaten during their execution. They had been previously tortured; but although three of them confessed projects and accomplices, no pain could extort a single confession from Ravanel.*

A frightful list of executions followed; and, notwithstanding these severe examples, fresh projects were set on foot in 1707 and 1709. The principles of the insurgents were still founded on the claim of religious liberty; but they were the mere instruments of political purposes.

Ere we quit this period of cruelty and vengeance, the unfortunate destiny of the Baron d'Algalliers claims a passing remark. This nobleman's well-meant exertions procured him the king's approbation, and a pension of twelve hundred livres. But his residence in France was not permitted. On the payment of his pension being withheld, he considered himself entitled to return to his estates, as the natural resource for his supply. The authorities of Lyons were informed of his project: he was arrested as he passed through that city, and conducted to the castle of Loches, in Anjou, where he perished in an effort to recover his liberty. He had escaped from his chamber, by removing one of the window bars, with which he despatched the first sentinel, when another soldier fired upon and killed him.†

CHAPTER LXVI.

Reigns of Louis XV. and XVI.

THE remainder of the reign was occupied with military disasters and controversies between the contending sections of the Romanists. The amiable Fénelon and the dignified Noailles became involved in serious disputes through the vehemence of the Jesuit or Molinist party; and even Madame de Maintenon was in some measure embroiled. The Jesuits were victorious, and the destruction of Port Royal displays the measure of their resentment.

The death of Father La Chaise, an event seemingly to be desired by the Jansenists, and their off-set party the Quietists, became a misfortune to the sects thus designated on account of the morose and vindictive character of the new confessor, Tellier, of whom the following sketch is given by a writer of some note: "Animated with the pride of a wicked angel, endowed with a robust body, a mind strong and capable of great efforts; without the least social virtue, he had all the vices of a vigorous understanding. Imbued with the desire

of power, of subjugating all to his society, and his society to himself; incessantly devoted to his purpose, he was feared by those whom he obliged, whom he enslaved; and abhorred by all others, even his society, which he rendered powerful and odious."*

His first appearance at court sufficiently announced his disposition. Aware that his penitent would be more struck by an apparent contempt of courtly honour than by the obsequious flattery with which he was usually surfeited, he manifested from the outset that sternness of disposition which alone could impress the king with awe. When his name was first mentioned, Louis asked if he was not related to the late chancellor, Tellier de Louvois. "Very far from it," replied the Jesuit, bending reverentially: "I am a poor peasant of Lower Normandy, where my father was a farmer."†

The confessor, steady to the tactics of his society, immediately commenced his measures for injuring the Cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, whom he accused of Jansenism, to be avenged of that cardinal's assertion that he sold church preferment. Circulars were addressed to the bishops, with directions for their conduct, and orders to denounce Noailles and Quesnel to the king: this scheme was, however, defeated by a copy of the circular falling into the cardinal's hands. It was made public, and Tellier was on the point of being dismissed.‡ Having failed in that plan, the Jesuit resolved on persecuting Quesnel, whose works had been patronised by Noailles; and in searching for propositions to be condemned, he took care to select those opposed to the Molinist views. Yet, as they were conformable to the doctrines of St. Paul, St. Augustin, and St. Thomas Aquinas, one of his assistants represented the danger to which he would be exposed, if he thus assaulted those pillars of Christianity. "St. Paul!" exclaimed Tellier with earnestness: "St. Paul and St. Augustin were hotheaded fellows, who would in these days be sent to the Bastille: with regard to St. Thomas, you may judge how little I care for a Jacobin, when I scarcely trouble myself about an apostle."§

Under the influence of such a confessor, it is quite natural that sanguinary edicts should be issued until the close of the reign; and a declaration published not long before the death of Louis is at once a monument of cruelty, injustice, and incapacity.|| It declared that a residence in the kingdom of those who had heretofore professed the pretended reformed religion was more than sufficient proof that they had embraced the Catholic religion, without which they would not have been tolerated. Further on, and in direct opposition to the concluding article of the edict of revocation, the whole body of Protestants were exposed to the rigours decreed against relapsed heretics, all who persisted in the pretended reformed religion being deemed in a state of relapse.

Within six months Louis ceased to live; and the heavy yoke which hypocrisy and bigotry had laid upon the nation during the period he filled

* Ducloux, *Mémoires secrets sur la règne de Louis XIV.*, vol. i. p. 135.

† *Mém. du Puc de Saint Simon*, vol. iii. p. 201. Paris, 1818.

‡ La Beaumelle, vol. v. p. 134.

§ Ducloux, vol. i. p. 142.

|| Dated 8th March, 1715.

* 22nd April, 1705. Brueys, vol. ii. p. 484. Court, vol. ii. p. 194.

† Court, vol. iii. p. 69.

the throne was exchanged for the sway of a prince completely the reverse of the *Grand Monarque*.

In this work it would hardly be fair to attempt a delineation of his character, the subject of these pages being almost exclusively connected with his blemishes, while the more brilliant scenes of his protracted reign have had no claim upon our notice. The numerous panegyrists whose pens were enlisted to throw an aureole of glory around this "great era" of the French monarchy have contributed to mislead the judgment of subsequent times; but his policy, his published sentiments, and his personal conduct must suffer seriously, when subjected to the analysis of impartial men. While his courtiers were lavish in abject adulations, he was detested by the people at large; and the indecent joy displayed on the day of his interment must have been grounded on some very obnoxious sentiments.*

It may not be misplaced to insert here the opinion of a modern writer, comprising an idea which certainly should enter largely into the estimate of this monarch's character. "I demand of all sound minds, of all upright hearts, free from passion,—the Convention, whose chiefs are justly stigmatized for having substituted the legislation of murder and vengeance for the code of liberty, does it present in its decrees a single barbarous or immoral combination, the example of which has not been given by the council of Louis XIV.?"† The question contains an overwhelming accusation, the answer to which is beyond doubt.

As his successor was a mere child, the Duke of Orleans was appointed regent; and, during the period of his government a different policy was followed. His reputation for impiety was an earnest that persecution on account of heterodox opinions would cease; and he commenced his reparatory measures immediately after the late king's burial, when the doors of the Bastille were thrown open to the victims of Father Tellier, who at first relied upon the authority of the deceased monarch's will, by which he was appointed confessor to Louis XV. He presented himself with confidence, and inquired of the regent what were to be his functions until the king was of an age to need his ministry. "That is no concern of mine," the regent coolly answered: "apply to your superiors." This rebuff tormented the imperious ecclesiastic, whose brethren took revenge by preaching most fanatical sermons against the government.‡

Under other circumstances the Huguenots might have complained of the regent's administration, for he maintained all the edicts against Protestant worship; and, whatever may have been his real opinion in their favour, as has been pretended, he did nothing to improve their condition.§ Yet, by comparison, they were in a happy state: emigration in consequence ceased, and although no positive favour could be expected, they were free from apprehensions of fresh persecution.

The Duke of Orleans was succeeded in the direction of affairs by the Duke of Bourbon, who had the weakness to imagine he could immortalise his administration by renewing the severities of Louis XIV.; a new persecution was in consequence commenced by an absurd and odious edict, more cruel than that of revocation.* Children were torn from their parents to be educated in the Romish religion; death was again decreed against pastors, confiscation against relapsed converts, and every kind of oppression endured in the late reign was renewed; and this disgraceful measure has been styled a masterpiece of Christian policy.†

There was some abatement of the horrors of persecution while Cardinal Fleury was prime minister; yet the system did not terminate for many years; and, to judge from the writings of more than one prelate, an unabated desire existed to be freed from the presence of heretics. A memorial from the clergy in April, 1745, declared there was no hope of their conversion, and that there was rising up a generation of Protestants, more obstinate and headstrong than their fathers. "They may protest fidelity, and publish that the spirit which pervades their assemblies is free from revolt and insurrection; but they will be good subjects no farther than fear constrains them."‡

Monclus, bishop of Alais, in reply to an intendant who was a friend to tolerance, thus writes: "The magistrates have relaxed the severity of the ordinances, and thus caused all the evils of which the state has to complain."§ Chabannes, bishop of Agen, about the same time published a letter, in which he laments the incurable obstinacy of the heretics, and recommends that the state should be freed from them by permitting their departure.

The bishop had heard indirectly that the edict of Nantes was to be re-enacted: this horrified his intolerant soul, and he composed a tract which is no credit to the Romish party. He commences by praising the piety of Louis XIV., who made the greatest sacrifices at the peace of Ryswick, rather than listen to any proposal in favour of the Protestants. "He renounced the fruit of his victories, purchased with so much blood and toil; he even acknowledged the usurper of England, notwithstanding the ties which bound him to the dispossessed king—he granted all, he yielded all; he surrendered everything except the return of the heretics." The bishop then argues, that what Louis XIV. refused, being in the greatest difficulty, his successor cannot yield in the midst of prosperity.||

This correspondence arose out of the inconvenience perpetually springing up, respecting marriage and baptism among the Protestants; a subject which renders it necessary to revert to an earlier period. Ever since the edict of revocation the jurisprudence had assumed that there were no

* Dated May, 1724. This declaration, observes M. Boissy D'Anglas, forms the summary of all the penal provisions scattered throughout the laws of Louis XIV., some of which it renders even more severe.—*Essai sur la vie de Malesherbes*, vol. i. p. 18.

† Caveyrac, *Apologie de Louis XIV.*, p. 449.

‡ Procès Verbaux de l'Assemblée générale du Clergé, quoted by Menard, vol. vi. p. 609.

§ Réponse de M. l'évêque d'Alais, dated 6 Octobre, 1751.

|| Lettre de M. l'évêque d'Agen à M. le contrôleur-général contre la tolérance des Huguenots dans le royaume, 1^{er} Mai 1751. This pamphlet was so eagerly sought for that it could not be procured without difficulty; but it was reprinted, in 1756, by Court, along with the *Patriote Français* and *Impartial*, which is a severe commentary on the letter.

* Lacretelle, *Hist. de France pendant le 18^{me} Siècle*. Vol. i. p. 132.

† *De l'Etat des Protestans en France*, par M. Aignan, de l'Académie Française, p. 23.

‡ Lacretelle, *id. antea*, p. 134.

§ An ordinance dated 20th July, 1720, permitted the establishment of a burial-place in Paris for Protestant foreigners; but every precaution was taken that no French body should be interred there; and the 6th clause especially declares that the public profession of the Protestant religion was not permitted, even to foreigners, who were forbidden all ceremonial in the sepultures; nor could any Frenchman be present.

Protestants in France; while edict rapidly followed edict, inflicting penalties upon Protestants and new converts leaving the kingdom. The church of Rome declaring marriage a sacrament, could not administer that rite to any who denied its ecclesiastical authority; and in consequence, the new converts were called upon to give proof of Roman Catholicism, before their marriages could be celebrated. The Huguenots sought their proscribed pastors in the deserts and forests. When the benediction of a minister could not be obtained, the blessing was pronounced by aged heads of families, awaiting the occasion of a pastor's arrival; and whenever it was known that a minister was in the country, multitudes hastened to meet him, to have a religious sanction conferred on their unions, to present their children for baptism, and to receive the sacrament of communion.*

As the assemblies in the *Desert* consisted of many thousand persons, a fresh persecution occurred for the purpose of effecting their suppression.† In a report addressed to the secretary of state the severities are not concealed. In Languedoc twenty-eight persons, and in Guyenne forty-five, were condemned to the galleys, and attached to the chain of *forçats*, for nothing else than attending these meetings for worship. In Normandy, the goods of those who had not allowed their children to be baptized by the curé were sold without any form of procedure. These iniquities occurred in 1746;‡ and in 1752 an attempt to re-baptize by force the children of Protestants caused such resistance at Ledignan, in the diocese of Nismes, that the measure was relinquished.§

The punishment of death was inflicted upon all ministers who fell into the power of the government. M. Desubas, a young preacher, was arrested in December, 1745, and conducted by a body of soldiers to Vernoux in the Vivarais. Some of his flock, learning his capture, assembled on the road, unarmed, to implore his liberation: a discharge of musketry was the reply to their appeal, when six persons were killed, and four were made prisoners. Crowds arrived at Vernoux to intercede for their pastor's life. The assemblage was fired upon—thirty-six were killed, and two hundred wounded; the greater part mortally. The feelings excited by this wanton cruelty might have led to serious consequences, as the majority of the population was protestant, and the escort not very powerful; the pastors however exerted themselves in persuading the people to abstain from violence. || Desubas was conveyed to Montpellier, where he was condemned to death, and suffered on the 1st of February, 1746, in presence of an immense concourse of people: his conversation with those who visited him in prison, and his calm behaviour at the time of execution, kindled much commiseration, even among the Catholics.¶

* Rulhière, vol. ii. p. 174. Menard also testifies to their steadfastness in describing their assemblies in 1743. Hist. de Nismes, vol. vi. p. 590.

† Comme les Protestans ne discontinuaient pas leurs assemblées, il fallait punir les nouveaux convertis des lieux de l'arrondissement dans lesquels elles se tenaient. Menard, vol. vi. p. 626.

‡ Rulhière, vol. ii. p. 340.

§ Menard, vol. vi. p. 632.

|| A biographer of Paul Rabaut mentions that minister's noble conduct on this occasion. Vide Appendix. No. 6.

¶ Hist. of the Persecutions endured by the Protestants of the South of France, by Mark Wilks, vol. i. p. 7.

The minister Benezet, arrested at Vigan, was executed at Montpellier in January, 1752. Francis Rochette, another minister, suffered at Toulouse, in 1762, with three brothers, named Grenier. The eldest was not twenty-two years of age. They had endeavoured to release their pastor from captivity, and were beheaded close to the gibbet on which Rochette was hanged.* They were offered their lives if they would abjure; but their firmness did not relieve them from the obtruding solicitations of four priests, who beset them until the fatal moment. As the crucifix was occasionally presented to the brothers, the eldest observed: "Speak to us of him who died for our sins and rose again for our justification, and we are ready to listen; but do not introduce your superstitions." Rochette was forced to descend in front of the cathedral, where he was ordered to make the *amende honorable*; but he boldly declared his principles, refused to ask pardon of the king, and forgave his judges: to the last he displayed a martyr's constancy. The brothers Grenier were equally firm. After two had suffered, the executioner entreated the youngest to escape their fate by abjuring. "Do thy duty," was the answer he received, as the youth submitted to the axe.†

The celebrated Calas, broken on the wheel upon a false charge of having killed one of his children, who was disposed to become a catholic—an injustice discovered too late; and the filial tenderness of Fabre, who suffered condemnation to the galleys in the place of his father, are so well known that allusion to them is sufficient. The effect produced upon the public mind, when the circumstances were made known, contributed essentially to the removal of a great reproach upon French legislation.

The habit of excluding Protestants from every advantage was so confirmed at this period that, in a list of twenty-seven soldiers, entitled, by government order, to subsistence as invalids, the names of two German Lutherans are erased, with a marginal explanation of the cause against each,—“Sent home to his own country with sixty francs, persisting in his religion.” The name of a third German Protestant is allowed to remain, he having consented to abjure. The document is dated 19th August, 1762. This may have been unknown to the minister of war, and seems a consequence of the previous regulations; for all enlightened classes now began to exclaim against the illiberal, exclusive nature of the laws and administrations respecting non-Catholics. At the same time there were so many changes required, of far greater importance, that this abuse was long overlooked, and so late as 1791 it was necessary to profess the Romish religion to be admitted into the Hospital of the Invalids. The impulse was, however, given, and everything indicated the approach of an era of justice.

An effort was made by the clergy, in 1765, to resist the tendency to toleration by a remonstrance to the king. “It is in vain,” that body declares, “that all public worship, other than the Catholic, is forbidden in your dominions. In contempt of the wisest laws, the Protestants have seditious meetings on every side. Their ministers preach

* Rulhière, vol. ii. p. 351. Boissy d'Anglas, vol. i. p. 379.

† From the *Toulousaines*, a series of letters published in 1763.

heresy and administer the Supper; and we have the pain of beholding altar raised against altar, and the pulpit of pestilence opposing that of truth. If the law which revoked the edict of Nantes—if your declaration of 1724 had been strictly observed, we venture to say there would be no more Calvinists in France. Consider the effects of a tolerance which may become cruel by its results. Restore, sire! restore to the laws all their vigour—to religion its splendour. Let the solemn renewal of your declaration of 1724, the fruit of your wisdom and piety, be the happy result of our remonstrance.* Similar representations were made by the clergy in 1770 and 1772 against the Protestant assemblies.* The hostility shown to this meagre, half toleration has inflicted a permanent evil on France. Protestantism was suppressed to the extent of administrative power; but as no enactments could enforce sincere respect for the victorious church of Rome, a spread of irreligion has been the consequence. Ardent Huguenots defied authority and braved martyrdom; while the indifferent, although they declared themselves converted, were unable to submit their conscience to papal tyranny, and became the leaders and teachers of the Encyclopædist school.

The philosophic party, in its hatred of the clergy,† co-operated with the enlightened members of the educated classes in producing a mitigation of the code under which the Huguenots groaned; and the writings of Caveyrac and the Abbé L'Enfant,‡ in favour of bigotry, were received with general contempt. Louis XVI. gave an edict in 1787, which improved the condition of Protestants in a small degree. This ill-fated king, although remarkable for humane feelings, was still influenced by education, as well as by respect for the opinions and policy of his immediate predecessors; and, without the exertions of the admirable Lamoignon Malesherbes, it is doubtful whether this edict would have been obtained.§ That eminent man was indefatigable in the council and by his writings. "It is the least," he observed on one occasion, "that I can do to repair, in the eyes of the Protestants, all the harm which M. de Basville, my uncle, did to them in Languedoc."||

The concessions were no more than what could not be with safety withheld; and the terms of the edict expressly state "that the non-Catholics cannot claim under its provisions more than the law of nature forbids being refused." In short it only conferred the means of recording the civil existence of the Huguenots; nothing like a privilege was granted; and an express stipulation was made to prevent any Protestant minister from signing certificates establishing the birth, marriage, or decease

of one of his flock. The religious assemblies were no longer the object of such vigilant pursuit; but the Protestant worship existed by sufferance rather than by permission.

The boon was trivial, yet the edict was opposed in its progress,* and the cause of fanaticism found a zealous defender in M. D'Epresmenil, who resisted to the last, and called upon the magistrates to avoid "crucifying the Lord anew" by the sanction of such a sacrilegious measure. It may indeed be doubted whether any concession would have been made if the different parliaments had not, on several occasions, given decrees in favour of the Protestants. One or two instances will display the civil degradation of the Huguenots until the sanctuary of justice afforded some relief.

André Greffeuille, a Protestant, left by will certain property to his daughter; and his widow, to whom he had been married in the *desert*, proceeded to act as guardian of her child. But Jean Roche, the residuary legatee, iniquitously endeavoured to take the whole property; and obtained a favourable decree from the seneschal of Nismes on the grounds of the absence of legal forms in the marriage: the child was, in fact, baptized at the church as the natural daughter of André Greffeuille and Susannah Metge, *living in concubinage*; for such was the invariable mode of describing the children of Protestants. However, a declaration from the paternal relatives that the parents had been married in the Protestant form, and that the child was always regarded as legitimate, sufficed to obtain a decree in her favour.†

The same parliament gave other decisions in favour of widows, to whose prejudice collateral relatives had raised claims, grounded on their pretended concubinage; or restoring the heritage to children, whose legitimacy was disputed.‡ These conclusions were based upon equity: there had existed impediments, arising out of contradictory enactments, and the principles of justice were defended, in opposition to conflicting technicalities. Yet, on one occasion, the parliament of Toulouse gave a judgment which involved a still greater principle. Antoine Benech, a Protestant, being on his death-bed in 1747, was summoned by a curé, in the presence of three witnesses, to receive the sacraments of the church. He refused, and the court of Montauban confiscated his property, as a relapsed heretic, under the enactments of 1715 and 1724, by which all persons persisting in the pretended reformed religion are declared *relaps*. An appeal was presented against this decision in 1769; and after a delay of eight months, the parliament decreed, that as no one could be declared a relapsed heretic who had not abjured, the memory of the deceased was free from calumny, and his property must in consequence pass to the next of kin.§

The decrees of the National assembly opened a new era for the Huguenots. In the sittings of

* Boissy D'Anglas, *ut antea*, vol. i. p. 18.

† The astonishing popularity of Voltaire's writings effected much, and he exerted his influence with eminent persons in behalf of toleration—particularly Marshal Richelieu, to whom he addressed an admirable letter on the subject, in 1772.

‡ This writer, after grossly disfiguring history, observes, "Telle est, Sire, la filiation de l'irreligion, dont le Calvinisme est la souche."—*Discours à lire au Conseil*, &c., p. 223.

§ Gilbert des Voisins, conseiller d'état, composed a *Mémoire sur les moyens de donner aux Protestans un état civil en France*. It was written by order of Louis XV., and read to him in private, but remained unpublished until 1787. The consistorial library of the Oratoire has a number of pamphlets on this subject, which drew forth much controversy.

|| Boissy D'Anglas, vol. i. p. 31.

* The bishop of Rochelle issued a *mandement*, dated 26th Feb., 1788, enjoining his clergy to refuse their ministry to all non-Catholics, referring them to the secular authorities. The king was displeased, and by *arrêts du conseil*, 3rd April, 1788 declared the *mandement* very reprehensible, and ordered it to be considered as *non avenue*.

† Arrêt du parlement de Toulouse, 9 Mars, 1759.

‡ Arrêts dated 19th Aug., 1769; 9th July, 1770; and 17th July, 1776; the parliament of Grenoble gave a similar decree, 16th Feb., 1778.

§ Arrêt du parlement de Toulouse, 10 Juillet, 1770.

August and September, 1789, the non-Catholics were declared eligible to all public functions. They were no longer an inferior caste, and became candidates for civil and military employments. It was therefore natural that the revolution should be hailed with joy by those who from their cradles had endured severe persecutions: they received a benefit far beyond the range of their expectations, their forlorn condition forbidding the contemplation of a change so favourable. Yet the adversaries of religious freedom accuse them of disturbing the good feeling which prevailed at the commencement of the revolution; and represent them as aggressors, where evidence abounds to substantiate their intended doom as victims.

The news of the destruction of the Bastille gave rise to the most joyous enthusiasm at Nismes. The nobility and clergy of that province had been foremost in promoting the establishment of a limited monarchy; and until the church property fell into discussion, and was devoted to public purposes, the greatest harmony prevailed;* for at that time the new constitution was generally in favour. But a proposal in the National Assembly† to sequester the ecclesiastical revenues kindled a sympathy between the secular clergy of all ranks, the regular clergy of all denominations, and the noblesse, who could duly appreciate the retreat of a rich benefice as a good provision for younger sons. The nobility and clergy had already begun to quit the country, and their adherents prepared for the organisation of parties in the municipal councils of Nismes and for raising separate companies in the national guard. These intrigues began in December, 1789, when meetings were held at the house of a curé, and in the church of the Penitens Blancs. Other curés co-operated, and their efforts were directed to inflame the people.‡ In all subsequent elections, the Catholic and Protestant interests were placed in hostile array; and at the municipal elections in February, 1790, out of the eighteen members, only one Protestant was elected. The Catholic clergy had previously circulated some inflammatory, or more properly speaking, incendiary pamphlets to excite a feeling against the Protestants, and urging the necessity of their destruction.§

One of the chief instigators in this unhappy business, named Froment, being disappointed of the full recompense for his services, at the restoration of the royal family, published a statement of his

exertions in behalf of the clergy in 1790; and it is not assuming too much to declare, that the intrigues of such persons were the sole causes of the trouble and confusion which followed, and of the animosity displayed between the Protestants and Catholics of Nismes.*

"Faithful to my religion and my king," says M. Froment, "I endeavoured to diffuse the spirit by which I was animated. I published in 1789 several writings, in which I exhibited the dangers that threatened the altar and the throne. My fellow countrymen being struck with the justness of my observations, displayed the most ardent zeal; and with a desire to avail myself of the favourable feeling, I went secretly to Turin in January, 1790, to solicit the approbation and assistance of the French princes. At a special meeting held on my arrival, I shewed that if they would arm the partisans of the altar and the throne, making the interests of religion march with those of loyalty, it would be easy to save both. . . After a general plan was decided upon, and a secret correspondence arranged, I returned to Nismes; where while I awaited the promised assistance from Turin, and which I never received, I employed myself in exciting the zeal of the inhabitants. It was at my suggestion they adopted the declaration of the 20th of April, which demanded that the Catholic worship *alone* should be permitted, and which was signed by three thousand citizens."††

Unhappily this band of conspirators was encouraged by the municipal authorities;‡ and with such support they were enabled to create some confusion at the elections for departmental officers; yet not to the extent expected by Froment and his friends, who prepared for a vigorous effort. The 13th of June was the day fixed upon; when about two hundred leaguers attacked some dragoons,§ who drove them back after long resistance. At the same time Froment dispatched messengers into the country parishes, to claim help; asserting as a motive to enforce the appeal, that unarmed Catholics were massacred at Nismes. The messengers were arrested, and their letters thus falling into the hands of the electoral assembly, created, as may be well supposed, much indignation at such a perfidious attempt to cast upon their intended victims the odium and initiative of the project framed by the conspirators.¶ In the fermentation which ensued, all the Protestants who fell into the hands of the rustics were murdered.¶¶

* The election of twelve commissioners for organising the *milice Nismoise*, in July, 1789, passed off with perfect harmony. M. Vidal, subsequently a violent *ultra*, was among the successful candidates.

† 10th Oct., 1789.

‡ Lauze de Peret, 2^e livraison, pp. 174–210. This author will be frequently referred to. His work consists of two parts; *Eclaircissemens historiques*, in three livraisons, Paris, 1818; and *Causes et précis des Troubles*, &c., in 1 vol., Paris, 1819.

§ I have fortunately procured two of these violent tracts, the character of which may be gathered from an extract from each:—"Je ne erains pas d'assurer qu'aecorder aux protestans la liberté du culte, l'admission aux charges et aux honneurs civils et militaires, c'est un mal qui ne renferme aucun avantage réel pour vous ni pour l'état, mais qui bien plus expose l'un et l'autre aux plus grands désastres." *Pierre Romain aux Catholiques de Nismes*, p. 4. "Les catholiques de la Sène ehaussee n'ont jamais entendu donner à leurs députés le droit de les soumettre au despotisme de leurs plus cruels ennemis, et ils deviendraient réellement les esclaves des protestans si on accordait à ces fauatiqes républicains la liberté du culte." *Charles Sincère à Pierre Romain*, p. 16.

* This was so evident that Froment's pamphlets were soon suppressed: he published one in 1815, another in 1817. The latter I have been able to procure; but I only know the other through the extracts given by Lauze de Peret and Mark Wilks.

† Lauze de Peret, 2^e livraison, p. 196.—Prudhomme, *Révolutions de Paris*, n^o 44, p. 309.

‡ *Vérités historiques sur les événemens arrivés à Nismes le 13 de Juin et les jours suivans*. Publiées par le club des Amis de la Constitution, en Juillet, 1790, p. 2.

§ These were the cavalry of the national guard; they were composed of the wealthiest among the inhabitants of Nismes, and comprised many Protestants. The companies raised under party influence, and consisting of violent Catholics, had frequent quarrels with them. They prepared on the 8th June to express their contempt by proceeding through the town mounted on asses; but the authorities prevented them. *Résumé des Procès Verbaux*, p. 21.

¶ On searching the houses of the abbé Cabanel and Branjouze, curate of St. Paul, arms were discovered. *Vérités historiques*, p. 13.

¶ Lauze de Peret, 3^e livraison, pp. 21–34.—This author has drawn largely for information from the official report made to the National Assembly by M. Alquier.

On the following morning, at seven o'clock, the procureur du roi proceeded to verify the number of slain, when he was informed that there was fighting in the adjoining streets. The national guards were drawn up on the esplanade facing the convent of the capucins, a place notorious as the focus of the conspiracy, and whence the most inflammatory libels had been issued. The convent being suspected was searched, but nothing was discovered: however, to the surprise of all, a firing was heard: it was supposed to proceed from the convent; and M. Massip, the municipal officer of St. Côme, was killed.* The national guards rushed forward to attack the convent; and the superior, from a window, insulted the assailants, while the convent bell was rung to summon aid. The expected support did not arrive in time; the gate was forced open, and five capucins with three laymen were killed on the spot. The edifice was then attacked; and while it is stated by one party that, even in their rage, the people respected the chapel and *objets du culte*, their opponents charge them with rapacious pillage.†

Meauville Froment and his partisans kept up a fire from the ramparts, whither they had retreated. He was not aware of his letters being intercepted,‡ and maintained the conflict, fully expecting the arrival of multitudes from the country to support him. He placed thirty men in the Dominican convent, decidedly against the wishes of the monks, while another party took a position in Froment's house. With a view to prevent the threatened loss of life, the electoral assembly sent a flag of truce, accompanied by the town trumpeter: a parley ensued, and the leaguers consented to surrender to the assembly. The white flag was displayed, and preparations were commenced for executing the terms, when the firing was renewed from the ramparts, and reconciliation became impossible. A vigorous attack followed immediately, and the leaguers experienced the effects of popular fury. Most of them were killed on the spot; and among the number was Pierre Froment, brother of the chief conspirator.§

The disturbance created a great sensation in the National Assembly, as it was represented in the light of an attack upon the Catholics by the Protestants, a charge which has been frequently repeated since the restoration. In consequence, Rabaut St. Etienne, deputy of Nismes, addressed the assembly: "A number of facts demonstrate that the affair of Nismes, far from being a war of religion excited by the animosity of Protestants against Catholics, had religion only for pretext; but for its principal object, the restoration of the old government; and that the two parties of Nismes, far from being Protestants against Catholics, were, on one side, the friends of liberty and the constitution, both Protestant and Catholic; and on the other, all those of both religions who were discontented with the revolution,—ci-devant nobles,

* Vide Appendix, No 8.

† Lauze de Peret, 3^e livraison, pp. 39 et 44.—*Vérités Historiques*, &c. p. 12. The latter states that four men were with the monks, and refers to a procès verbal, drawn up by the curé of St. Castor, to show that no profanation occurred. The *Résumé des Procès Verbaux* (p. 32) pretends, on the other hand, that plunder and devastation took place.

‡ The letters of Froment and Descombiès to the Marquis de Bouzols, commandant of Languedoc, are given at length in the *Vérités Historiques*, &c., p. 26.

§ Lauze de Peret, 3^e livraison, pp. 44 et seq. Wilks, p. 71. *Vérités Historiques*, p. 14.

canons, &c.*" This assertion has been denounced as a calumny; but Froment's publication has established its correctness.†

This conflict has obtained the name of the *bagarre de Nismes*. One hundred and thirty-eight persons were killed; four were severely wounded; and twenty-four houses were pillaged or destroyed. The loss was most severe on the side of the leaguers, two-thirds being of that party: but it was a combat, and not a massacre, as the Catholics maintain; and which they have exaggerated with shameless effrontery, declaring that in 1790 fifteen hundred victims were massacred, and that priests were slain at the foot of their altars.‡

During the reign of terror the Protestants suffered in the same proportion as the Catholics: this being incontestably established by the list of condemnations is a proof that religion was not in question.§ To condemn the Protestants in general, as Jacobins and revolutionists, is therefore a monstrous injustice as well as an absurdity; yet such was the prevalent opinion among the ultra-royalists after the restoration; and the sentiment was strengthened by an expression attributed to Malesherbes, who after expatiating on the benefits which Louis XVI. had conferred on the Protestants, exclaimed: "Some gratitude was due from them; but it is known that the king had no enemies more cruel." This was repeated and enlarged upon, although there is not the least proof that Malesherbes ever uttered such a phrase;|| and the illiberal feeling gave rise to a series of events which prevent the conclusion of our task at this period; for the rights of conscience and liberty of worship were legally admitted when the anarchy of 1792 was replaced by a regular government. The spirit of party then vanished; during a period of nearly twenty years none ever dreamed of inquiring into his neighbour's religious opinions; and if any fanatical feeling existed, it was silenced by the irresistible authority of the laws.

CHAPTER LXVII.

Restoration of Louis XVIII.—Troubles at Nismes and environs.

THE return of the Bourbon princes was sincerely hailed by the French Protestants. In most towns their numbers were too small to attract observation; but at Nismes, and in the surrounding districts, they constituted a large proportion of the inhabitants. There were instances of Protestants being appointed

* Séance du 24 Février, 1791.

† A cette époque (Janvier, 1790), je fus chargé par S. A. R. Monsieur le Comte d'Artois, alors à Turin, de former un parti royaliste dans le midi, de l'organiser et de le commander: je remplis ma mission avec succès; mais le 13 Juin, 1790, ayant été attaqué à Nismes par des forces très-supérieures, avant d'avoir reçu les armes et les secours qu'on m'avait promis, je perdis dans cette lutte un de mes frères et sept à huit cents royalistes. Froment, *Lettre à M. le Marquis de Foucault*, &c., 1817, p. 24.

‡ *Mémoires, Rapport*, &c., presented to the king, 23rd Aug., 1815. Another account, hostile to the Protestants, was published in Sept., 1790, entitled *Détails circonstanciés*, &c.; but the event was then too recent to permit such gross exaggeration—at least in the numbers; although a distortion of the facts is very glaring, even there.

§ Lauze de Peret gives the name and residence of each victim: there were ninety-one Catholics, forty-six Protestants, and one Jew.

|| Boissy d'Anglas expresses great doubt on the subject, vol. i. p. 37.

mayors; but none were ever named prefect, procureur-general, nor chief president of the *Cour Royale*, in the department of the Gard.

As the majority of the Protestants were engaged in commerce or manufactures, the fall of Napoleon was to them the dawn of prosperity: a wide field was opened for their operations, and they had no motive for any concealed affection towards the deposed dynasty. In the religious services with which they celebrated the restoration, their loyalty was manifested in an unequivocal manner, the return of the Israelites from the Babylonish captivity being selected as the closest parallel in sacred history.* The Catholics on the other hand did not conceal their regret at the change; and when the royal government was established, the more zealous among them renewed their demonstrations of animosity, and persisted in representing the Protestants as Jacobins.† In their view none but Catholics could possibly entertain correct political sentiments; and the members of the rival religions were on a sudden enrolled in opposing interests—such a division was at least assumed by the ultra-royalists, who styled themselves *les honnêtes gens*. The Marquis d'Arbaud Jouques, in attempting to justify his party, indirectly admits an aggression. "The popular joy among the Catholics was unbounded, but not without a mixture of bitter recollections, and imprudent threats against the Calvinists. The sentiments manifested by the latter on this occasion were on the contrary free from reproach."‡

The mayor of Nismes, M. Castelnau, member of an ancient noble family, was a Protestant; and he quickly experienced the insults of a bigoted faction. Being in public with the other authorities on occasion of a fête to celebrate the restoration, while shouts of applause greeted the prefect, numerous voices exclaimed *à bas le maire!* Some even ordered him to resign his office. M. Vincent Saint Laurent, whose influence had in 1790 preserved the property of a violent partisan named Vidal,§ was in the prefect's box at the theatre: immediately the public insisted on his being sent away, calling out to the prefect to purify his box.¶ When Catholics met Protestants in the streets, they cried out *Vive le roi!* with menacing gestures; and insulting songs were constantly heard. One in particular had a refrain worthy of the sixteenth century—"They would wash their hands in Protestant blood."¶ The lower orders were speedily trained to ferocity, and the cabarets and market-places resounded with phrases such as these: "*Marianne* will soon come down—The black throats must go back to the *frigoulettes*—The charter will last but a month—The St. Bartholomew is not far off."***

* Wilks, p. 97.

† Protestans ou révolutionnaires, disait-on, c'est synonyme. Le Journal du Gard l'imprimait. Lauze de Peret, liv. i. p. 55.

‡ Troubles et agitations du département du Gard, &c., par le Marquis d'Arbaud Jouques, p. 3.

§ Vidal was a zealous supporter of Froment's conspiracy: he was very conspicuous in the troubles of 1815, as commissary general of police for the southern departments.

¶ *Purger sa loge*. Lauze de Peret, 3^e livraison, p. 94. The first volume is in three distinct parts; the second has a continued pagination.

¶ *Lavaren nostri mans*
Din lou sang di Prottestans.

** *Marianne* is the bell of the Protestant temple; *gorges noires*, a name given to the Protestants; *les Frigoulettes* means the worship in the desert. Lauze de Peret, 3^e livraison, p. 95. Wilks, p. 100.

To these portentous warnings must be added the proceedings of some influential individuals. It was currently reported, that, according to the declarations of persons of rank, the country would never be quiet without a second St. Bartholomew.* In May, 1814, an address to the king was drawn up at Nismes, in direct opposition to the declaration of St. Ouen, on which the charter was founded: it boasted of the principles of 1790, and called for the establishment of absolute power. Addresses were also voted in other towns, declaring that there ought to be *only one* religion in France—one God, one king, one faith: that was the motto of the party, and it was inscribed over the gates of Lyons when the Count d'Artois entered that city.† The celebrated Carnot has also denounced the manifestation of a similar feeling; for he mentions that some individuals connected with the old parliament were advancing the most senseless pretensions of vengeance, the necessity of absolute intolerance, and of one exclusive religion.‡

Another symptom of reaction was the organised demand for restoring the bishoprics suppressed by the revolution: this was coupled with uniform recommendations given by the clergy to their penitents to say a certain number of *pater* and *ave* for the prosperity of the throne, and the re-establishment of the Jesuits.§

Yet, notwithstanding this state of irritation, the king's authority was sufficiently maintained to prevent any outbreak. Castelnau resigned his mayoralty, on account of the hostile feelings publicly manifested: Louis XVIII. immediately named as his successor another Protestant, M. Daunant, to whose energy the people of Nismes were indebted for the preservation of order; but the zealous discharge of his duties drew upon him the sneers and malevolent insinuations of the violent royalists.

The "Men of 1790" continued indefatigable in the prosecution of their designs; and fresh insults were daily offered to the Protestants, whose conduct was cruelly misrepresented to the government. A writer, who has carefully investigated the proceedings of this period, observes, in alluding to the service in January, 1815, to commemorate the death of Louis XVI.: "The sermons and prayers delivered on the occasion at Nismes were printed and distributed by the consistory; but this, like all other acts of respect and loyalty, was despised and perverted: they were told it was in vain for them to dissemble; that, in spite of their pretended loyalty, their security had terminated with the reign of Napoleon; that their temples would soon be rased, and their ministers proscribed."¶

It has been surmised, and with great probability, that the ultra-royalists wished to goad the Protestants into some act of rebellion, by which they might obtain an occasion for acquiring importance; because unfortunately for those ambitious notabilities, the king did not dismiss all the functionaries whom he found in the public service. The inferior classes discerned the impending storm much earlier than the wealthy Protestants; the merchants and manufacturers indulged in the hope of better times, when the king would be more amply informed; but the labourers and husbandmen soon abandoned their confidence in the promises of Louis

* *Bibliothèque Historique*, vol. i. p. 251.

† Lauze de Peret, vol. ii. p. 11.

‡ *Mémoire adressé au Roi, Juillet, 1814.*

§ Wilks, p. 108. ¶ *Ibid*, p. 122.

XVIII.; and when Napoleon returned from Elba they hailed his appearance as a preservation from the Jesuits. The *Café de l'île d'Elbe* was thenceforth the rendezvous of all who disliked the perspective of sacerdotal influence; among whom were many Catholics, and almost all the disbanded officers: it is therefore with injustice that the café has been designated as the seat of a Protestant conspiracy for restoring Napoleon.

There is now no doubt of the essentially military origin of the revolution of 1815; and it is equally well known that Nîmes was one of the very last places in France to submit to the emperor. However, the purposes of faction required an accusation against the Protestants of the Gard, the only department where they form an important body; and for a time the party wreaked its vengeance on the unhappy inhabitants, while the tribunals were either enlisted as assistants in the relentless work, or had become powerless to afford protection or redress.

The duke d'Angoulême arrived at Nîmes on the 12th of March, 1815. In reply to his proclamation, the Protestants of the higher classes volunteered their services for the royal cause; but the faction prevented their offer from being accepted. Accused of dissimulation, they were obliged to withdraw from the ranks, as they heard repeated on all sides—"We will not allow these rascally Protestants to join us."*

The prince, it is notorious, was unable to keep the field, and having capitulated at La Palud, his army of *miquelets* was disbanded.† These men being hastily levied, deficient in discipline, and excited by political animosity, frequently conducted themselves in an unruly manner; but only in one instance did any thing serious occur, although they had to pass in detachments through a district inhabited by those who are designated as their blood-thirsty and savage enemies. The unfortunate exception has however been so much exaggerated, that it demands a circumstantial mention.

Not far from Uzes is the village of Arpaillargues, inhabited almost entirely by Protestants. Through this place fifty royalist volunteers had to pass; and they would undoubtedly have traversed it as quietly as their comrades had passed other towns, if a mischievous individual, named Bertrand, a Catholic, had not hastened on horseback to Arpaillargues, to announce that the miquelets were advancing, and that on their route they had plundered houses, violated females, and murdered forty Protestant ministers.‡

Such a report being spread, Boucarut, mayor of the village, summoned the inhabitants, who prepared for defence. On the other hand, the miquelets, who had no hostile intentions, on hearing the tocsin, reversed their arms as they approached, to

manifest their friendly disposition. Having stated their desire to pass through the village, the mayor offered them safety and accommodation, if they would lay aside their arms; but refused them even the permission to enter, unless they complied with that stipulation of the treaty of La Palud; and to infringe which they had been advised by their commander, General Vogué, *as they might soon require them again*.* At the same time their ungenerous leaders had abandoned them, to reach their homes as they best could.

At first there appeared a willingness to yield to the mayor's demand, but some of the party attempted to enter the village without complying with the terms. The suspicions of the inhabitants were aroused, confusion ensued, and in apprehension of the horrors reported by Bertrand, the miquelets were attacked and severely treated. Four were wounded, of whom two died, one in the village, the other in the hospital of Uzes.† The affray was truly lamentable in itself; but its consequences were rendered still more so. At the second restoration, the villagers of Arpaillargues were selected as objects of judicial vengeance; when three men and two women were guillotined for the alleged assassination of royalist volunteers.‡ In addition, the melancholy event has been repeatedly put forward to justify the barbarities committed by the ultra-royalists, who endeavour to shelter the excesses of religious fanaticism under the pretext of political reaction. Even the king's proclamation§ is not free from party colouring; it contains the following unjust assertion: "Atrocious persecutions have been committed against those of our faithful subjects who under the banners of our beloved nephew courageously attempted to save France."

But to return to the affray at Arpaillargues—the procès-verbal of the juge de paix of Uzes corroborates the preceding account. "We learned from a royalist volunteer, who was confined in the prison of Arpaillargues, that the stranger was killed for endeavouring, at the head of armed men, to enter by violence the said commune of Arpaillargues, at the moment when the inhabitants offered to furnish them with everything they could want, on condition that they should not enter without surrendering their arms: a condition which they would not accept, wishing to enter armed. This occasioned the insurrection of the inhabitants and the death of the stranger. The same statement has been made to us by several inhabitants of the commune."|| Boucarut, the mayor, was included

* Lauze de Peret gives the depositions of three of the volunteers, to this effect. Vol. ii. p. 79.

† In no other country would the public accuser be allowed to use such language as this: "Fourrier et Calvet ne furent pas les seuls qui perdirent la vie dans cette funeste soirée; mais il n'a pas été possible de faire le dénombrement exact des volontaires royaux qui n'ont plus reparu; et qui, par conséquent, sont présumés avoir péri." Réquisitoire de M. Bernard, p. 16. Fifteen months had elapsed, and there had not been time to see who was missing in a company of fifty!!

‡ The court of assizes, by decree dated 11 July, 1816, condemns eight persons to death, and one to the galleys for life. The sentence was commuted in favour of three. The others suffered at the close of September following: three at Nîmes, and two at Arpaillargues. The details of their behaviour at the awful moment, as related by the Rev. Mark Wilks, have been confirmed to me by a most respectable inhabitant of Nîmes. In 1819 the King granted a free pardon to the survivors.

§ Dated 1 Sep. 1815, countersigned "Pasquier."

* This *procès-verbal*, dated the 12th April, the day after the occurrence, was commented upon by the procureur-gé-

* Lauze de Peret, *Causes et précis*, p. 37.

† *Miquelets* are volunteers enrolled for local service without uniform, and armed according to the means at their command. The term was used in the Camisard wars, and appears peculiar to the south, where it is applied only by opponents.

‡ This man's culpability, as to the original cause of the affray, was amply proved at the trial, and was declared in the speech of the procureur-general Bernard:—"Si tous les accusés étaient devant vous, je signalerais d'abord, comme les plus coupables, Bertrand... Boucarut—qui ont mis eux-mêmes les armes à la main aux habitants d'Arpaillargues; Bertrand, qui a dit que les volontaires royaux pillaient, violaient les femmes, les jetaient ensuite par les fenêtres, et qu'ils avaient assassiné quarante ministres protestants." Page 32 of the speech, printed separately at Avignon in 1816.

in the accusation; but, being absent, was condemned only *par contumace*. He subsequently returned to Arpaillargues, where he remained unmolested: the return of tranquillity insured him a fair trial if called to account; but the true circumstances of the case being well known, he remained unmolested. On the other hand, Bertrand, the malicious and mischievous cause of the disaster, being placed on his trial, was acquitted. The Abbé Raffin, his employer, ex-vicar general of Alais, testified in his favour, "that, being born and educated in the Catholic religion, he scrupulously practised all its duties, and professed all its holy principles.*" The testimonial further mentioned that Bertrand had exposed himself in the royal cause at Arles, in 1790. At the period under consideration, such a man could defy justice before the tribunals of the Gard.

The affair of Arpaillargues is not the only charge of cruelty exercised by the Protestants during "the hundred days." One zealous partisan has had the hardihood to accuse them of assassinating three hundred royalist volunteers.† This calumny drew forth a reply from a magistrate of Nismes, who declared that inquiries, made with scrupulous care, had established the proof that only two volunteers perished in the department of the Gard; and they were traversing the village of Arpaillargues with a numerous troop, of which they formed part.‡

The news of Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo revived the spirits of the Catholics; and the remains of the army collected by the Duke D'Angoulême reassembled at Beaucaire, where they were rapidly joined by numbers, ever ready to enlist in the ranks of the stronger party. No opposition was made to the proclamation of Louis XVIII., at Nismes, after it was known that the government was changed at Paris. The urban guard, a corps raised under the imperial government, was disbanded; and the readiness of the Protestants to surrender their arms deprived the partisans of civil war of all pretext for an attack upon Nismes.§

But the precautions which common responsibility demanded of the superior military officers were converted into a ground of accusation, and perverted to justify a scene of horror. The *braves de Beaucaire* gave early proof of a predatory disposition, and the measures adopted for preserving Nismes from plunder were construed into a defiance of the king's authority. The religious prejudices of the rabble had been artfully excited,|| and, in an official harangue, delivered soon after, D'Arbaud Jouques declared that the department was agitated by resentments, recollections, and rivalries, more religious than political.¶

Count René de Bernis, one of the royal commissioners for directing the government, allowed the army of Beaucaire, an undisciplined horde, to enter Nismes, without attending to maintain order by his presence. The chiefs of a ferocious band

already collected in the town were Jacques Dupont, surnamed Trestaillons; Graffan, alias Quatre Tailons; Truphemy, a butcher, and about six others—names devoted to execration. Their first exploit at Nismes was equal to the worst episodes of 1793.

The garrison of that city consisted of two battalions of infantry; there were also in the barracks five pieces of artillery. The accounts of Waterloo caused great desertion; and, at this time, their numbers were reduced to about two hundred, officers included. The soldiers had assumed the white cockade, and only waited orders from the competent authorities to regulate their future movements. After the departure of General Gilly, who resigned his command on the fall of Napoleon, his authority had devolved on General Maulmont, who no sooner heard that the royalists were advancing from Beaucaire, than he took a position on an eminence as a measure of precaution: however, as no hostile movement followed, the troops returned to their barracks. At length the populace was fully excited, and, being backed by the royalist forces, a mob assembled, and demanded the surrender of the cannons. In vain did Maulmont endeavour to convince the people of the impropriety of their demand; they replied to his harangue by a discharge of fire-arms: he retired with his officers into the barracks, and closed the gates. The mob meanwhile was rapidly increasing, as the alarm-bell was rung; and the country population thronged into Nismes, deluded by a report that the Catholics were being murdered by protestant insurgents.*

As the mob continued to attack the barracks, and threatened the utmost violence, the soldiers resolved to sell their lives dearly, and a few shots were fired from the windows, which killed some of the assailants, and induced their main body to retire to a distance. In the evening a commissioner approached the barracks to converse with General Maulmont upon the terms of surrender. That commander claimed, as a just right, that his soldiers should leave with their arms and baggage; and proposed that they should wait at a certain distance from Nismes for orders respecting their march. It was near two in the morning when the commissioner returned to announce that the troops must deposit their arms; and the decision was accompanied with an intimation that, if the offer were not forthwith accepted, it would soon be too late to capitulate, as the popular fury might be beyond restraint.

Maulmont had loyally waited the arrival of the king's representative at Nismes; and although the proposed sacrifice was painful, he consented, from honourable motives, that the soldiers should deposit their arms before they quitted the barracks; and when a murmur from the ranks announced the disappointment caused by his arrangement, he convinced them that, among fellow-countrymen, the surrender could not be viewed as a disgrace.

It was agreed that the disarmed column should be protected by gendarmerie; and, in full confidence, the soldiers piled their muskets and quitted the barracks at four o'clock in the morning. Scarcely, however, had fifty made their appearance, when the royalists began firing upon them, killing or wounding the greater part. General Maulmont was one of the victims. Those inside immediately

neral, Bernard, who maintained the right of the soldiers to force an entrance, as it was a public road. He had the prudence to say nothing of the treaty concluded three days previous.

* Wilks, p. 155. Lauze de Peret, vol. ii. p. 91.

† Alphonse Beauchamp, *Hist. de la Campagne de 1815*.

‡ Letter of M. Achille Daumant, in *Journal de Paris*, 11th Sept., 1817.

§ Lauze de Peret, vol. ii. p. 182.

|| This has been confirmed to the author by one who joined the levy.

¶ Speech on occasion of his installation as prefect at Nismes, 30th July, 1815.

closed the barrack gates, but the royalists forced an entrance, and the greater part of the soldiers were massacred. Some in attempting to escape by the roofs, or over garden walls, fell and broke their limbs, and in that condition were mangled by their relentless enemies. The gendarmes, drawn up to protect the unhappy men, remained inactive. To use the expression of an eye-witness, "They doubtless thought it was a judicial execution, which it was their duty to preserve free from interruption." However, when the populace had terminated their butchery of the soldiers, the gendarmes were, in their turn, attacked; and many of them were killed, wounded, or plundered.*

In defiance of notoriety, M. de Bernis thus describes this tragic scene: "The barracks had capitulated; the troops quitted to proceed to Uzes. Peasants arriving from the country attacked them on the road; some soldiers were killed: it was a misfortune which could neither be prevented nor foreseen."† Such a misrepresentation is not surprising, since the writer so far degraded himself as to wear a cockade of *white and green*, the distinctive mark of Trestaillon's band.‡ That sanguinary troop, assured of impunity, and excited by the effects of their own crimes, proceeded to fresh atrocities at Nismes; while Quatre Tailions wreaked his fury upon the Protestants of Uzes. During several months the department of the Gard presented a frightful scene of massacre and devastation; and it is melancholy to reflect that the arm of the law was paralysed, and the tribunals became powerless before a secret influence which emboldened many of the individuals implicated to brave the authorities no less than public opinion.§ The press was at the same time employed to misrepresent the facts; and unblushing falsehoods have been sent forth to the world by a party incessantly charging its opponents with exaggerations and calumny.

It is therefore indispensable to detail some of the terrible occurrences of this period; for otherwise the old assertion of political reprisals may be again brought forward to colour the misconduct of the royalists. Not only were the houses of Protestants and Jews selected for destruction; but in cases where the lawless bands had any doubt of a man's opinions, they would call upon him to declare his religion. Several courageously acknowledged they were Protestants, and were almost instantly murdered. The aged housekeeper of the farm of Chambaud was thus addressed by some ruffians. She was a Catholic; but as the wretches entertained doubts, they compelled her to recite her *pater* and *ave*, as proof. Alarm made the poor woman hesitate, and she was at once knocked down with a musket. A serving man named Daniel Ladet, entering soon after, the same question was addressed to him. "I am a Protestant," he firmly replied. A musket was immediately discharged at him, and he fell wounded. The monsters perceiving he was not killed, made a fire with straw and planks, threw

the dying man into the flames, and left him to expire in protracted agony. After they had regaled themselves and plundered the premises they rejoined their savage comrades in Nismes.*

D'Arbaud Jouques, in extenuation of this cruelty, which was too notorious for denial, represents it in the following light. One Ladet, a *valet de ferme*, aged about fifty years, was suffocated in the smoke. On the approach of a band of armed men, all the servants who were Protestants fled; but Ladet, a Catholic, remained. Alarmed at such a visit, he concealed himself in some straw, where he was neither sought for nor discovered. The brigands having set fire to the straw, little supposing that Ladet was there, this unfortunate man, unable to extricate himself before the flames encircled him, was suffocated by the smoke and reduced to ashes.†

The victim's fate was clearly substantiated by the depositions of witnesses; his Protestantism was attested by the ministers Juillerat and Vincent; and his age proved to be sixty-three.‡ All these show the ex-prefect's disregard to accuracy; while his anxiety to prove Ladet a Catholic is an indirect evidence of the persecution.

M. Negre had a château near Nismes, called Vaqueiroles, which was pillaged and burnt. His daughter, recently deceased, had been interred in the garden: the wretches untombed the body, and treated it with gross indignity.§

The condemnation of Bois of Milhaud has established that he had several conferences with his friend Trestaillons, previous to uttering cries of *Vive l'empereur!* in the country towns: which cries they were to charge upon the Protestants.||

The following is the declaration of a Catholic magistrate, when compelled to justify himself for courageously denouncing the iniquities of this time: "The people, excited to pursue the Protestants, dragged them to prison. In open day I saw a Protestant woman, stripped of all her clothes, led round the boulevards of the town. Two forked sticks, held under her arms by men, sustained the victim as she proceeded. She was struck at intervals; and her cries were stifled by shouts of *Vive le roi!* I beheld this barbarous procession pass between a company of newly raised troops of the line, and one of the national guard."¶

From the moment the army of Beaucaire was directed upon Nismes a great emigration had taken place. M. de Bernis issued an arrêté, or decree,** commanding all absentees to return home within eight days, under pain of sequestration of their property. The injunction was absolutely barbarous while the Protestants were exposed to assassination. It surpasses in fact everything in the annals of tyranny; for, as it has been justly remarked, "The despots of Asia send the fatal cord to their slaves, but never order them to seek it."††

At the close of July the king revoked all the extraordinary powers conferred during the crisis of a revolution; and the regular authorities were again

* Lauze de Peret, vol. ii. p. 217. Wilks, p. 199. This diabolical deed was committed 17th July, 1815.

† D'Arbaud Jouques, pp. 97, 98.

‡ Lauze de Peret, vol. ii. p. 219. Wilks, p. 200.

§ Conculcaverunt corpus exanimum, et super illud minxerunt. Madier de Montjau, *Pétition à la chambre des députés*.

|| Madier de M., *ut antea*.

¶ Ibid., *Plaidoyer devant la cour de cassation*, 30th Nov. 1820, p. 32.

** Dated 20th July, 1815.

†† Madier de M., *Pétition à la chambre des députés*.

* Lettre d'un officier de la garnison de Nismes, inserted in Durand, *Marsailles, Nismes, &c.*, part 2, p. 65. Lauze de Peret, vol. ii. pp. 185—191. Wilks, pp. 191—197. Bib. Historique, vol. i., p. 253.

† *Précis de ce qui s'est passé en 1815 dans les départements du Gard et de la Lozère*, par le comte René de Bernis, p. 63.

‡ Wilks, p. 211.

§ *Vide passim*, Madier Montjau, *Du gouvernement occulte*.

summoned to activity.* D'Arbaud Jouques, the new prefect, entered on his functions; but his arrival had disconcerted the violent faction, and Jules de Calvière, the provisional prefect, refused to quit his post. D'Arbaud Jouques addressed the inhabitants in a proclamation recommending unity; he concluded by inviting all to join in one sentiment—"the King, the Charter, and France."†

This was most unpalatable to the "white and green" faction, who clamoured loudly against the new prefect. "Down with him!—Calvière for ever!—Down with the Protestants!—*Vive le Roi!*" D'Arbaud Jouques quitted Nismes in consequence, and joined the Duke d'Angoulême at Toulouse; nor did he return to his prefecture until the 18th of August.‡

On his second arrival he was very differently received; and the leaders of the faction, perceiving the necessity of obeying the king's indisputable command, allowed his nomination to take effect.§ At the same time the new functionary speedily convinced them of their mistake respecting his character; and his address on this occasion made no mention of the charter. It was now "The King—order—peace."|| Trestailons and his band were as free in their murderous career as under Calvière; and Protestants who had returned to Nismes, on the faith of proclamations, were assassinated in the bosom of their families.¶

Among other methods of inflicting vengeance, one was disgustingly barbarous. The ruffians would raise the garments of Protestant females, and beat them with a bat, (such as is used by French washerwomen) on which was traced a fleur-de-lis in sharp points. This was repeatedly done; and in several cases caused the death of the sufferers.** The minister Juillerat appealed to D'Arbaud Jouques, and endeavoured to move him by a pathetic description of such horrors; but the prefect received his address with a smile, and gave an evasive answer, replete with cruel insult.††

At Uzès the terror was equal to, if it did not surpass that of Nismes. There the sub-prefect, Vallabrix, after humbly soliciting employment during "the hundred days,"‡‡ proclaimed that the

Protestants were violent Bonapartists; and, on that account, permitted the most violent excesses against them. Graffan, surnamed Quatre Taillons, was his worthy coadjutor, and proved that the menace of a second St. Bartholomew was not entirely unfounded. On the 3rd of August every quarter of Uzès presented a spectacle of organised plunder, conflagration, and murder, amid shouts of *Vive la Croix! Vivent les Bourbons!* At midnight Thedenat, commissary of police, proceeded to the prison; and, after liberating a Catholic, informed the gaoler that the other prisoners were to be shot the next morning. Six Protestants were accordingly led out two by two, and shot upon the esplanade, while the air resounded with shouts of *Vive le Roi! a bas les Protestants!* Among the victims was Ribot, who had just before returned to Uzès, relying upon a proclamation* which promised protection to persons and property. Two other victims were doomed, but the gaoler's firmness saved them.†

As St. Bartholomew's day approached, a general massacre was apprehended as well as threatened. This produced an extensive emigration, which fully answered the purposes of the chief leaguers; for the absence of Protestants at the approaching election enabled them to secure the return of partisans who would do their utmost to efface the detested liberty of worship from the charter by legislative means. To effect that object, nothing appeared too violent or too cruel; and it has been subsequently declared in the chamber of deputies that sixteen Protestants were murdered on the eve of the election.‡ The result was such as might be expected: four violent ultra-royalists were chosen deputies for the Gard. But if the chiefs were contented with this success, the wretches by whose co-operation they had succeeded were not yet satisfied; and Trestailons, Truphemy, and Quatre Taillons marched with armed bands under pretence of maintaining order, but really with the design of murdering and plundering the Protestants.

A corps designated as the royal chasseurs of Vzenobre quitted Nismes on account of the arrival of some Austrians. They were proceeding to Alais, and unexpectedly made their appearance in the Protestant commune of Ners on the 24th of August, the day so fatal in the annals of Protestantism, and publicly announced for a repetition of the awful drama. The presence of such a force, and at such a time, seriously alarmed the inhabitants of Ners, who assembled in arms to protect their families and sell their lives dearly; a most tragical event was the result.

It may not be superfluous to notice here that, as many of the fugitives from Nismes had taken refuge in the Cevennes, whither their enemies did not dare to follow them, it became essential for the persecuting faction to exhibit that district in a

and best of Kings," he had applied to Fouché for a prefecture soon after Napoleon's return to Paris. He even accepted the patronage of Manuel, who introduced him, and with the most loyal assiduity waited among a herd of applicants in the police minister's antechamber.

* Issued by the commissary general of police, Vidal, whose life was saved in 1790 by the interference and aid of a Protestant named Ribot. Lauze de Peret, 3^{me} livraison, p. 51.

† Lauze de Peret, vol. ii. p. 260. Wilks. p. 336.

‡ Discours de M. Devaux, 25th April, 1820; *Moniteur* of 26th.

* Unhappily the king's wishes were disregarded at Nismes. Alexander Deferal, a Piedmontese captain, was condemned to death by a court-martial, for having joined Napoleon on the 3rd of April, although the royal ordinance amnisted all who remained loyal until the 23rd of March. Deferal was shot 5th of August, and his body was treated with indignity. Political vengeance alone operated in this case, for the victim was a Catholic.

† 30th July, 1815. D'Arbaud Jouques, p. 131.

‡ Wilks, p. 231.

§ The interval had witnessed some curious negotiations. D'Arbaud Jouques had, previous to the first restoration, published a proclamation in which the Duke d'Angoulême was described *un quidam*. The ultras threatened to reprint it, and the price of its suppression was to be the unrestrained exercise of party vengeance.

|| 20th Aug. Lauze de Peret, vol. ii. p. 312.

¶ An inhabitant of Nismes, whose house was destroyed by incendiaries, assures me that when he called upon D'Arbaud Jouques in consequence, he found him quite indifferent to the terrible state of the town, and employing his leisure in translating Juvenal!—M. Juillerat received for answer to an appeal in consequence of the death of M. Affourtet, "Il n'y a pas grand mal; on n'a encore tué qu'un chapeau noir."

** Bib. Historique, vol. i. p. 265. Lauze de Peret, vol. ii. p. 394.

†† "Allez, Monsieur! les magistrats de Paris auraient trop à faire, s'ils avaient à s'occuper des querelles de la place Maubert."

‡‡ D'Arbaud Jouques did the same, and, notwithstanding his fulsome phrases respecting the "wisest, most august,

state of insurrection in order to procure the assistance of the Austrians in suppressing the revolt: this may in some measure explain the catastrophe at Ners.* The opinions of the Austrian commanders were poisoned against the inhabitants, who were represented as barbarians and savages; and, at the same time, the advance of the chasseurs was preceded by emissaries, who announced that the miquelets were coming to pillage their town: there was a violent desire to create a collision with the Protestants.†

On the evening of the memorable day in question M. Perrier, a Protestant, who had filled the office of mayor until the second restoration, when he was superseded, accompanied by M. Bruguier, a minister, had exhorted his fellow-townsmen to disperse quietly, and return to their homes, and the consideration he enjoyed gave him such influence that the object of his mission appeared effected. He was retiring when an officer of the chasseurs induced him to return to the assemblage. On reaching the extremity of the village, M. Perrier was fired at, and killed on the spot. Cambon, the deputy mayor, and two other inhabitants, were instantly arrested and conveyed to Nismes, where they arrived the following day in the midst of the festival of St. Louis. D'Arbaud Jouques gave on that occasion a splendid dinner to the principal Austrian officers; and, without the least inquiry, placed the captives, as rebels taken in arms, at the disposal of Count Stahremberg. Deceived by the misrepresentations of the local authorities, that general at once ordered them to be shot; and, without the least investigation—not even the semblance of a military trial, three unoffending persons were inhumanly sacrificed.‡

Independently of all other evidence, the apologetic account published by D'Arbaud Jouques is sufficient to condemn his conduct; for, in raising a quibble upon a trivial point, he establishes the important part of the accusation.§ This is the statement drawn up for his own justification: "In the combat which took place between Ners and Boucoiran, on the banks of the Gard, the 25th of August, 1815, between the royal troops and the Imperial forces of Austria united against the insurgents of the Gardonnenque and the Cevennes, three men were made prisoners by the Austrians at the very moment they were firing upon the Austrian troops. Conducted by an Austrian detachment before the General Count Stahremberg, the French authorities were informed by that general that those prisoners belonged to the Austrian army and its military justice; and, according to the laws of that justice, inhabitants in revolt against the lawful authority, and taken in arms against the regular troops, could not be considered as prisoners of war, and should have been shot on the field of battle. There was, therefore, no commission formed to judge them, neither French nor Austrian. The order of General Count Stahremberg was their only judgment."|| To estimate the value of this writer's veracity, the preceding justifi-

cation may be compared with the preamble of a decree issued by himself at the time: "The royal troops were yesterday attacked at Ners; an officer was wounded, and a magistrate killed by the rebels."** It has been already observed that Perrier's functions had ceased.

The procès-verbal drawn up on the inspection of Perrier's body establishes that the piece fired was placed close to his breast, the wound being about three inches in diameter.† This renders it impossible that it proceeded from the inhabitants of Ners, who were drawn up at a distance. Indeed, the esteem enjoyed by the deceased was alone sufficient to refute the charge. On the other hand, the indecent haste with which Cambon and his companions were murdered is best explained by supposing a desire to remove those who could have borne testimony against the assassin. After Perrier's death the people of Ners were not likely to depose their arms; and several skirmishes took place on the following day: but nothing of consequence occurred, as the presence of the Austrians restored order.

The sub-prefect Vallabrix did more than follow the example of his superior—he surpassed him. On the very same day, the 25th of August, Quatre Tailloins was sent on an expedition to Hieuset, a commune not under his authority, being situated in the arrondissement of Alais. That ruffian arrived in the night with thirty men at St. Maurice, a Protestant commune,‡ where a post of the national guard was stationed by the authorities. Being challenged by the sentinel, the band fired on the post; and instantly rushing in, seized six of the national guards, who were carried off to Montaren before the inhabitants could make any effort for their rescue: one of their comrades was killed by the fire. At Montaren Quatre Tailloins prepared to shoot his prisoners, but the inhabitants interfered and prevented him; in the discussion which arose the wretch exhibited a written order to justify his proceedings. He then hastened to Uzes and marched his captives to the esplanade, where they remained while he consulted M. Vallabrix. That unworthy functionary, with characteristic brutality, said, "Do as you please; they were taken in arms." Quatre Tailloins immediately caused them to be shot. Twenty-two children were rendered fatherless by this butchery.§

An account of the sad affair was published in the official journal, denying much and distorting the whole. "It is false that the sub-prefect ordered Graffan to reconnoitre an assembly at St. Michel d'Yeuzet; the sub-prefect corresponds with the commandant alone respecting the service of the national guard; the expedition of Graffan with his band was only tolerated by the civil and military authorities, to spare Uzes the horrors with which it was threatened that very night; and this measure would have been a real benefit to the town if his return had not bathed it away in blood. Finally, it is false that the persons brought in by

* Bib. Historique, vol. i. p. 255.

† This has been assured to me by several inhabitants of the Gard.

‡ Lauze de Peret, vol. ii. p. 379. Wilks, pp. 269 and 400.

§ Duraud (*Marseilles, Nismes, &c., en 1815*) had deplored the fatal rapidity with which they were judged and condemned; and D'Arbaud Jouques, in reply, declares they had not even the form of trial!!

|| D'Arbaud Jouques, p. 161.

* Dated 25th August, 1815. So far from alluding to the presence of the Austrians on this occasion, the decree states that, in consequence of the insurrection, the French and Austrian troops are to be sent there.

† See the *procès-verbal* at length in Lauze de Peret, vol. ii. p. 334.

‡ As St. Maurice was not in the direct road to Hieuset, that place must have been the real object of the expedition.

§ Lauze de Peret, vol. ii. p. 360.

Graffan were convicted of rebellion: they were purely and simply shot on their arrival, and without the knowledge of the authorities; and unknown even to the majority of the inhabitants, who have shuddered with horror on hearing of this barbarous expedition.*"

This explanation, as may be well supposed, was far from appeasing the public indignation. Graffan was protected by powerful individuals; he knew it, and relied upon his impunity. He was however arrested and conveyed to Montpellier, where a formal trial was got up, in which he was honourably acquitted. But a dispatch addressed by d'Arbaud Jouques to the minister of the interior fully establishes that Graffan was ordered by the authorities of Uzès to make a military reconnaissance at St. Maurice; and in addition convicts the prefect of entertaining extraordinary sympathy for the infamous assassin: for he advances an absurdity to palliate the atrocity, and declares that the prisoners were killed by the population of Uzès, not only without his participation, but to his great regret.†

The melancholy death of the abbé d'Egrigny which likewise happened on the 25th of August, was notoriously regretted by the Protestants in general, for he was on the most friendly terms with many among them. It was the act of an unprincipled miscreant named Laporte, whose opinion of the party in power induced him to abjure Protestantism, in the confident hope of obtaining a pardon: he was, however, executed, as he justly deserved; and the incident would hardly have been noticed here, if its omission were not calculated to give occasion for an unfair inference.‡

The events of Nismes, Uzès, and their immediate vicinity, have hitherto engaged attention almost exclusively; but similar scenes occurred throughout Languedoc and the Vauluse. Some years later, when the authority of the laws was restored, a few cases were selected for prosecution;§ and the evidence then adduced amply confirms the violence of these troubles. The long impunity allowed the villains who infested the department of the Gard proves that they were merely the instruments of influential persons, on whom they relied for protection. Every functionary was encouraged in promoting the work of persecution. When the widow Landoz applied for an *acte de décès* of her husband, murdered in July, 1815, she was informed that his death was not registered; and when a similar demand was made by a widow of the unfortunate family of Civas, (five of whom were assassinated,) she received for answer, "We do not certify the death of such wretches."¶ The prisons were filled with Protestants, confined without any warrant; the good pleasure of the lawless bands was sufficient; and no magistrate ventured to interpose his authority. It has been observed

in reference, "Everything proves that an unknown but formidable power exercised its unhappy influence upon this country."*

What else could have induced the prefect of the Gard to issue a proclamation† in which we read, "Inhabitants of the Gard! Justice is the basis of all order and public prosperity. In the first moments which followed the tyrant's fall, and in your noble efforts for the restoration of the king's authority, an indignation too natural, too general, and too thoughtless not to be excusable, burst forth among you against those whom general opinion designated as the most violent enemies of the best of kings. Some public places where they held their fatal councils, some private dwellings were by you attacked and destroyed: but illegal as was this vengeance, at least it was not stained with the disgrace of pillage, and popular indignation was not degraded by the spirit of robbery.‡ Yet, inhabitants of the Gard! see, notwithstanding, what have been the consequences of a simple error!!"

Encouraged by such a palliation, the ruffians plundered with increased activity; and when money could not be obtained, signatures to bills were extorted under threats of murder.§ Impunity rendered them more violent, and in October, a plan was formed for a general massacre of the Protestants. The sixteenth was the day fixed upon: Trestailons reviewed his satellites, and encouraged them to their dreadful task. The arrangements were complete: eight hundred men, divided into bands, were to scour the faubourgs; a concerted signal was to summon their partisans from the country; and in order to insure complete success, it was decided that in the massacre any Catholic who sheltered a Protestant should himself be treated as one. To the eternal disgrace of the magistrates, no measures had been adopted for learning the movements of the faction; and Nismes would have rivalled the St. Bartholomew, if General Lagarde had not providentially discovered the plot at ten o'clock of the night it was to be put in execution.

It was then too late to prevent the commencement of crime, for the murderers had already entered upon the realisation of their scheme. Lagarde, almost in despair at the alarming state of affairs, summoned the garrison to arms, and endeavoured to arrest the progress of the mischief.

The horrors of this night alone would fill a volume; these pages therefore will scarcely admit an outline of the enormities committed: the bandits did not hesitate to assault the troops on meeting them in small parties; which frequently occurred, as detachments were sent to protect the houses attacked. The general in consequence resolved upon arresting the chief insurgents. Trestailons was

* *Bib. Historique*, vol. i. p. 2—59.

† Dated 7th Sept., 1815.

‡ Overwhelming proofs could be adduced to substantiate the contrary, were such evidence necessary. The falsehood of the prefect's assertion is not only notorious, it is indirectly admitted in the apologies of the faction.

§ This occurred to M. Cremieux, now a distinguished advocate. One Casteras was sentenced to imprisonment for the extortion; but the endeavour to avert the compulsion of an illegal obligation exposed M. Cremieux to great danger. D'Arbaud Jouques was well aware of the circumstance; for M.C. applied for redress as soon as the brigands had quitted him. The prefect treated the matter lightly; but, finding the complainant was resolved to publish the affair in Paris, he observed, "If you are assassinated on leaving me, I cannot help it!"

* From the *Journal officiel du Gard*, 2 Sept., 1815. Quoted by Lauze de Peret, vol. ii. p. 365.

† Dated 27th Sept. 1816.

‡ D'Arbaud Jouques, p. 77. In the same letter he states that when Graffan arrived at St. Maurice, and answered the sentinel's challenge by *Vive le Roi!* the post replied by *Vive l'Empereur!* M. Vallabrix would have been too happy to advance such a justification, had it occurred to him in time.

§ Lauze de Peret, vol. ii. p. 386.

¶ Servant was convicted of robbery and murder in Nov. 1819. He was tried at Riom; and after his execution a magistrate did not scruple to assert—"Innocent blood has been shed at Riom." *Madier de M. Pétition à la chambre.*

* Lauze de Peret, vol. ii. p. 227. *Bib. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 269.

on the Cours Neuf, with an immense crowd: his agents were at his side; and he was armed with sword, pistols, and a carbine. To seize him in the midst of his accomplices was a hazardous attempt; yet General Lagarde was so resolutely bent upon securing the chief miscreant, that he undertook the perilous commission, and proceeded thither with a few officers. As they advanced to arrest the ferocious wretch, they shouted *Vive le Roi!* then, rushing in upon him, he was quickly secured. Trestaillons expressed great indignation that *he* should be thus ignominiously treated, and threatened signal vengeance on those who had arrested him. His safe detention at Nismes being hardly possible, he was immediately sent off to Montpellier, under a strong escort: the completion of the intended mischief was thus prevented.

Some incidents, connected with this dreadful effort of faction, will in a great measure account for the hardihood of the wretches who were most active on the occasion. One Maurin was arrested in the act of robbing a dwelling, where the military force present was only twelve men and an officer; the robbers not only rescued their comrade, but were proceeding to murder the officer, when a reinforcement arrived. Maurin was retaken and committed to prison, under the double charge of robbery and assaulting an officer; yet the prefect, attended by a judge and the commissary of police, set him at liberty, while hundreds of Protestants remained in prison where they had been placed by Trestaillons, without any order or warrant.

Lebeiber, chef-d'escadron, in attacking a horde of miscreants, was almost miraculously saved, two muskets pointed at his breast missing fire at once. As a recompense for his endeavours to maintain order, he was placed on the retired list a few days after.*

The Duke d'Angoulême was expected at Nismes; and in order to foment animosity against the Protestants, a measure, under the specious appearance of a charitable design, was proposed to celebrate the expected honour. An address was published, stating that many royalists had been ruined by oppression, during the three months of the usurpation; and a subscription was announced for their relief. A religious ceremony was to grace the occasion; and the Protestants were grossly insulted in the official journal, as violators of treaties and blasphemous jacobins.

It is a singular coincidence that, on the very day† that D'Arbaud Jouques announced his project, M. Voyer D'Argenson was called to order in the chamber of deputies, for merely alluding to the massacres in the south of France. As soon as he mentioned that such reports had reached him, his voice was overpowered by the exclamation, "It is false." A scene of confusion followed, in which the calls "to order" were incessant: the deputy was not even permitted to explain his observation.‡ If the correspondence between the agitators of Nismes and the ultra-royalists be not thus established, a mutual sympathy is incontestably proved. Indeed, nothing short of a consciousness of guilt could have induced the majority of a legislative body to act with such indecency. There appeared a determination in the chamber to stifle discussion

on the subject, and the enemies of the Protestants derived additional assurance from the impunity thus promised.

The Duke d'Angoulême entered Nismes on the 5th of November, when he gave an audience to the consistory: after hearing the statement of their grievances he expressed a desire that the temples should be re-opened on the following Thursday: at the same time he ordered General Lagarde to take measures for securing the public tranquillity.

Such attentions from the prince disconcerted the Catholics, whose disappointment was augmented when they learned the failure of a scheme closely interwoven with their policy. The grand-vicar, Rochemaure, the curé Bonhomme, and some ladies of respectability, unblushingly solicited the liberation of Trestaillons and his infamous comrades. The duke in a tone of displeasure recommended them to leave the prosecution of assassins and incendiaries to the tribunals. This reproof inflamed their desire for vengeance, and their partisans declared that the Protestant temples should not be re-opened.*

In the disturbed state of the town it was not deemed prudent to renew divine service until the Sunday following (12th November), when it was arranged that only the smaller temple should be opened, and that the organ should not be played. General Lagarde approved of the precautions, and declared he would answer with his head for the safety of the congregation. The Protestants privately informed each other of the time and place of meeting, and they assembled with silence and caution, as if committing an offence instead of exercising a right. The minister Juillerat was to preach: he soon had reason to anticipate danger: for in proceeding to the temple, groups of ferocious men scowled upon him; and he heard on his way threats of most ominous import.

A crowd had early assembled at the door of the temple, and the measure of the popular rage may be inferred from the violent cries of the assembled populace. *A bas les Protestants! sarre les grilleurs.*† "The brigands come to their temple, but we will so serve them that they shall have no wish to return! They shall not use our churches; let them restore our churches, and go to the desert, *dehors! dehors!*" The service was scarcely commenced when a band entered the church shouting "*Vive le Roi!* Death to the Protestants! kill! kill!" The gendarmes succeeded in expelling the disturbers; but the continuance of worship was impossible.

After a most painful interval, a detachment of troops passed: they were returning from mass, and the Protestants were encouraged to escape in their ranks. The deliverance baffled the plans of the fanatical party, who purposed murdering the Protestants as they quitted the temple: at the same time, to create greater excitement, emissaries had announced in the cathedral that the Catholics were being killed. M. Olivier Desmond, a venerable minister, above seventy years of age, escaped with difficulty; the firmness of some officers alone preserved him from the ruffians, who surrounded him, vociferating, "Kill the chief of brigands!" Yet M. Desmond was a decided royalist; and his son had joined the forces under the Duke d'Angou-

* Not by the government, but by the local authorities. Durand, *Marseilles, Nismes, &c.*, p. 68.

† 23rd Oct., 1815.

‡ *Moniteur*, 24th Oct., 1815.

* Lauze de Peret, vol. ii. p. 428. Wilks, p. 477. D'Arbaud Jouques, p. 46.

† A patois expression, meaning *Kill the Protestants!*

lème. M. Juillerat was pursued and pelted with stones, and his mother received a severe blow, which placed her life in danger for some time. Other Protestants were treated with great violence, and two females died in consequence of wounds received.

General Lagarde advanced to suppress the tumult, when a villain named Louis Boissin seized his bridle, and discharged a pistol close to his body. The assassin was well known; yet no one attempted to arrest him; and when Lagarde had given orders to the commander of the gendarmerie to protect the Protestants, he hastened to his hotel, where his first care was to inform the government from what quarter the blow had proceeded. He would not even allow his wound to be examined until he had discharged that duty; so important did it appear to him to secure the Protestants from being charged with his death, which was then deemed most probable.*

Meanwhile the disturbance continued. The national guards from the environs joined the populace of Nismes; and the authorities were so terrified with apprehensions lest the mercenaries might make disclosures, that the energy of the magistrates was directed to sheltering, rather than punishing the assassins. This is clear from the tone of the prefect's proclamation, when he was shortly after compelled to order a reorganisation of the national guards.†

The Protestants decided on deferring their public worship for a time; they thus removed a pretext, which their enemies looked for with impatience. It was the king's desire that they should enjoy complete liberty in the exercise of their religion; and the duke, who knew his uncle's sentiments, sent for a president and an elder of the consistory, to declare the sovereign's wishes on that head. The truth respecting the events at Nismes had been so concealed by affiliated functionaries in the interest of faction,‡ and publicity was so stifled by the censorship, that the excellent monarch, who sincerely anticipated beneficial results from his charter, was not aware of the iniquities perpetrated for the destruction of its most precious provisions.

A royal ordinance§ admits the religious character of these troubles, and the arrival of a reinforcement of troops afforded some respite to the afflicted population of Nismes. The deputies of the Gard published a palliative statement, in which they declared that the assassin would have neither protection nor support from the inhabitants; yet Boissin was not brought to trial till after the lapse of a year, when he was acquitted on the ground of having acted in self-defence.||

In January, 1816, the law of amnesty was dis-

* Wilks, pp. 478 *et seq.*—Lauze de Peret, vol. ii. pp. 430—436.

† Dated 15th Nov., 1815.

‡ To such extent were the abominable machinations carried, that agents were placed to shout *Vive l'Empereur* in the hearing of the Duke d'Angoulême. A most respectable witness has assured the author that the cry was uttered even in the courts of the prefecture.

§ Dated 21st Nov., 1815; countersigned MARROIS.

|| The indecorous proceedings at this trial (in J. n. 1817) were related by M. Madier, in his address to the court of cassation, 30th Nov., 1820, p. 39. The disclosures in the evidence were apparently the cause of M. d'Arband's dismissal from the prefecture. That functionary had composed a jury before which an acquittal was almost certain: the majority were either chevaliers de St. Louis, or Vendéan chiefs.

cussed in the chambers. The successful candidates at the election, carried under the influence of terror, could not withhold their support from the ruffians who had prevented the Protestants from voting: it is not surprising, therefore, that the deputies of the Gard made an effort to include the murders and pillage of Nismes in the abolition of political offences.* Their effort to comprise them in the amnesty failed; but they succeeded in obtaining an ordinance,† exculpating Nismes from the stigma recently cast upon its population. The reason assigned is, "that the assassin of General Lagarde has neither asylum nor protection in Nismes; that the Protestant temple is open, and every security guaranteed by law is enjoyed." It is true that the Protestants were allowed to celebrate divine service at the end of December; but it is at the same time a matter of notoriety that no effort was made to arrest Boissin, although his retreat was well known.

The notice issued by the mayor of Nismes on the subject of the Protestant service is a fair sample of the misrepresentation resorted to by the ultra-royalist party. "The Protestant temples will be opened on Thursday next, the 21st instant; and that day will prove to the king, to France, and to Europe, which accuses us, that the blind infatuation of a few women and children is not the crime of the city of Nismes."‡

From this time until the celebrated ordinance of September, 1816, which delivered France from a violent faction by dissolving the chamber, the condition of the Protestants was very afflictive.§ The fanatical party had powerful abettors: Trestailons and Truphemy were brought to trial, but the proceedings were a mere mockery of justice. None dared to denounce them, and for want of evidence they were acquitted. On the other hand, Truphemy and his accomplices immediately afterwards came forward as witnesses against some Protestants, five of whom were condemned after midnight. Nismes was on the eve of another convulsion; and an acquittal might have cost much loss of life and property, as the populace of the surrounding districts had filled the hall of justice, and thronged about the entrance.||

The cause of religious liberty was too dear to the British public to allow indifference towards the sufferings of their French brethren for the rights of conscience. A warm sympathy was manifested, and interference in behalf of the Protestants was loudly called for. This feeling was at first chilled by the misrepresentations addressed to the Duke of Wellington, in which political reprisals were stated as the cause of the troubles. But when the subject was discussed in parliament,¶ Lord Castlereagh, in opposing the motion, could allege nothing beyond an anonymous letter from the south of France. The truth has been long

* *Moniteur*, 7th Jan., 1816.

† Dated 10th Jan., 1816.

‡ This notice was published 19th Dec., 1815. Wilks, p. 510.

§ The change of system which followed is termed by M. Clausel de Coussergues, "Une persécution atroce et constante contre les hommes les plus dévoués à la monarchie." *Projet de la proposition d'accusation contre M. le Duc de Cazes*, p. 63. M. Lanjuinais, however, observes, "L'ordonnance a fondé le crédit public et a sauvé la France." *Essai sur la Charte*.

|| 9th March, 1816. *Bib. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 264.

¶ Debate of 27th Feb., 1816, on the motion of Sir S. Romilly.

since established, though the persecuting party has spared neither pains nor expense to throw discredit on the public statements.*

It is admitted that in the first details given by Clement Parrot there were inaccuracies arising from slight confusions in the names of persons and places. The general facts were, however, decidedly true; and several inhabitants of Nîmes, present at the disastrous scenes, have corroborated the details which precede. At the same time, the admissions and contradictions to be found in the apology for D'Arbaud Jouques are sufficient to prove his administration very faulty: they moreover show that his statements are very far from commanding or deserving implicit belief; and, if any assertion required positive proof, it was unquestionably requisite to substantiate the authenticity of a letter, said to have been found among the papers of Sir Robert Wilson, inviting a general charge of religious persecution, real or imaginary, as the most effectual method of injuring the Bourbons.† M. D'Arbaud Jouques makes this discovery a complete stalking-horse, and presents it repeatedly as a sufficient reply to those who censure his administration of the Gard.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

Administration of M. de Cazes—Intrigues of the Ultras—Revolution of 1830—Present condition of the Protestants.

A NEW era dawned upon the Protestants of Nîmes when Count D'Argout was named prefect of the Gard in 1817. His energy repressed the faction, and restored the authority of justice. Vexations and heartburnings continued, for a commotion so violent could not speedily subside. In the hospitals repeated attempts were made to obtain abjuration from sick and dying Protestants; and in several places disputes arose concerning the obligation of Protestants ornamenting their houses on occasion of Romish processions. In 1817 the mayor of Puy-laurens enjoined the inhabitants to place hangings for the *fête Dieu*. Three individuals, being cited for contravention, pleaded in justification that they were Protestants: they were each sentenced to a fine. The case was ably argued on appeal in cassation; but that court decreed that the mayor's order contained nothing contrary to the charter, and confirmed the sentence.‡ In 1818 a precisely similar case occurred in the canton of Cadenet (Vaucluse): on this occasion the appeal was successful; the court of cassation annulled the

proceedings, and sent the affair to the tribunal of Aix for a new trial.* The decision of that court being unfavourable, there was a second appeal in cassation, when the proceedings were definitively quashed.† The organic law respecting public worship is unequivocal on this head: "No religious ceremony shall take place outside the edifices devoted to Catholic worship, in towns where there are temples destined for different religions."‡ To what extent the provisions of this statute were disregarded is a matter of notoriety: positive persecution was, however, at an end.

Yet in 1819 the discussion of a proposed change in the election law revived party animosity; and Nîmes was again threatened with a renewal of discord. By a strange fatality, which never occurred in other towns, on changing the garrison of Nîmes, the new troops did not arrive for some days after the departure of the old force,—an unpardonable negligence at a period of excitement. The violent men of 1815 immediately resumed their audacity; and the Protestants were openly insulted and assaulted, amid shouts of *Les Bourbons ou la mort!*§ Wearied with so much harassing persecution, the Protestants determined on assuming a defensive attitude; and their enemies were in turn seized with alarm when they heard that the inhabitants of the Cevennes were preparing to aid their brethren. A collision was happily prevented by the more eminent citizens; but assemblages on both sides continued for several days.

At length the procureur-general requested M. Madier de Montjau to attend a meeting, at which the Protestants were to concert their measures of defence. The authorities knew that M. Madier enjoyed the confidence of the Protestants more than any magistrate in the department; but that gentleman was unwilling to accept the mission for two principal reasons: if he failed, the fanatical party would certainly accuse him as instigator of the animosity which must ensue should a conflict arise—while a successful mediation would cause him to be denounced as a dangerous person on account of his influence over a detested party. Nor did he consent until the procureur-general repeated his request, and declared that "he believed the firm and calm attitude of the Protestants had saved the department." M. Madier attended the meeting, and, in consequence of his persuasions, the armed bodies dispersed.||

The military governor of the department summoned the garrison of Montpellier; and within two days those troops were employed in dispersing the Catholic bands, who had again become boisterous immediately after the Protestants had separated.¶ Happily the troubles were suppressed without any serious consequence.

In the year following, the death of the Duke de Berri became the signal for another attempt by the faction. That event, so afflicting to all sincere royalists, was hailed with satisfaction by the

* M. Marron, president of the Paris consistory, being informed that his correspondence with England on behalf of the Protestants exposed him to a prosecution for high treason, under the 76th article of the Penal Code, he was induced to publish a letter, declaring that no persecution had taken place, and that the reports in circulation were false.

† The *acte d'accusation* mentions it, but, although Sir Robert Wilson was questioned several times on the subject of his papers, this letter from his brother Edward was not brought forward. And M. Dupin, in his defence of Sir Robert, stated, "Ce passage ne se trouve pas dans la lettre du frère de Wilson, du moins avec le sens qu'on lui prête. Le frère, énumérant dans cette lettre les causes qui ont indisposé quelques individus contre le gouvernement Français, place au nombre de ces causes, la persécution réelle ou imaginaire contre les Protestants. C'est le vrai sens de la phrase." *Procès des trois Anglais*, p. 138.

‡ 29th Aug., 1817. *Journal du Palais*, vol. ii.

* 20th Nov., 1818.

† 26th Nov., 1819. *Journal du Palais*, vol. lvi.

‡ Loidu 18 Germinal an X., art. 45.

§ 6th March, 1819. The cry of *Vive le Charles X.* was heard on this occasion, which coincides with the hopes of the party, founded upon that prince's hatred of the charter. *Masse, Les Protestans de Nîmes et leurs persécuteurs*, p. 14. Paris, 1819.

¶ 12th March. Madier de M., *Plaidoyer devant la cour de cassation*, p. 48.

¶ Madier de M., *ut antea*, p. 50.

leaguers, as an incident calculated to promote their subject. Two circulars rapidly followed the first intelligence of the catastrophe: they were numbered 34 and 35. The previous circulars were more carefully preserved; but the contents of these explain in a great measure the mysterious influence which had directed the troubles of 1815. No. 34 gave intimation to the party, that although the minister (M. de Cazes) was not yet overthrown, they might act as if he were: it recommended organisation, with a promise of instructions and supplies. No. 35 speedily arrived, to announce the dismissal of M. de Cazes, and explained that tranquillity was, in consequence, essential to their interests. This order stayed the violent designs, for which preparation was making on the reception of No. 34. The old emblems and signs of recognition had re-appeared; and the mercenaries were heard to say openly, "Why did we not make an end of this race in 1815?"*

The author of these circulars was denounced to the chamber of deputies by M. Madier de Montjau, as the functionary who in 1815 thus reproached a magistrate for having saved the life of marshal Soult, when he was arrested: "*Insensé! apprenez de moi que, dans les conjonctures où nous sommes, on n'arrête pas un maréchal de France: on le tue!*" The allusion, although obscure to the uninitiated, was so clear to the politicians of the day, that the leading ultra-royalist paper of that period contained thereon some very sensitive passages, proving it was well understood.†

In the debate which followed the reading of M. Madier's petition, M. de St. Aulaire described the sufferings endured by the Protestants of Nismes; bore testimony to their good conduct; and appealing to the other deputies of the Gard, declared that not a drop of blood had been shed in Nismes during "the hundred days."‡ M. de la Bourdonnaye, the Achilles of the ultra faction, made no reply; yet his tacit admission of the fact did not prevent his partisans from repeating their hackneyed assertions that Catholic blood had flown in torrents.

The possession of power by the ultras enabled them to gratify their adherents, without the necessity of signal services: the Protestants in consequence ceased to be denounced as revolutionists, and were allowed the rights of conscience, as stipulated by the charter. Yet there was still manifested a great reluctance on the part of the government to permit the establishment of Protestant temples and schools.

The encouragement afforded to the ultra-montane section of the Romanists, during the reign of Charles X., requires no more than a passing allusion: the Jesuits were paramount; and the affiliated members of the *congrégation* were found in every department of state. The Catholic church

arrogantly enjoying the distinction of the state religion, its clergy were impatient to regain all lost prerogatives. In the long struggle between the *parti prêtre* and the advocates of liberty, the royal influence was frequently committed. By a fatal system of policy, the interests of the royal family appeared identified with hostility to the charter: one impolitic measure led to another; and the revolution of 1830 produced an additional phase in the history of religious freedom.

In the newly modelled charter all religions are placed upon an equal footing; and an invidious distinction was soon after remedied by a legal provision from the public treasury for the expenses of the Jewish worship.* This tolerance has galled the partisans of Rome, and brought down upon the existing government the reproach of being atheistical. It is notwithstanding an indisputable fact, that public worship is better attended now, than when presence at mass was the price of court favour; and every thing indicates the probability of some great change in the prevalent opinions on religious subjects. Materialists have astounded the world by their audacious attacks upon the elementary principles of all religion, while Romanists have persisted in unmeaning formalities: the necessity of a medial course, avoiding both extremes, naturally leads to revealed religion. The ancients tacitly admitted that consequence, by the importance attached to oracular decrees; and in our day the extensive circulation of the Scriptures necessarily invites examination, and cannot fail of producing important consequences.

It will be readily imagined that the election of Louis-Philippe to the French throne was generally regarded as the harbinger of a full development of the liberties theoretically commented upon under the restoration; and in the department of the Gard the public joy surpassed all precedent. The new king was proclaimed at Nismes on the 15th of August, amidst the most heartfelt expressions of enthusiasm; but it was remarked that among the shouts which resounded from the assembled crowds, the cry of *Vive le Roi* was not heard.‡ Those words had been the signal of massacre and devastation; and the present generation must entirely pass away before the people of Nismes can heartily join in that exclamation.

The change of dynasty did not however pass off without an attempt to excite troubles in the Gard, and an attack was made on some Protestants in the night of the 2nd of August. The principal inhabitants of Nismes, enlightened by experience, concerted for preventing fresh disorders. An address, recommending peace and union, and signed by persons of all parties, had been distributed as speedily as possible, after the news of the revolution in Paris.‡ It was hoped and expected that the exhortations would be attended to; but scenes of confusion arose, which did not terminate until September, after the strong measure of declaring Nismes under martial law.

A conflict was feared on the 5th of August: both parties seemed ready for blows, and an irritat-

* The subject was brought under discussion when the articles of the charter were under revision, and the debate, as reported in the *Moniteur*, 8th Aug., 1830, is highly interesting.

† A victim of 1815 assures the author that although he would joyfully shout *Vive Louis-Philippe!* he could not bring himself to cry *Vive le Roi!*

‡ It was signed 3rd August.

* Discours de M. de Vaux à la chambre des députés, 25 Avril, 1820.

† Le Journal des Débats, 21 Nov., 1820, contains a long article on a publication by M. Madier, entitled "*Pièces et Documents relatifs à son Procès.*"—"Il s'agira dans ce procès de justifier le silence qu'il s'obstine à garder sur les membres d'un gouvernement occulte, dont au mois de Mars dernier il a dénoncé l'existence à la chambre des députés; et sur les auteurs de deux circulaires de ce prétendu gouvernement qu'il a déclaré bien connaître, et que, sans les nommer, il a désignés par des indications assez précises pour se ménager tous les avantages de la calomnie, sans encourir les peines dues au calomniateur."

* *Moniteur*, 26 Avril, 1820. Séance du 25.

ing allocution would have renewed the horrors of former days, when the leading royalists, accompanied by the Protestant pastors, proceeded to the place de la Maison Carrée, where M. Monier des Taillades addressed the multitude in a short discourse explaining the necessity of union and peace. The speech produced a happy result, but its effect ceased in a few days; for the re-appearance of the tricoloured flag excited painful feelings among the adherents of the dethroned monarch. Nothing, however, occurred until the new king was proclaimed. Strangers, whose appearance was suspicious, then appeared in Nîmes, and on the following night the most unprovoked attacks were made on the liberals; among whom were included all Protestants, whose attachment to the new dynasty was assumed as beyond doubt. The national guards of the Vaunage hastened into the city, to support the authorities and protect their friends: the prefect, mayor, and other magistrates adopted energetic measures; and the Protestant ministers exerted themselves to conciliate and pacify the public. By these means the senseless attempt of a few misled men was quickly suppressed; yet not without bloodshed, for the Catholics had two killed and six wounded—the loss of the Protestants was six killed, and twenty-eight wounded.

Brilliant indeed were the hopes which arose in perspective as the consequences of the "Three days" of 1830. Little was it then supposed that police regulations, intended to counteract political combinations, would be brought into array against freedom of worship. It had been so under Charles X., but the Romish church was then supreme; and those old laws were considered as annulled by the revolution. Even in 1834, when a law for preventing associations was under discussion, an amendment was proposed, to prevent its application to meetings for worship. M. Persil, keeper of the seals, declared on that occasion that the law would not be applicable;† and in the report upon the same measure to the chamber of peers, the adoption was recommended, in express reliance upon that most formal declaration.‡

But the rights of Protestants require to be fully defined by law before they can be assured of their enjoyment; and a new enactment for the regulation of public worship is greatly wanted. The law of the year X, which is the present authority and rule, was conceived in a spirit of despotism. It is therein clearly shown that the government wished to retain the direction of spiritual affairs; and when circumstances induced the legislators of 1802 and 1830 to render the state independent of the church, they were unwilling to abandon their influence over ecclesiastical matters. So long as the Protestants were satisfied with the listless enjoyment of their liberty, they encountered no opposition: but when a desire of extension followed, as the natural result of the political change; when the spread of the Scriptures manifested the existence of proselytism, the characteristic of earnestness in religion, obstacles were raised, and hostile feelings displayed, in quarters hitherto most friendly. Two recent trials will impart some idea of the present state of religious liberty.

M. Oster, a Lutheran minister, opened a chapel at Metz. He had conformed to all the preliminaries required by law; and for several weeks, was permitted to celebrate divine service without hindrance. But after a time the mayor intimated that he should not have the permission of the municipal authorities, on account of the alarm which his publications had created among the Jewish population of Metz. M. Oster, relying on the justice of his cause, persisted in the service; and was in consequence sentenced by the police court, for an infraction of the municipal laws.*

When the cause came before the Court of Cassation, M. Dupin, after severely commenting upon the intolerant and unjustifiable conduct of the mayor of Metz, regretted the necessity of opposing the appeal on technical grounds. The mayor's refusal was within his attributions; and an administrative act could not be reversed by judicial authority; the appeal was accordingly rejected.† Immediately after the conclusion of his speech as procureur-général of the court, M. Dupin proceeded to the legislative tribune, and called the attention of the government to the injustice. "The motive for refusing the permission," he observed, "is most opposed to religious liberty, as we understand it; and to toleration, as we ought to comprehend it. It is alleged that one religion displeases another, while the object of religious liberty is to enforce mutual forbearance. The reason assigned by the municipal authority is made the text of a refusal, consigned in an administrative act. That refusal cannot therefore be remedied by judicial power. The supreme authority alone can restore right, in place of an unjust denial; and on these grounds I recommend the case to the minister of public worship."‡

The other trial is known as the *procès de Montargis*, and arose out of the following circumstances. John Baptist Doine, a preacher of the *Société évangélique*, though not an ordained minister, and Joseph Lemaire, a schoolmaster, were charged before the police court of Montargis with illegally meeting for worship in two neighbouring communes. Their sentence was a trifling fine; but the animosity which marked the proceedings has given the trial a lasting importance.§ The royal court of Orleans, by an important decree, annulled the judgment.|| The cause occupied three days; and the court was thronged with Protestants, who came from a great distance, as the entire question of religious liberty appeared involved. The joy manifested at the decision was very great; and a day was set apart for a religious service, to celebrate the triumph of justice. The procureur-général of Orleans appealed against the favourable decree, and the affair was elaborately discussed before the Court of Cassation.¶ A decision, technically favourable to the Protestants, was awarded by that court; yet the motives assigned were adverse, and M. Dupin's official declarations were far from friendly to religious liberty. Arguing from the

* 10 Feb., 1836.

† 20 May, 1836.

‡ *Moniteur*, 21 May, 1836.

§ 10 Oct., 1837.

|| 9 Jan., 1838.

¶ The proceedings in both causes have been published in a compendious form, by Risler: they merit attention, and evidence great talent and zeal in the pleadings. M. Natchet advocated the cause of M. Oster. MM. Lutteroth and Lafontaine defended the Montargis cause at Orleans; M. Jules Delaborde pleaded at the Court of Cassation. The *arrêt* is dated 12 April, 1838.

* *Événemens de Nîmes*, depuis le 27 Juillet jusqu'au 2 Sept. 1830, par E. B. D. Frossard, pasteur.

† *Moniteur*, 22 Mar., 1834.

‡ *Ibid.*, 6 April, 1834.

restraints imposed upon the Romish clergy by the Concordat of 1802, he contended that Protestants could not claim greater freedom: however, as the sanction of government was implied in the present instance, his conclusions were for confirming the decree of Orleans.

The Protestants must now be convinced that, if their religious feelings are such as will induce them to desire an extension of their numbers, they must expect opposition from the authorities. Yet there is no cause for discouragement. The mere exercise of independent reflection upon religion is a step towards Protestantism; and public attention has been so much excited within the last few years, that the opinions of the multitude must of necessity be affected. The church of Rome admits the authority of the Scriptures; and the recent spread of that sacred volume cannot fail of ultimately creating a distaste for tenets at variance with its precepts—for improbable legends; and miracles, such as that of Migné, near Poitiers, revolting to common sense.

The increased means of instruction in the present day will eventually lead to a great change in the Romish religion. That part of it which is founded in truth must remain unchangeable, in common with the abstract principles of morality, taught even by the heathen philosophers; but the Papal superstructure, and the thousand devices engrafted on the ecclesiastical edifice, with the design of strengthening human influence, and gratifying ambition and avarice—all these must and will be swept away. And when the progress of intelligence shall have effected this great change, there will remain no cause for dispute; because that is not genuine Protestantism which desires anything more than the truth. The difference between the rival creeds may be thus defined: one faith is induced by reasoning, the other is imposed by authority. In the Catholic Church, man seems made for the splendour of religion, while the Protestant religion appears contrived for the happiness and advancement of man.

The numbers of French Protestants at the present time cannot be correctly estimated. That they are increasing is beyond doubt; and that they will continue to increase may be reasonably expected. Their organised ministry may be classed as follows:*

1. The *Lutheran* church, or Confession of Augsburg, has 6 inspections, 37 consistories, and 260 pastors or ministers.

2. The *Calvinist*, or Reformed church, has 89 consistories, and about 400 ministers.

3. The *Société Évangélique* employs three distinct classes of agents—viz.: 16 ministers; eleven itinerant preachers, not ordained; and nine colporteurs, or distributors of Bibles and religious books. The latter, by their conversations with the rural population, prepare the way for itinerant preachers; and their efforts have been sufficiently successful to give rise to some virulent attacks in the episcopal *mandemens*. This society has also ten schools. The expenses are entirely defrayed by voluntary contributions; and it frequently occurs, that when a congregation becomes suffi-

ently numerous, it is engrafted on the nearest consistory, and thenceforth receives a grant from the public treasury.

4. The *Wesleyan Methodists* have, for some years, been labouring as valuable auxiliaries. That body made an attempt to establish public worship in 1791, when Dr. Coke, and two other ministers, visited Paris for that purpose; but the endeavour completely failed. M. Mahy, ordained by Dr. Coke, persevered for some time in the neighbourhood of Caen, where he had to contend with much jealous opposition from the Consistory: he withdrew to Guernsey, and afterwards to Manchester, where he died in 1812.*

Pierre du Pontavice, a noble of Brittany, after self-banishment to escape the terrors of the revolution, returned to France in 1802, and entered upon the pastoral office. He translated many theological works into French, and was usefully engaged as a preacher in various parts of Normandy until his death in 1810.†

The successful results of preaching on board the prison ships in the Medway encouraged the society to renew their efforts at the peace of 1814. Their congregations are now considerable, and the number of their French preachers is fourteen.

5. The Church of England also contributes to the important work of extending the light of the Reformation. The *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* has in Paris a foreign district committee under the direction of Bishop Luscombe. None but members of the established church can take any part in the direction of its proceedings; the object of which is “to collect and transmit information respecting the best means of promoting Christian Knowledge in its district—to establish, enlarge, or superintend schools—to supply settlers and natives with the books circulated by the Society—to promote translations, when necessary, into the language of the country—and lastly, to make collections in aid of the Society’s funds.”‡ In pursuance of these designs the bishop has for some time been engaged in superintending a new translation of the Bible and Liturgy; in which he has had the assistance of several learned persons, whose knowledge of the ancient languages insures a faithful version of the original idea in the purest style of modern French. This important undertaking has, for some cause, been recently laid aside; yet a large portion being completed, the friends of revealed truth may still hope to see it resumed.

6. The *Eglise Catholique Française* must be mentioned as a co-operating means for promoting the reformation. The Abbé Chatel founded this church in 1831; and although his tenets do not at all resemble Protestantism, they are calculated to induce investigation—a tendency necessarily obnoxious to a body which denies the right of private judgment.

With respect to collegiate education, there is a faculty of Protestant theology at Montauban; another at Strasbourg; and a missionary college established in Paris. Application has been made to the chambers, during the present session (1838), for a Protestant faculty in the capital: the result was not favourable; but its necessity is generally

* The chapels opened for the use of the English and Americans, of various denominations, are distinct from our subject: still they have all in succession contributed to the formation of societies for advancing religious interests in France.

* The Wesleyan Mission in France, by W. Toase, pp. 14—21.

† Toase, p. 22.

‡ From the Society’s annual report. The dépôt of its books is at No. 9, Rue d’Aguesseau, Faubourg St. Honoré.

admitted, as well as that of a change in the legislation for public worship, which is found to be as galling to the Catholics as to the Protestants.

The subject of this volume has led the reader through many scenes of violence. Even when controversy has assumed its mildest forms, it has been rarely exempt from acrimony. The vanity and pride of resistance have been frequently found in company with the martyr's firmness; and reprisals, recriminations, and angry feeling have in turn tarnished the character of both parties. Yet the conflict of three centuries has produced much benefit to society by teaching the necessity of mutual forbearance. At the outset it was a struggle of numerical strength; in the following age controversy had become systematised, and the writers

and orators who withstood the encroachments of Louis XIV. have left abundant stores for enlightening their successors. The eighteenth century found an unexpected auxiliary for religious freedom in the antipathy to Romanism manifested by the philosophical school. Religious persecution was then reduced to its most pitiful character; and an ungenerous warfare was waged against widows and orphans labouring under the stigma of concubinage and illegitimacy. To this cause principally may be attributed the vivid jealousy of the French against ecclesiastical interference in the *état civil*; it perpetuates an exclusion severely felt by the clergy; and which, excepting the general confiscation of church property, is perhaps the most severe blow inflicted on that body by the Revolution.

APPENDIX.

No. I.—On the Paulicians.

THE notice of this sect is taken from Gibbon, ch. 54; and that authority would suffice for the introductory outline: but the modern origin of Protestantism is a favourite theme with Romish writers, and the episode demands in consequence further details; especially for the convenience of those readers who have not the facilities of consulting a work to be found only in extensive libraries.

The opinions of the Manicheans have been almost universally condemned; and their tendency may have deserved such general opprobrium. However, without discussing the merit of Beausobre's history, it must be conceded that we have scarcely any other accounts of their tenets than are furnished in the accusing statements of their enemies: no epistles of their leaders have been preserved, nor any pastoral exhortations concerning conduct or doctrine—at least none are cited by those who most violently censure them. Bossuet (*Hist. des Variations*) appears to think it sufficient to establish the charge of Manicheism as ample cause for burning some unfortunate individuals condemned at Orleans in the eleventh century. "On sait que les lois romaines condamnaient à mort les Manichéens: le saint roi Robert les jugea dignes du feu." Liv. 11, §. 20.

Petrus Siculus, who flourished about 870, composed an opusculum, in which the Manicheans are represented in a most unfavourable light; yet evidence is wanting to convict them of the flagrant heresy with which he charges them. His work, entitled *Historia de Manicheis*, is to be found in the *Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. xvi. pars 2. It relates six principal *paradoxes* of the heresy; and of these incriminated points of doctrine it is worthy of remark that the third is a leading tenet of Protestantism.

"Quod è sacris mysteriis divinam ac tremendam corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Jesu Christi conversionem negent, aliqua de hoc mysterio doceant."

There is nothing to explain what is comprised in the *other things*; but at all events the statement proves that transubstantiation was disputed at an early period. The sixth paradox is applicable to some important denominations of Christians in the present day, as it consists in the rejection of an ecclesiastical hierarchy. After some account of the origin and progress of the sect, Petrus Siculus relates, p. 759:

"Fuit imperante Constantino, Heraclii nepote, non procul à Samosatis, Armeniæ indigena quidam Constantinus nomine, vicum incolens Mananalim, quem ad hunc usque diem habitant Manichæi. Hic Diaconum quendam captivum qui è Syriâ, ut constat, in patriam revertebatur, et Mananalim fortè præteribat, tecto excepit, aluitque dies aliquot domi suæ. Diaconus ergo, ut hanc quasi gratiam hospiti suo rependeret, codices duos quos è Syriâ

secum tulerat, Evangelium scilicet, Paulique epistolâs, dono dedit Constantino."

Whatever therefore may have been the views of Constantine, who assumed the name of Sylvanus, the source from whence he derived them is the present supreme canon of Protestantism. His followers were condemned by the church, and their memory is blackened; but they disavowed the errors laid to their charge under the name of Manicheism.

The Greek MS. of Petrus Siculus is in the Vatican; the Latin translation is by the Jesuit Matthew Raderus; and it is almost to be regretted that the learned father has left it in doubt whether *Diaconus* is a proper name, or an official designation.

No. II.—On the Vaudois.

The sufferings of this interesting people would fill volumes; and indeed there have been several works on the subject. Our space will not permit the mention of every opinion; but, independently of histories professedly treating thereon, much information will be found in Vaissette, *Hist. de Languedoc*, and L'Enfant, *Hist. de la Guerre des Hussites et du Concile de Bâle*.

The MS. alluded to in the text is entitled *La noble Leïçon*; it is said to be in the Cambridge library, and that there is a copy at Geneva. Voltaire (*Essai sur les Mœurs*, ch. 82) makes the following observation: "Nothing is better known to the curious in such enquiries than the lines upon the Vaudois of the year 1100:

Que non voglia mandir ne jura ne mentir,
N'occir, ne avoutir, ne preure de altrui,
Ne s'avengear deli suo ennemi,
Los dison qu'es *Vaudès* et los feson morir."

Maimbourg thus introduces Valdo in his genealogy of Calvin's heresy:—"As this pretended apostle in reading the Scriptures found no mention of the words *mass*, *pope*, *purgatory*, &c., he took it into his head that they were all false, and mere human inventions."—*Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 1.

The followers of Valdo were persecuted at the close of the twelfth century; the third council of Lateran, by which they were condemned, being held in 1179. On which Fleury observes, "We must not confound these heretics with the Cathares or Albigenses, who are much more ancient."—*Hist. Eccles.*, liv. 73. This opinion coincides with that of Voltaire, who states, "Pierre Valdo, a merchant of Lyons, who passes for founder of the sect of Vaudois, was not its author. He only collected and encouraged his brethren. He followed the doctrines of Bérenger, of Claude, Bishop of Turin, and several others."—*Essai sur les Mœurs*, ch. 128.

Bossuet makes a distinction between the Albigenses and Vaudois. The former he calls Manicheans, and shows their descent from the Paulicians: the latter he represents as Donatists; pro-

bably on account of their fastidiousness respecting the personal character of their clergy.—*Hist. des Variations*, liv. 11.

Pinchinat gives a list of the erroneous doctrines held by both sects. Yet he exhibits a great similarity between them on many points. They refused to take an oath, disapproved of singing in their worship, and allowed any one to take upon himself the priestly office.—*Dictionnaire de l'Idolatrie, des Sectes, Hérésies*. &c., par Bartholomew Pinchinat. Paris, 1736.

Aeneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., observes that the doctrines of Wickliff and Huss are merely a renewal of the opinions of the Vaudois. Impiam Valdensem sectam atque insaniam amplexi sunt.—*Hist. Bohem.*, c. 35, quoted by L'Enfant, who also gives the following extract from the Dominican Reinier: he reported concerning them, "They are more dangerous than the other sects, because they excite no horror by their blasphemies. They live justly in the sight of men, and believe nothing respecting the Divinity but what is right. Only they blaspheme against the Romish church and clergy, which attracts the people."

No. III.—On the Etymology of the term "Huguenot."

This epithet has been the subject of much discussion: to this day it is considered by many a term of reproach; and several persons of erudition have objected to its figuring in the title of this work. But with due deference to their opinions, I am not convinced that it is improperly adopted. The terms puritan, methodist, and quaker were originally given in a reproachful sense; but custom has sanctioned their currency, and they are now used unhesitatingly by those who would cautiously avoid all tendency to abuse.

The French Protestants are mentioned under a variety of names: heretics, pretendres, réformés, Calvinists, Huguenots, and sometimes, though seldom, Protestants; for the fact of protesting against the infallible church is galling to orthodox Romanists. Each of these designations carries with it a sufficient explanation of its meaning, with the exception of *Huguenot*, which is in downright obscurity with respect to its etymology, no less than to the period when it was first applied.

Montluc's *Commentaires* show that he possessed extensive information upon the affairs of his time. He took a very active part in the religious wars; and was in a position to know the origin of the word, as his brother, the Bishop of Valence, was for some time a decided partisan of the Reformation; but in his fifth book the marshal says, "They were so called I know not why." Nor do we learn anything more positive from Tavannes or Pasquier, who were very minute in their inquiries on all points connected with the events of the sixteenth century. They relate notions which were at the same time prevalent and contradictory; and in examining subsequent writers we find the hypotheses on the etymology increase in number, in proportion as the period of its introduction becomes remote.

Menage (*Dictionnaire Etymologique*) has collected a number of opinions on the derivation, of which the following are the principal:—

1. *Hugon's Tower*, at Tours, where the Protestants assembled secretly to worship. This is

mentioned by D'Aubigné and Pasquier; and the latter in corroboration states that they were also called Tourangeaux: from which may be inferred that they were numerous in that town before they received a general designation. Matthieu considers this the true derivation.

2. The commencement of their petition to the Cardinal of Lorraine: *Huc nos venimus*, serenissime princeps, &c.

3. *Heus quenau*, which in the Swiss patois signifies seditious fellows.

4. *Heghenen* or *huguenen*, a Flemish word, which means Puritans, or Cathari. Caseneuve supports this opinion; and it will be remembered, that the Albigenes were called Cathares for the same reason.

5. Verdier, in his *Prosopographie*, observes, "Les Huguenots ont été ainsi appelés de Jean Hus, duquel ils ont suivi la doctrine; comme qui diroit les *genuons de Hus*." Guenon is a young ape. In support of this theory is the entire bearing of a work printed at Lyons in 1573, entitled *Genealogie et la fin des Huguenaux, et decouverte du Calvinisme*, &c., par Gabriel de Saconay, archidiacre et comte de l'église de Lyon. In page 9 we find the following passage: "Le François hérétique a pris ce nom pour s'estre plus tost transformé en singe et guenon qu'en autre beste, suyvant un certain naturel d'aucuns François, qui se rendent assez souvent imitateurs des nations estrangeres, ès meurs, gestes, et habillemens: qui est le propre du singe, comme nous dirons."

6. Cœquille (*Dialogues sur les causes des misères de la France*) derives it from Hugh Capet, whose posterity the Protestants supported in the persons of the Bourbon princes, against the Guises, who boasted their descent from the Carolingian kings. But it is by no means clear that the Guises contemplated their ambitious project prior to the reign of Henry III., when the race of Valois appeared likely to become extinct; while there is proof that the word Huguenot was in use long before.

7. One Hugues, a sacramentarian, is also said to have given rise to the epithet. Respecting this and the preceding derivation, it may be noted that Huguenot is a diminutive of Hugh or Hugues, as Jeannot for John, Pierot for Peter, &c.

8. The etymology most generally received is that which ascribes its origin to the word *Eignot*, derived from the German *Eidegenossen*, q. e. federati. A party thus designated existed at Geneva; and it is highly probable that the French Protestants would adopt a term so applicable to themselves. This opinion is supported by Mezeray, Maimbourg, Voltaire, and Diodati, professor of theology at Geneva.

9. *Huguenote* is the name given to a common iron or earthenware pot for cooking; and the application of the term may have arisen from the number of early Huguenots who perished in the flames. Especially when it is considered that *sens-tir le fagot* was an expression used to denote an inclination for the reform, and is frequently found in writings of the sixteenth century. On the other hand, La Furetière, in his dictionary, reverses the consequence, and says the utensil was so called because the Huguenots used them to dress meat secretly on fast days, and during Lent.

10. Benoit states that some have attributed the etymology to a bad pronunciation of the word *Gnostic*. *Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. i. p. 23.

No. IV.—*The MSS. de la Reynie.*

Gabriel-Nicholas de La Reynie, lieutenant-general of police at the period of the revocation, has left a mass of papers sufficiently interesting to deserve a separate notice.

This collection, at present in the Royal library, is invaluable to the historian, as it corroborates in a great measure the contemporary statements published by the refugees, which it has been the fashion in France to condemn as libels. The documents are bound up in six volumes. They are chiefly originals; but such as are copies accompany original pieces, to which they refer. Among them are letters addressed to the lieutenant-general of police; but the most interesting portions are the reports of police agents, employed to watch the Huguenots and suspected converts. The mere outline which can be given here will impart but an imperfect idea of the collection, as it is by no means well classed. It would seem that the bundles of papers were placed in the binder's hands, just as they were tied together for preservation, when M. de la Reynie's functions ceased.

Vols. I. to IV. contain—

1. *Procès-verbaux* of books seized at the houses of booksellers and binders.
 2. Reports concerning Protestants who had taken refuge in Paris.
 3. *Lettres de cachet* for Protestants.
 4. Reports on the condition and movements of the elders of Charenton.
 5. Divers informations sent to the king.
 6. List of fugitives, and of persons known to contemplate emigration.
 7. Informations on the means used for escaping.
 8. Lists of conversions, and of converts relieved by the king.
 9. Names of persons usually relieved by the elders of Charenton.
 10. Lists of *marchands de vin*, Protestants.
 11. Persons imprisoned on account of religion in the Bastille, the Châtelet, and the For-l'Évêque.
- The reports of the police agents are very numerous in vol. III.: the following selections are copied, literally:

“Dimanche, 1 Avril 1685. Les P. R. ont dit aujourd'hui, en revenant de Charenton, que l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre estoit aujourd'hui au presche, et que l'on ne fait plus d'exercice chez luy, parce que le Roy son maistre est catholique.

“26 Avril 1685. Les ambassadeurs des états Protestants ou Calvinists nalloient autrefois à Charenton que très rarement, parcequ'il y a exercisse dans leurs hostels; et depuis peu ils y vont tous, du moins tous les dimanches et l'on voit que c'est pour se faire veoir au peuple et le fortifier.

“12 Juin 1685. Deux personnes furent exprès le jour de la Pentecoste à Charenton pour observer la femme et les enfans de Lejay, pretendus relaps, mais l'assemblée de ce jour fut si nombreuse qu'ils ne purent demeler ces personnes d'avec les autres et naient pules joindre; ils s'attachèrent à observer les communians, mais il y avoit trois tables, deux dans le temple et une sous les tentes dans la cour, et comme ils ne purent observer qu'une seule table ou cette femme ny ses enfans ne parurent point, il ny a nulle certitude s'ils ont communiqué parcequ'ils l'ont pu faire à l'une des deux autres tables; mais pour agir a lavenir avec plus de certitude Hervé s'attachera cette semaine à la bien connoistre, et

dimanche prochain il se trouvera proche sa porte pour la veoir sortir et la suivra jusques à Charenton: lon assure quelle va par bateau. Il se mettra dans le mesme bateau et ne la quittera point de vue qu'elle ne sorte du temple, ce moien paroist infaillible pour scavoir au vray ce quelle fera pendant ce jour.

“25 Juin 1685. Il y a une femme de consideration chez madame l'ambassadrice d'Angleterre quy attend le depart de madame l'ambassadrice pour passer avec elle en Angleterre, je nen scait pas encore le nom.

“30 Juin 1685. L'on a enfin decouvert que Burnet est à Paris: il se fait nommer M. de Burnet, et il est connu par les P. R. pour un docteur en theologie, et ils l'estiment beaucoup plus habile que M. Claude. Il loge chez le ministre Alix, rue neuve St-Eustache. Il va presque tous les jours chez Rozemond, rue des Marrests. Les P. R. ont dit aujourd'hui en confidence que ces deux hommes travaillent ensemble à des ouvrages admirables, et que la veufve de Varenne en doit faire le debit. Burnet va souvent chez cette veufve.”

Vol I. contains this specimen of tyranny:

De par le Roy.

“Il est ordonné à Laguerre, valet de pied de sa Majesté, de se transporter incessamment dans le maison du sieur Claude, ci-devant ministre de la R. P. R. à Charenton, et de lui faire commandement de la part de S. M. de sortir de la ville de Paris dans vingt-quatre heures au plus tard, pour se retirer incessamment hors du royaume. A l'effet de quoi, le dit Laguerre l'accompagnera jusque sur la frontière par laquelle il desirera sortir. Fontainebleau, xxi Octobre 1685.

“LOUIS.

“COLBERT.”

It is due to the memory of the illustrious Colbert, to mention that he died in 1683; and consequently is free from the reproach of sanctioning the Edict of Revocation, and its corollary decrees. They were apparently countersigned by his eldest son, better known as Marquis de Seignelay, who was Secrétaire d'Etat de la Maison du Roi, and Minister of the Marine. The practice of using the family name, instead of the titular honour, was common among the old families. The duke de Bouillon signed *Henri de la Tour*—the duke de Soubise, *Benjamin de Rohan*—and the statesman Villeroy, *de Neufville*.

The following is relative to the demolition of the temple at Charenton, commenced on the very day the edict of revocation was registered by the parliament:—

“Je viens d'ariver, Monsieur, jay lessé une partie de mes officiers dans le temple pour y coucher. Les autres sont dans les plus prochains cabarets du temple pour se reposer pendant la nuit, et demain auront soin des aueues du temple et principalement des portes pour empescher l'incommodité des curieux. Jay fait arreter la fille et lay fait remettre entre les mains du commissaire Lamare qui la menée aux nouvelles catholiques. Je ferai encore un tour demain et receuray les ordres que vous aurez la bonté de me donner. Je croy que les menuisiers auront achevé leurs ouvrage sur les neuf heures du matin. Je suis, monsieur, avec beaucoup de respec, vostre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur,

“DE FRANCINI GRANDMAISON.

“Ce Lundi au soir, 22 Oct. 1685.”

Some idea of the extensive ramifications of the police may be formed from these extracts :—

"16 Jan. 1686. En mon quartier il ne reste que le sieur Destreville, qui est un garçon demeurant rue des Mauvais-Garçons chez Corneille, vinaigrier, à la 2^e chambre, lequel ne veut ny signer ny faire abjuration. Jean-Louis Alexandre, rue du Mouton, n'a signé ny ne veut faire abjuration, n'a point de domestique.

"Les deux garçons du sieur Ausvere et leur servante n'ont voulu signer ni faire abjuration. se sont absentez. jay scellé dans leur maison, Rue de la Poterye.

"Rue de la Verrerie à l'hostel de Bourbon, maison garnye, sont logez Monsieur le Marquis d'Inconcourt, madame sa femme, leur fils et quatre filles et leur fille de chambre tous de la R. P. R. avec un laquais de meme religion et 3 laquais Almands Lutheriens. Madame d'Inconcourt scayt que la declaration du roy porte 15 jours pour congédier les domestiques. Elle refuse de congédier les trois Lutheriens.

"Le sieur Desguilly cydevant capitaine de cavalerie au regiment de Comminge, loge a la teste d'or, Rue de la tixeranderie. Il est de la R. P. R. son laquais est catholique. Monseigneur de Louvois l'a fait mander pour lui venir parler. (Vol. ii.)

"21 Jan. 1686. L'on m'a donné avis aujourd'hui, que dans le cabaret du Riche, laboureur, qui est à l'entrée de la rue des fossés, M. le Prince. Il s'y assemble presque tous les soirs des marchands et artisans de la religion et de nouveaux catholiques, ou ils se trouve quelquefois jusques à dixhuit ou vingt, qu'ils y tiennent des discours scandaleux. (Vol. ii.)

"28 Oct. 1686. Le ministre Gilbert de la Rochelle ne s'est point logé en auberge dans la crainte d'être decouvert. L'on m'a assuré qu'il se retire chez la nommée Bot, revenderesse, qui est une nouvelle catholique de ses amis qui demeure Rue de la Corne au Faub St. Germain. Il fut hier au presche chez M. l'ambassadeur de Danemarck, et l'on dit qu'il y doit entrer pour y demeurer et prescher en François. Cette nommée Bot est une femme qui a desja parut suspecte en d'autres occasions." (Vol. iii.)

EXTRACT OF A DEPOSITION MADE 3 DEC. 1686.

"Que le nommé Desboux, potier d'estain, rue des Fossés St. Germain, est l'agent de tous les microïans de Paris, et que sa femme va de maison en maison porter des livres et des lettres. Que chez le nommé Lebeuf à la Place Maubert on s'assemble quelquefois. Que la femme de Bezdard, cy-devant ancien de Charenton, est une seditieuse qu'il faudrait mettre en lieu de sureté." (Vol. i.)

REPORT OF OLIVER CELLIER.

"Ce 26 Jan. 1687. J'ai esté ce matin chez l'envoïé de Brandebourg dans le lieu où ils font leur assemblée : je m'i suis trouvé le premier, et ai exactement observé tous les usages qui i ont paru. J'ai vei 5 personnes qui ont chanté en François. J'en ai suivi un, lequel a fort observé ma contenance. Je l'ai suivi jusques dans la rue de Lavandières. Je l'ai vu entrer dans une porte entre deux portes carrées vis-à-vis M. Boulo, cirurgien.

"L'homme que j'ay observé a bien quarante ans ; il a le visage un peu carré, les hieux et la fasse un peu enflammez. Il a une assez grande espée a garde d'assé tres luisant. Le juste corps gris un peu brun." (Vol. iv.)

The fifth volume contains memoirs, correspondence, and accounts of books furnished to new converts, amounting to the enormous sum of 536,640 livres. There were evidently suspicions of pecculation, as the inquiries appear directed towards detection ; and the report made upon the accounts of one Clement states, that he produces no proof, nor entries in books or journals either to justify his expenditure, or to show what the booksellers have delivered to him. It is also stated that the documents furnished by him had been altered. The reporter's opinion may be inferred from this observation : "Par ce moyen la despense effective de 4 à 500 mille livres, peut estre enflée et portée à 6, 7, 8, 9 et un milion, ainsi qu'il aura plu au sieur Clement."

It is stated by Rulhière that Pellison did not leave his accounts in perfect order ; and as he was concerned in the distribution of these books, it is probable that this transaction gave rise to the imputation.

Vol. VI. contains the papers seized on the persons of fugitives, and in the houses of suspected *relaps* ; with a number of abjurations, many of which are signed in blank, having neither the date, the name of the ecclesiastic receiving, nor of the requisite witnesses attesting the declaration.

No. V.—*Extract from the DUBLIN UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE for August, 1837, p. 210.*

"The very names of the most respectable and honoured families in Ireland remind us of the channels through which knowledge of the cruelties and frauds of Romanism in France must have reached the hearts of Irish Protestants. Men who were sufferers for their faith, flying from the most ruthless persecution, were received with open arms in Ireland. If their religion and their distresses recommended them, their industry and knowledge established their claims to public favour. The effect of their representations can hardly be exaggerated : their presence was a strong testimony to the proof of their statements. The monarch who had broken faith with, and outraged humanity in his persecution of them, was the patron of a pretender to the British throne, whom four-fifths of the people of Ireland regarded as their lawful sovereign. The short reign of James II. had sufficiently awakened Protestant alarm ; but when crowds of sufferers, flying for their lives, sought a refuge in Ireland, showing by their industry and arts what Romanism would sacrifice rather than tolerate freedom of opinion, and by their recitals exhibiting the crimes by which an intolerant church would uphold its despotism, it is difficult to imagine the excesses to which men, remembering the cruelties of James, threatened with aggravated oppression, and surrounded by multitudes thirsting for their lands, might not have been stimulated."

The Editor then refers to Dr. Kenney's most valuable work, entitled *Facts and Documents illustrative of the History of the Period immediately preceding the Accession of William III.*, from which he gives two extracts : the latter is borrowed by Dr. Kenney from a work of Mr. Bion, a Roman Catholic priest, who was influenced by the cruelties of the church and government, and the faithful endurance of Protestants, to renounce the creed of Rome, and who sought an asylum in England.

"In the year 1703, several Protestants out of

Languedoc and the Cevennes were put on board our galleys. They were narrowly watched and observed, and I was exceedingly surprised on Sunday morning, after saying mass on the *bancaffe*, [a table so placed that all in the galley may see the priest when he elevates the host] to hear the *comite* [an officer similar to a boatswain of a ship] say that he was going to give the Huguenots the bastinado, because they did not kneel or show respect to the mysteries of the mass; and that he was proceeding to acquaint the captain therewith. The very name of bastinado terrified me; and, though I had never seen this dreadful execution, I begged the comite to forbear till the next Sunday, and said that in the meantime I would endeavour to convince them of what I then thought their duty and my own. Accordingly, I tried all the methods I could possibly think of for that purpose: sometimes making use of fair means, giving them victuals, and doing them good offices: sometimes using threats, and representing the torments that were designed for them; and often urging the king's command, and quoting the passage of St. Paul, that he who *resists the higher power resists God*. I had not at that time a design to oblige them to do anything against their consciences; and I confess that what I did proceeded from a motive of pity and tenderness. This was the cause of my zeal, which would have been more fatal to them, had not God endued them with sufficient resolution and virtue to bear up against my arguments, and the terrible execution which they had in view. I could not but admire the modesty of their answers, and the greatness of their courage; 'The king,' said they, 'is indeed the master of our bodies, but not of our consciences.'

"At last, the dreadful day being come, the comite narrowly observed them, to see the fruit of my labours: there were only two out of twenty that bowed the knee to Baal; the rest generously refused it, and were accordingly, by the captain's command, served in the manner following. In order to the execution every man's chains were taken off, and they were put successively into the hands of four Turks, who stripped them stark naked, and stretched them upon the *coursier* (a great gun near the stern of the galley, which carried a six-and-thirty pound ball): there they are so held that they cannot so much as stir, during which time there is a horrid silence throughout the whole galley; and it is altogether so cruel a scene that the most profligate, obdurate wretches cannot bear to dwell upon the sight, but are often obliged to turn away their eyes. The victim, being thus prepared, the Turk chosen to be the executioner, with a long cudgel or knotty rope's end, unmercifully beats the poor wretch, and that the more willingly because he thinks it acceptable to his prophet Mahomet. But the most barbarous of all is, that after the skin is flayed off from their bodies, the only balsam applied to their wounds is a mixture of vinegar and salt: after this they are thrown into the hospital already described. I went thither after the execution, and could not refrain from tears at the sight of so much barbarity: they perceived it, and, though scarcely able to speak through weakness and pain, they thanked me for the compassion I expressed, and for the kindness I had always shown to them. I went with a design to administer some comfort to them,

and was glad to find them less moved than I was myself. It was truly wonderful to see with what patience and Christian constancy they bore their torments; in the midst of their pains never expressing anything like rage, but calling upon Almighty God, and imploring his assistance. I visited them day by day, and as often as I did, my conscience upbraided me for persisting so long in a religion, whose capital errors I had before perceived, but, above all, which inspired so much cruelty, a temper directly opposite to the spirit of Christianity. At last their wounds, like so many mouths preaching to me, made me sensible of my error, and experimentally taught me the excellence of the Protestant religion.

"But it is time to conclude and draw a curtain over this horrid scene, which presents none but ghastly sights, and transactions full of barbarity; but which all show how false it is, what they *now pretend* in France for detaining the Protestants in the galleys: viz., that they do not suffer there on a religious account, but are condemned for rebellion and disobedience. The punishments inflicted on them when they refuse to adore the host—the rewards and advantages offered on their compliance in that particular, are a sufficient argument against the above pretence, there being no such offers made to those condemned for crimes. It shows the world also the most incredible barbarity practised against the French Protestants; and at the same time sets forth, in a manner the most honourable, their virtue, their constancy, and zeal for their holy religion."

No. VI.—Notice of Paul Rabaut.

Some remarks upon this work, in an estimable periodical (*Le Semeur*, 5th June), indicate an omission of importance, and the author readily acknowledges, with Pharaoh's butler, "I do remember my fault this day." Never did pastor deserve a grateful record of his worth more than Paul Rabaut; and from the present very limited sketch it will be seen that the vicissitudes of this minister's life are entitled to the professed biographer's attention.

A brief notice of this indefatigable preacher was published in 1808; first, as appendix to *Réflexions Philosophiques et Politiques sur la Tolérance Religieuse*, &c. It was afterwards printed separately, under the title of *Notice Biographique sur Paul Rabaut, pasteur pendant plus de cinquante ans à Nîmes*, par S. P. de N. (Scipion Pons of Nîmes).

Paul Rabaut was born at Bedarieux (Herault) 9th Jan., 1718, of Protestant parents; and although the pastoral calling was then, with few exceptions, a certain path to the gibbet or the wheel, he was determined to enter upon the sacred, though perilous function. Where he resided it would be difficult to say with precision, for concealment and frequent removals were indispensable to his existence, but he officiated at Nîmes and its vicinity during half a century, in the greater part of which period a price was set upon his head.

His ministry was numerous followed—his hearers sometimes exceeding ten thousand persons. His eloquence was favoured by a peculiarity of voice, described by one who knew him personally, as *retentissante et argentée, quoique aigüe*, a quality which enabled him to overcome the disadvantage

of preaching in the open air. His fluency in prayer was very great; and the unaffected piety of his conduct, in conformity with the doctrines he preached, obtained for him the esteem of many enlightened members of the Romish church, and particularly that of M. Bedelievre, Bishop of Nismes, a character similar to Fenelon in mildness and charity. That excellent prelate made several efforts, remarkable for their tolerant tendency; but private influence could not withstand the pitiless commands of a bigoted government.

Rabaut differed from the Huguenots of the preceding century by his decided disapproval of resistance to civil authority. He considered a readiness for martyrdom the surest means for promoting the cause of Christ's church; and among various instances of his fixed principles on this point, one of the deepest interest occurred when M. Desubas was conducted to execution. That young preacher's case inspired much interest throughout Languedoc; and the wanton conduct of the troops, when he was arrested, had kindled such a spirit of animosity, that a body of young men, armed with guns, swords, scythes, and forks, devoted themselves to effect his deliverance from the escort, when removed from Nismes to Montpellier. The authorities being informed of the project, increased the military force, and gave orders to kill Desubas, rather than suffer his escape.

Rabaut also heard of the design, and proceeded to the assemblage, where his eloquence was at first ineffectual towards appeasing their effervescence. After addressing them in the name of the unfortunate captive, he concluded:—"Should God destine me to such an end, I implore you beforehand, and I claim it of your affection, to suffer me to die peaceably, that I may not become a cause of tears to your kindred and friends, or to your country, torn by the troubles which would follow such a revolt; and it is only on these conditions that I will continue my pastoral functions among you." This allocution induced the multitude to disperse, and the pious minister, more anxious to enforce Christian submission than to save the life of his beloved friend and brother, then proceeded to other groups, where he was equally successful.

Rabaut's outlawed condition exposed him to many vicissitudes and wonderful escapes. On one occasion he was followed to the house of a baker: the place was forthwith invested, and the impending danger was averted by the pastor's hastily putting on the baker's dress, covered with flour, in which disguise he passed the sentinel at the door, holding in his hand an empty bottle, under pretence of procuring wine, and having placed a rose in his mouth, to assist in concealing his features.

On another occasion he was traced to a humble dwelling, where he was preserved from arrest by the generous effort of a woman, who had given birth to a child only a few days previously. Regardless of her own condition, she sent away her nurse, held the infant on her knees, and when her room was searched by the soldiers, Rabaut was concealed in the bed, his head being covered with a cap belonging to his unexpected protector.

But although Rabaut made every possible exertion for escaping the perils which beset him, he did not hesitate to face danger when the good of his brethren required it. For at a period when the

prisons and galleys were crowded with Protestants, and a renewal of former horrors was generally apprehended, Rabaut ventured alone to present a petition to the Marquis de Paulmy, governor of the province, whom he accosted on the road, surrounded by his guard of honour. The marquis conversed for some time with the intrepid minister, and generously allowed him to retire free. At that time his arrest would have been followed by certain execution—nothing being required for his condemnation beyond the proof of identity; and yet under such circumstances he had ventured to declare his name.

As intimidation was found to be ineffectual, corruption was used; and Rabaut was offered a considerable sum by the government, on condition of his leaving France. He constantly refused, and his perseverance was ultimately rewarded by the removal of legal disabilities. He had the happiness to see liberty of conscience and the right of worship proclaimed by law. He assisted at the dedication of a Protestant temple at Nismes, and preached, under the protection of the magistrates, those doctrines he had faithfully taught, while hunted by soldiers as a beast of prey.

Nothing is more common with the opponents of religious liberty than the attempt to identify Protestants with Jacobins; but Paul Rabaut, at that time the most eminent among them, and who had been during many years their guide and representative, was arrested by order of the convention. His advanced age and infirmities were disregarded by his enemies. Too feeble to walk to the prison, and no carriage being at hand, he was carried there on an ass. The fall of Robespierre restored him to liberty; and he soon after closed his mortal career in his own house at Nismes. As his last hour approached, he exhorted the friends assembled round his bed to persevere with constancy in their religious tenets, and to practise fidelity to the authorities, notwithstanding the cruel injuries he had received from the convention. Having bid them farewell, he requested that the *nunc dimittis* might be sung, and died in his seventy-seventh year, on the 4th Vendemiaire of the year III. (5th September, 1794.)

He was interred in the cellar of his habitation. A good price was offered by some Catholics for the house, to the widow of his son, Rabaut Pomier; but, as it was feared that some insult might be offered to Rabaut's remains, the property was assigned, for a very inferior sum, to the Protestant Orphan Institution of Nismes, to which it still belongs. A stone in the cellar marks the spot where repose the ashes of this venerable and courageous confessor of the truth.

His son, Jean Paul Rabaut St. Etienne, eminent as a scholar and minister, and celebrated for his conduct in the convention, was born at Nismes in April, 1743. Being member of a commission charged to prevent the outbreak of an expected plot, his denunciation of Hebert drew upon himself and his colleagues the animosity of the Jacobins, already incensed against him for opposing the condemnation of Louis XVI. The Marquis d'Arbaud Jouques (p. 31), in reproaching the Protestants of the Gard with their regicide principles, makes an exception in favour of Rabaut St. Etienne, "*qui rejeta avec horreur ce crime execrable*."

Rabaut was involved in the catastrophe of May, 1793, and was arrested 2nd of June; but he

escaped, and remained concealed during six months. Several versions respecting his discovery and arrest being current, I am indebted to the recollections of Madame Rabaut Pomier for the following details :—

Rabaut St. Etienne, and Rabaut Pomier, his brother, had taken refuge in the Faubourg Poissonnière, at the house of one Paizac, to whom Rabaut St. Etienne had rendered great services. He was not a Catholic noble, as some have stated, nor a carpenter, as others have asserted. His father was a huissier, and his wife a bonnet-maker. Paizac had constructed a hiding-place in his house, wherein the brothers Rabaut were concealed. Everything was complete, with the exception of the entrance, which resembled the mouth of an oven. For that purpose Paizac applied to a carpenter whom he had long known, and in whom he placed confidence: the man denounced him. Rabaut St. Etienne was seized, and, being already outlawed, was at once conducted to execution. Paizac and his wife were guillotined the same day, 5th Dec., 1793. Their crime consisted in the refuge given to Rabaut.

Rabaut Pomier remained in prison nearly a year, after which he was liberated. He was a highly respected pastor, and president of the consistory of Paris.

Rabaut Dupuis, another son of Paul Rabaut, followed the legal profession, and was one of the council of Five Hundred.

No. VII.—Recent act of intolerance.

The following disgraceful circumstance has been related in the Paris journals, extracted from the *Phare de la Rochelle*. It will be found at length in the *Propagateur* of 30th June, 1838.

A Protestant lady, named Fleury, died at the village of Pont-l'Abbé (Charente-Inférieure) and was interred on the 2nd of June by the Protestant pastor of Marennes. As cemeteries are communal property, and under the control of the mayor, independent of the clergy, the deceased was buried in the only burial-ground, which however the priests, according to their custom, consider a domain of the church. The vicar had protested against the sepulture; and in the night of the 7th he had the corpse disinterred. He then wrote the following record of his own disgrace :—

"A MONS. CAMBON, Pasteur à Marennes.

"Monsieur, le bel œuvre que celui dont vous êtes venu vous illustrer à Pont-l'Abbé, la veille du saint jour de la Pentecôte. Vous avez grand sujet de vous en glorifier, la mémoire en restera longtemps dans les cœurs. Le corps de Mme Fleury vient enfin d'être exhumé du lieu où, contre mon droit et mon opposition, vous l'aviez fait déposer. Cette opération s'est terminée cette nuit entre minuit et une heure.

"Courage, Monsieur ! encore quelques actes de cette nature, et vous rendrez de plus en plus recommandable votre ministère, déjà si accrédité par la solidité de vos doctrines. Le repos dont vous assurez le corps de vos fidèles après leur mort est une garantie du repos dont vous pouvez assurer leur âme.

"Recevez, Monsieur, l'assurance de toute la considération que vous avez su m'inspirer.

"LABRO, Desservant de Pont-l'Abbé.

"Pont-l'Abbé, le 8 Juin 1838."

This strange letter obtained a reply from the Protestant pastor, the mildness of which presented a striking contrast to the unchristian boastings of the priest. He congratulated himself that he was not minister of a religion which pursues men even in their grave, and would deprive their mortal remains of the rest they deny to their souls; and concluded by exhorting the vicar to inquire seriously, and as in the presence of his Maker, whether his conduct and sentiments were Christian, or if he had not rather stifled the voice of charity and the feelings of humanity.

No. VIII.—*Abrégé de l'Histoire de Nismes, de Ménard, continué jusqu'à nos jours*, par P. L. Baragnon père, avocat à la cour royale de Nismes, Vols. I. to III.

The author was unable to procure a copy of the above work until after his own task was finished. The third volume concludes with an account of the *Bagarre* in 1790. However, with all possible deference for the advantages enjoyed by M. Baragnon as an inhabitant of Nismes, his arguments have not induced any alteration in the volume now offered to the public.

From the sixteenth century M. Baragnon's history is almost, without intermission, an *Acte d'Accusation* against the Protestants; yet his account of the Camisards has not necessitated more than a marginal note, wherein his testimony to the severe measures adopted has been adduced.

At a later period, where there is an allusion to the audacity of the Protestants in holding assemblies (1743 to 1745), it would certainly have tended to establish his character for impartiality, had he not withheld Ménard's testimony to their loyalty. During a consistory held at Ledignan, news was received of the king's illness; on which the ministers instantly suspended their discussion, to offer a prayer for his recovery. (Ménard, vol. vi. p. 603.)

It will not therefore excite surprise that M. Baragnon blames the Protestants for the troubles of 1790. He admits that in the publications of the Catholic party there are exaggerations, as well as in those written by Protestants; but his avowed preference for the statement made by M. de Marguerites, mayor of Nismes, has caused him to overlook the circumstance of its being a justification of the municipal body, then accused of counter-revolutionary principles, and for that reason *ex parte*. However the mayor's statement contains an important admission.

"Ce n'était point une querelle de religion; les dogmes, le culte n'y entraient pour rien; mais c'était l'inquiétude des catholiques d'avoir vu d'abord la force armée entre les mains d'un petit nombre des citoyens, dont plus de la moitié étaient protestans; c'était le mécontentement des protestans, de n'avoir pas eu dans l'élection des officiers municipaux la part qu'ils pouvaient y prétendre." *Compte rendu*, quoted by Baragnon, vol. iii. p. 445.

We may here fairly inquire how it happened that the intrigues began before the municipal elections; and consequently, before the protestants could entertain discontent at exclusion? The elections took place in February, 1790; but Froment proceeded to Turin in January, and he declares in one of his publications, that the nobility of Lan-

guedoc had held a deliberation at Toulouse, in November, 1789, for the purpose of planning measures to restore the old regime. Lauze de Peret, 2^e livraison, p. 198.

In the autumn of 1789 some violent pamphlets were issued against the Protestants. *Pierre Romain aux Catholiques de Nîmes* bears no date, but *Charles Sincère à Pierre Romain*, which responds to the appeal, and is apparently from the same pen, is dated 22d Nov., 1789. These libels contain a declaration of mortal hatred against the Protestants: a P. S. to the latter declares that the free exercise of the reformed religion would cause the ruin of the monarchy; and suggests a subscription for publishing a new edition of Caveyrac's *Apologie*, which is called "cet ouvrage immortel."

Respecting Froment, we learn from M. Baragnon that his quarrel with the friends of the revolution was altogether personal in its origin; that he was never the *real* chief of the Catholic party; and that the accounts of his services have been greatly exaggerated by his wounded vanity. His correspondence with the Count d'Artois, and his zeal in the Catholic cause, are however admitted, pp. 446—8.

In the terrible episode of the Bagarre, the question is, who was the aggressor? and M. Baragnon unhesitatingly charges the Protestant party.

"L'assemblée nationale, indisposée contre les catholiques par la pétition du 20 Avril, savait que l'intérêt des religieux les liait étroitement à la cause de la révolution, et les protégeait ouvertement: l'assemblée électorale était entièrement à leur dévotion. . . . Toutes les contrées protestantes étaient en armes, et prévenues de longue main; c'est sous ces auspices que l'assemblée électorale devait se réunir le 4 Juin."—P. 477—8.

This paragraph decides the author's point of view: the version adopted in this volume will in consequence wound his historical susceptibilities. We differ widely in our conclusions; and public opinion is the tribunal which must decide between us.

The writings of M. Lauze de Peret have been violently assailed by what is termed the *royalist party* in France; yet the author is not aware that any detailed refutation of his statements has been attempted. He is moreover so very minute in dates, names, and places, that, if his assertions are unfounded, it would be a very easy task to controvert him. Several highly respectable inhabitants of Nîmes, Catholic as well as Protestant, have borne testimony to his veracity, by correspondence and in conversation; and the best possible reply to M. Baragnon's account of the Bagarre is a passage from M. Lauze de Peret, published in 1818. Both these writers were advocates of Nîmes, and equally near the best sources of information.

"En 1788, en 1789, et au commencement de

1790, jusqu'au moment où l'on discuta la constitution civile du clergé, l'opinion fut unanime dans presque toutes les classes; la révolution, c'est-à-dire, une réforme qui n'était pas encore révolutionnaire, fut reçue avec un enthousiasme aussi général qu'en aucun autre lieu de la France. Mais dans cette même année 1790, des hommes qui ne voulaient aucune réforme fondèrent sur l'opposition des cultes l'espérance d'une opposition politique, d'une division qui troublât les esprits, qui fit préférer passionnément les intérêts particuliers à l'intérêt public dont la raison s'occupe seule, et qui enfin, malgré les vœux naturels du plus grand nombre des Français, fit travailler les Français eux-mêmes à l'entier retablisement de ce que l'autorité du siècle venait d'abolir. C'est ainsi que l'on parvint à se séparer les uns des autres les catholiques et les religieux." 1^{re} livraison, p. 96.

The official report presented to the National Assembly by M. Alquier comprises the depositions of numerous witnesses, who establish the charge of fanatical conduct and threats on the part of the Catholics, in the month of *April*; but those statements M. Baragnon does not condescend to notice.

The Bagarre occurred in *June*. The destruction of the capucin convent has been the subject of controversy. The death of M. Massip was the pretext of violence, and according to the statement of one party he was killed by a shot, fired or supposed to be fired from the convent—their opponents declare it was a malicious colouring, intended to justify the assault. One fact is beyond doubt: M. Massip was killed in front of the convent, and M. Baragnon offers the following *truly ingenious* solution of a charge, rendered more intricate by the depositions of the monks themselves, and especially by that of their gardener, who stated that the shots *appeared to him* to be fired from the convent:—

"S'il nous est permis de donner notre opinion, d'expliquer la mort de M. Massip, et de faire concorder le récit de M. de Marguerittes avec la déposition des religieux, nous dirons que des malveillans, postés autour du Luxembourg ou dans l'angle de la rue Notre-Dame, tirèrent sur les rassemblés placés à l'esplanade plusieurs coups de feu qui n'atteignirent personne, et n'avaient d'autre but que d'exciter un mouvement; que ces coups de feu mirent l'épouvante dans la troupe, et que, dans le désordre qui en fut la suite, la *maladresse d'un légionnaire* donna la mort à M. Massip."—P. 501.

A fourth volume, bringing the history of Nîmes down to 1830, has been for some time announced, and the author regrets that the delay in its appearance has prevented his availing himself of M. Baragnon's superior advantages and skilful reasonings, for correcting any erroneous notions which he may have formed, notwithstanding the most scrupulous attention in consulting individuals, residents of Nîmes in 1815.

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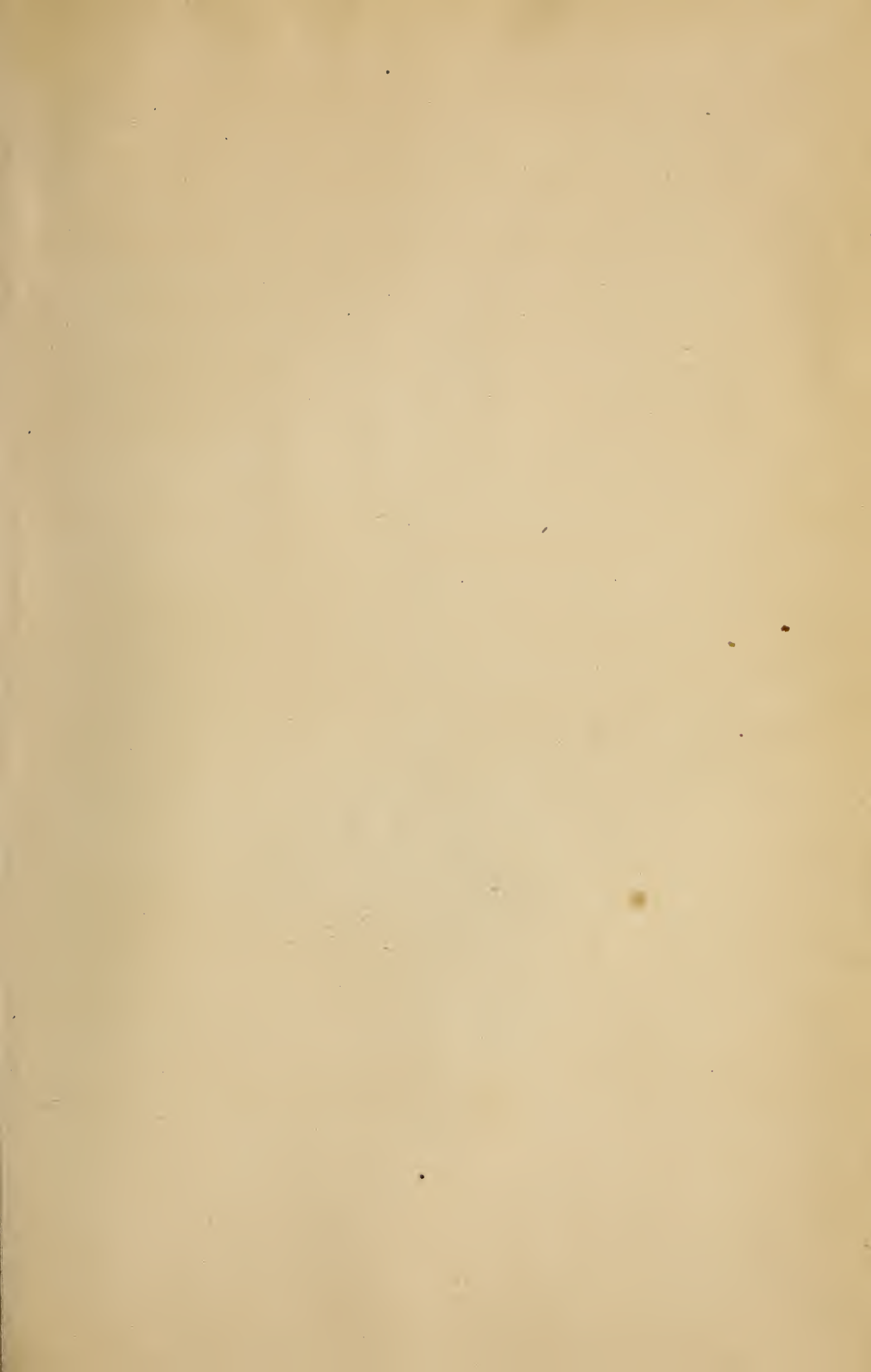
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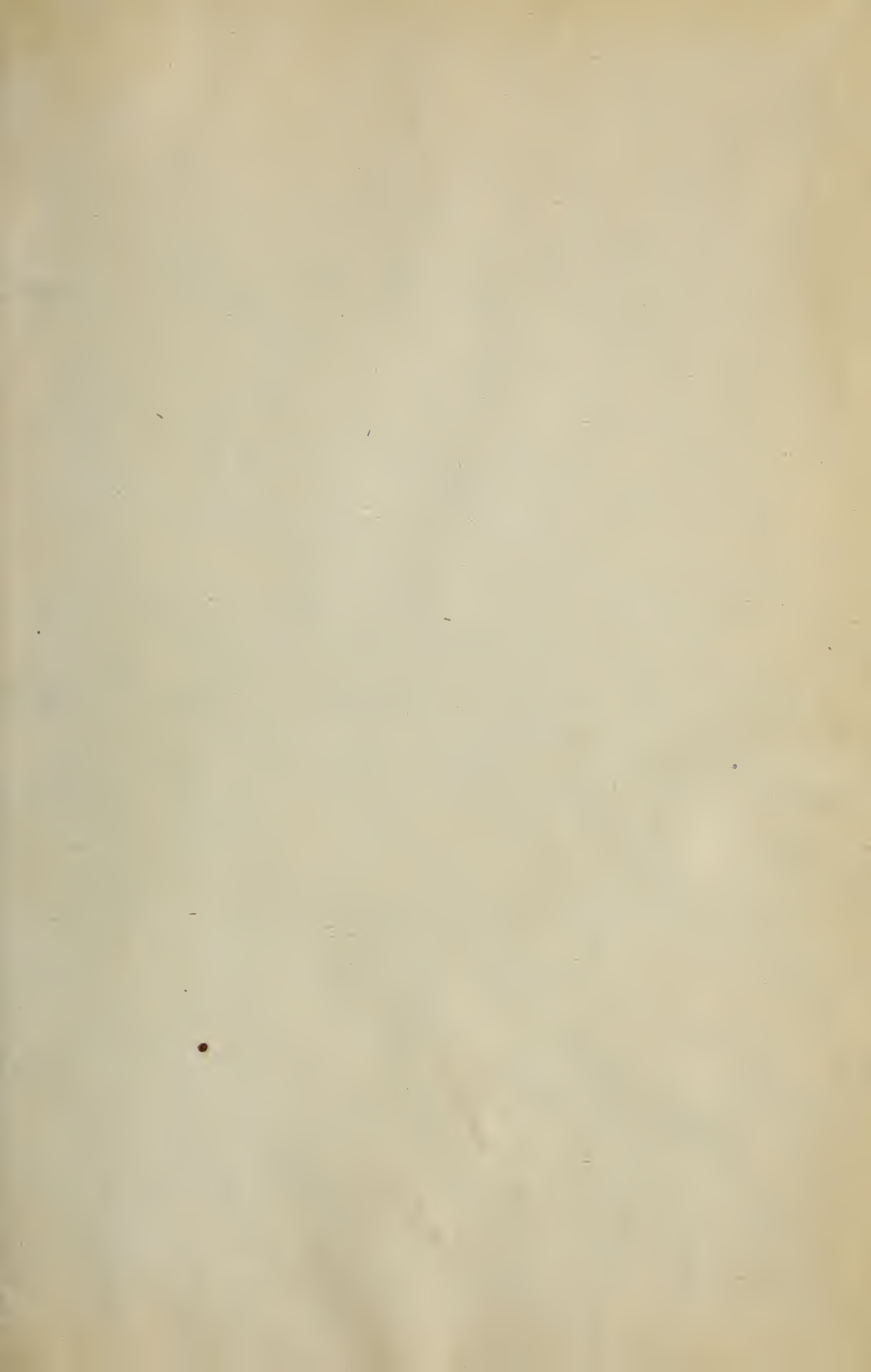
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